

OUTLINES OF
GREEK AND ROMAN
HISTORY

WILLIAM C. MOREY

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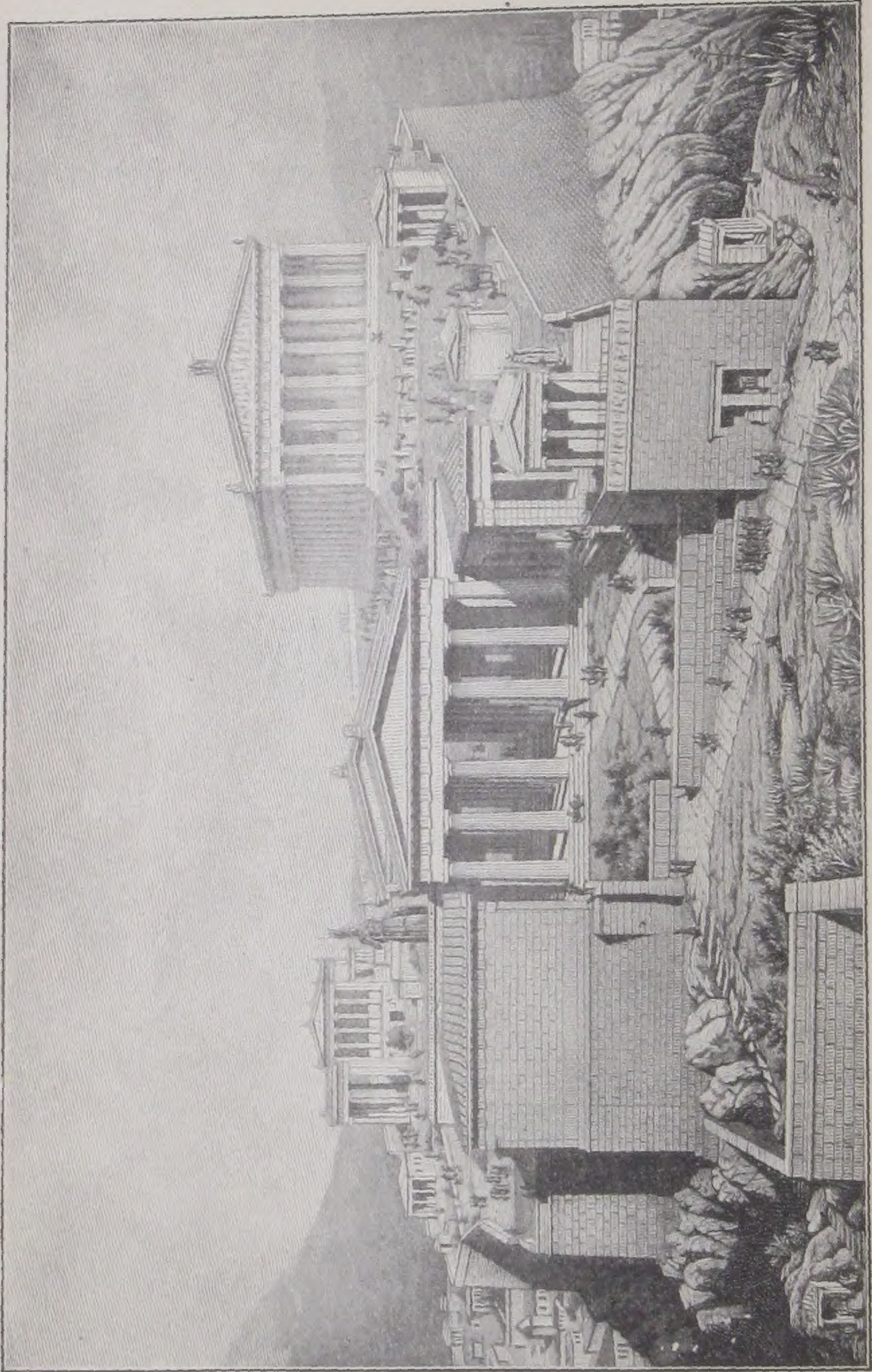
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GREEK HISTORY



THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS (Restoration)

OUTLINES
OF
GREEK HISTORY

WITH A SURVEY OF
ANCIENT ORIENTAL NATIONS

BY

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GREEK HISTORY.

E-P 1

PREFACE

THE purpose of this book is to give to young students a general idea of the growth and character of the civilization of ancient Greece. As it is intended to form, with the author's "Outlines of Roman History," a complete elementary course in ancient history, it contains a brief introduction — indicating the relation of history to civilization in general, and referring to the primitive culture with which civilization may be said to begin. It also contains a preliminary sketch of the progress of civilization before the time of the Greeks among the ancient Oriental peoples.

The fundamental idea has been kept in mind that the historical significance of any people must be estimated by what it has contributed to the general civilization of the world. The historical importance of the ancient Greeks rests upon their contributions to the growth of political liberty and to the development of a superior intellectual and æsthetic culture. The attempt has been made to select and describe those facts which illustrate the most important and distinguishing traits of the Grecian character. The political history is intended to show the extent to which the Greeks were successful in the development of free institutions and an organized city state, and also the reasons of their failure to develop a national state system. The history of culture is intended to show the great advance made by the Greeks upon the previous culture of the Orient. The successive stages of this culture are traced through the several periods of Greek history. As the history of Greece finds its most significant center in Athens, and as the history of Athens finds its center in the age of Pericles, this period is taken as the one best suited for a survey of the more

special features of Greek culture. The permanent character of this culture is also emphasized by showing how it remained after the fall of the Athenian empire, how it was carried to the East with the conquests of Alexander, and how it was carried to the West with the Roman conquest and has retained its influence upon the modern world.

To keep the student's mind fixed upon the points under discussion, the topical method has been employed. While this method may not appear to be the most literary in its form, it certainly seems the most scientific in its results. By the logical arrangement of these topics the student is enabled to see the relation between the general and the special subjects. He will come to have a scientific conception of history when he learns that a particular fact or event is important as it bears upon a more general movement, and that such movement is important as it relates to the general development of the national life and character. The relation of the several chapters to one another is indicated in the table of contents. That the student may obtain some idea of historical grouping, he should be encouraged to present a synopsis of each chapter, indicating its general divisions and subordinate topics as set forth in the text. He should also be expected to supplement this synopsis by notes gathered from the instruction given in the class-room and from his own reading, and by brief remarks upon the books or chapters which he has read in connection with his class-room work.

Each chapter is supplemented by "selections for reading," with references to specific chapters in the books with which the student should be most familiar; also a subject for "special study," which may be assigned as a topic for a class-room essay or oral dissertation. These "selections" and "studies" are given simply as specimens of what the teacher may require. The extent of such work must be determined by each teacher for himself, adjusted as it must be to the proficiency of each class. The references include some of the more important sources, which are inserted, like other

authorities, simply to afford illustrations of the subjects treated, and not to give the young pupil the fallacious notion that he is reconstructing history from "original authorities" — a kind of work which forms the most advanced and difficult part of an historical training. Teachers who wish to employ what is called the "source method" will find valuable suggestions in the report of the New England History Teachers' Association, published under the title, "Historical Sources in Schools." They will also obtain an idea of the legitimate use of sources from Professor Bourne's "Teaching of History and Civics in the Elementary and the Secondary School."

The illustrative material which has been introduced into the text has been selected for the sole purpose of throwing light upon the subjects treated. The maps are given to enable the pupil to locate every place mentioned. The "Progressive Maps" are drawn for the purpose of showing the geographical history of Greece and the Orient. Appended to the volume is a classified list of some of the most important and recent books upon Oriental and Greek history; the older works are generally excluded, unless they still possess an exceptional value.

It is perhaps proper to say a word upon that mooted question, the spelling of Greek names. It is well known that these names, for the most part, first came into the English language through the Latin, and for a long time their Latinized form was preserved. The comparatively recent attempt to recast these names into a form more consistent with the original Greek has not been attended with unqualified success. The use of Kroisos for Cræsus, Kleisthenes for Clisthenes, Kyklades for Cyclades, Kypros for Cyprus, seems strange, if not repulsive, to the English reader. It is a satisfaction to know that that accomplished Greek scholar and archæologist, Professor Ernest Arthur Gardner, in his recent work on "Ancient Athens," has declared himself in favor of the familiar Latinized forms. While admitting the difficulty of attaining any

complete consistency, he says, "In spelling, custom and familiarity must be the paramount considerations; and I think a natural reaction is setting in among scholars against a too indiscriminate use of *k*, *ei*, *ou*, etc., in forms that are often not only uncouth in appearance, but actually misleading in pronunciation" ("Ancient Athens," Preface, viii). The spelling of Greek names sanctioned by Professor Gardner and favored by the more conservative writers, is used in this book.

In attempting to put the history of Greece into the form of a text-book, the author has kept before his mind simply what he believes to be the needs of pupils and the wants of teachers. He has adopted neither a purely narrative style, — which often fails to give the real significance of events, — nor a purely philosophical method, — which often deals with abstract generalizations unsupported by facts. His aim has been to point out, as clearly as possible, the most essential and significant facts in Greek history, to show their bearing upon the growth of the Hellenic city state, to indicate their influence upon the development of Greek culture, and to suggest the important place which this culture holds in the civilization of the world.

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTION — The Beginnings of History . . .	11

ANCIENT ORIENTAL NATIONS

II. The Far Eastern Countries — China and India . . .	21
III. The Mesopotamian Countries — Babylonia and Assyria . . .	32
IV. The Hither Orient — Egypt, Phœnicia, and Judea . . .	45

BEGINNINGS OF GREECE

PERIOD I. THE PREHISTORIC AGE OF GREECE (—776 B.C.)

V. Hellas and the Hellenes	69
VI. The Oldest Civilization of Greece	83
VII. Homer and the Homeric Culture	94

PERIOD II. THE FORMATION OF THE GREEK STATES (776–500 B.C.)

VIII. The Character of the Greek City State	105
IX. The Dorian City State — Sparta	112
X. The Ionian City State — Athens	120
XI. The Expansion of Greece — the Colonies	139
XII. The Culture of the Early Greek States	149

THE ATHENIAN ASCENDENCY

PERIOD III. THE PERSIAN WARS; GROWING POWER OF ATHENS (500–479 B.C.)

XIII. The Encroachments of the East upon the West	165
XIV. The Invasions of Greece by Darius and Xerxes	177
XV. Effects of the Persian Wars upon Greek Culture	193

PERIOD IV. THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE; AGE OF PERICLES (479–431 B.C.)

XVI. The Growth of the Athenian Empire	202
XVII. The Athenian Constitution under Pericles	217
XVIII. Athens and Athenian Art under Pericles	228

CHAPTER	PAGE
XIX. Intellectual Culture in the Age of Pericles	242
XX. Social Culture, Life and Manners	251
PERIOD V. THE FALL OF THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE (431-359 B.C.)	
XXI. The Peloponnesian War	263
XXII. The Later Struggles for Supremacy	277
XXIII. The New Phase of Greek Culture	287
THE SPREAD OF HELLENISM	
PERIOD VI. THE UNION OF GREECE AND THE ORIENT (359-229 B.C.)	
XXIV. Macedonia and Greece under Philip	299
XXV. Alexander and the Conquest of the East	307
XXVI. Greek Culture and the Eastern World	320
PERIOD VII. THE UNION OF GREECE AND THE OCCIDENT (229-146 B.C.)	
XXVII. Macedonia and the Greek Federations	334
XXVIII. The Absorption of Hellas by Rome	340
XXIX. Greek Culture and the Western World	346
APPENDIX — List of Books upon Oriental and Greek History	355
INDEX	367

LIST OF COLORED MAPS

PROGRESSIVE MAPS	
No. 1. Ancient Oriental Peoples	20
No. 2. Greece and the Orient, about 1250 B.C.	68
No. 3. Hellas and the Hellenes, after the Dorian Migration	80
No. 4. Greater Hellas, Sixth Century B.C. (Colonization)	136, 137
No. 5. Eastern Nations before the Lydian and Persian Conquests	166
No. 6. Persian Empire under Darius, about 500 B.C.	170
No. 7. The Athenian Empire: Greatest Extent, about 450 B.C.	214, 215
No. 8. Peloponnesian War, 431-404 B.C.	262
No. 9. Empire of Alexander the Great, 323 B.C.	308
No. 10. Divisions of the Empire of Alexander, 301 B.C.	316
The Aetolian and Achaean Leagues, about 229 B.C.	336

OUTLINES OF GREEK HISTORY

WITH A REVIEW OF ORIENTAL NATIONS



CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION. — THE BEGINNINGS OF HISTORY

I. THE SUBJECT-MATTER OF HISTORY

History and Civilization. — The subject of our present study is the history of ancient Greece — with a review of the earlier peoples of the East, by whom the Greeks were more or less influenced. But to understand the history of any people, it is necessary first of all to have some idea of what we mean by “history.” Our first idea of history is the simple notion that it deals with the past. But there are many peoples who have lived and passed away, and many events which have taken place, that have little or no historical importance. The mere study of antiquities — of things that are past — is not the study of history in the proper sense; although it may aid us in getting a knowledge of historical facts. History properly deals with what we call “civilization,” or the progress of mankind. It seeks those facts which mark this progress, the causes which have led to it, or the influences which have retarded it. A people which has contributed something to the progress of mankind, we properly regard as an historical people. The Greeks, for example, occupy a high place in the history of the world, because they have added much to the world’s civilization.

Meaning of Civilization. — When we speak of civilization, we refer to a certain degree of advancement in the things which make up human life — which contribute to human welfare and to human happiness. Barbarous peoples have very few of the things which make life worth living. They obtain their food with difficulty; their clothing is scanty; and their homes are without comfort. Their social life is narrow, and confined to the family or the clan. Their language is limited. Their art is coarse. Their religion is crude; and their moral ideas are often low and groveling. In short, they do not possess what we call civilization. Civilization means a certain degree of progress in some or all of these phases of human existence. It is a movement away from barbarism in the direction of a higher physical, intellectual, and moral life.

Elements of Civilization. — We may perhaps get a clearer idea of what is meant by civilization, if we look at some of the elements which make it up, and which we should constantly keep in mind as we study the history of any people. It is by these features, or marks, that we are able to judge whether a nation is more or less civilized.

The first mark of civilization is the improvement of the *means of subsistence* — the getting of better food, of more comfortable clothing and habitations. The primitive life of hunting and fishing gives way to the domestication of animals, to the cultivation of the soil, to the manufacture of various products, and to the exchange of these products with other peoples; that is, to the growth of industry and commerce.

Another mark of civilization is the growth of *social and political institutions*. The family grows into the clan; the clan into the tribe; and the tribe into the state. The relations between men, also, become controlled less and less by force, and more and more by reason and law. Governments grow up, which protect the rights of persons and the interests of the community.

We may also judge of the extent to which a people is civilized by the development of its *language and literature*. Lan-

guage becomes extended and enriched by the growth of new words. But more than this, words become reduced to a written form. Ideas which were once transmitted only from mouth to mouth in the form of traditions, become fixed in writing and in a permanent literature.

Civilization is still further marked by the growth of *philosophy and science*; that is, by the development of a spirit of inquiry. The world of nature appears to the barbarian as an insoluble mystery; to the civilized man, it appears more and more to be a world of order and governed by law. Hence, knowledge becomes extended and reduced to a scientific form.

Moreover, we may judge of the advancement of a people by their progress in *art and refinement*. When men become civilized, they learn to love the beautiful. The crude ideas of art expressed in unsightly huts, in grotesque figures, in gaudy colors, in loud and discordant noises, become refined by a sense of symmetry and proportion, by a taste for subdued colors and harmonious sounds — as seen in the higher forms of architecture, sculpture, painting, and music.

Finally, the advance of civilization is shown in the growth of higher ideas regarding *religion and morality*. The earlier religions consist in the worship of sticks and stones, of animals, of ancestral spirits, and of the forces of nature. Their ceremonies are weird and elaborate, and are intended to appease the anger of the gods. But as civilization advances, religion becomes more and more a simple belief in one supreme and beneficent Being, and an incentive to a higher and better life. Religion and morality become united in a common love to God and man.

Significance of Historical Facts. — By keeping before our minds these various elements which enter into civilization, we can better judge of what is more important and what is less important in history. For example, men are to be judged by the extent to which they have improved their own people or the world in some of these lines of progress. So, too, events must be

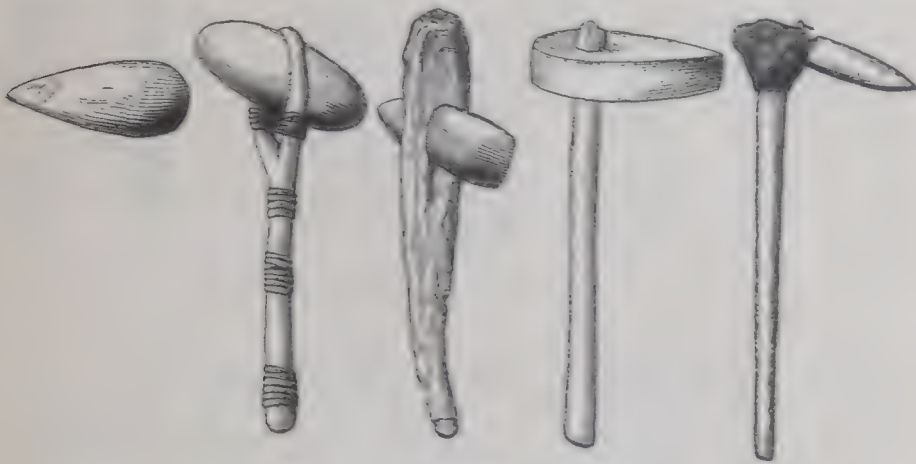
regarded as important according to their influence in improving mankind in some way or other. Nations, also, are to be judged in the same way — by the extent to which they have contributed to some of those elements which make the world more civilized. In studying the history of Greece, therefore, we shall try to learn not only what advancement the Greeks made upon the peoples who went before them, but also how far and in what way they have contributed to the present enlightenment of the world.

II. EARLY CONDITION OF MANKIND

The Prehistoric Age. — As we begin the study of history the question will naturally occur to us, How did civilization begin? To this question no one can give a very satisfactory answer. We know that before the Greeks were civilized, there were civilizations in the East more or less developed — among the Egyptians on the Nile; the Babylo'nians and Assyr'ians on the Tigris and Euphra'tes; the Hindus on the Indus and the Ganges; and the Chinese on the great rivers of eastern Asia. But all these civilizations must have grown out of a more primitive condition of mankind — a condition the knowledge of which is not contained in any written records. This early stage of progress we call the "prehistoric age." Our knowledge of it is derived largely from material relics, such as stone and metal implements, cave dwellings, shell heaps, traces of fire, the contents of mounds, and other evidences of human existence.

Early Stages of Progress. — From such remains of the prehistoric age it is possible to form some idea of the early progress of man before the dawn of civilization. It is, of course, impossible to give the exact steps of this progress, covering as they do many thousands of years. It is customary to divide this long and obscure period of prehistoric development into "ages," called the Stone Age or the Age of Savagery, and the Metal Age or the Age of Barbarism.

The *Stone Age* refers to the lowest condition of the human race, when the highest art was shown in the manufacture of weapons and implements from stone. Men of this age are supposed to have lived in caves or in the shelter of rocks or trees; to have clothed themselves with the skins of wild beasts; to have obtained their food by hunting and fishing; to have satisfied their artistic taste by personal decorations; and to have worshiped material objects or animals, which were thought to have the power of bringing good or evil. This

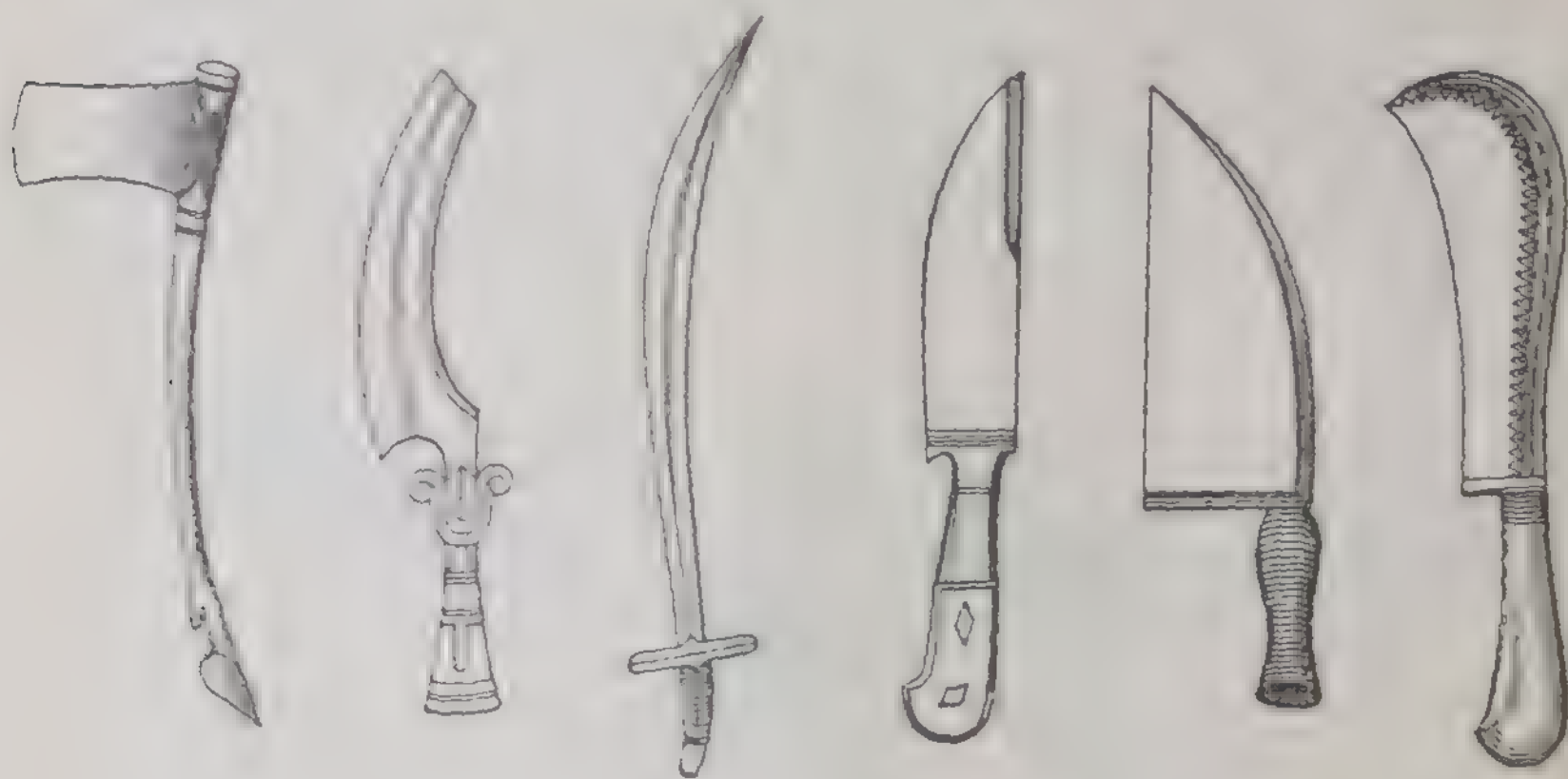


EARLY STONE IMPLEMENTS

long period is subdivided into the Old Stone, or Paleolithic, Age, when implements were made of rough stone, and the New Stone, or Neolithic, Age, when implements were made of polished stone, thus showing a higher degree of mechanical skill.

The *Metal Age* marks a great step in human progress, on account of the discovery and use of the metals. During this age men began to live in artificial dwellings; to obtain their food by the domestication of animals and the cultivation of the soil; to clothe themselves with fabrics woven by the loom; to have higher ideas of art in the way of ornaments of silver and gold; and to worship the spirits of their ancestors and the forces of nature, especially celestial objects. This

period is subdivided into the Bronze Age, when articles were made of copper, or a mixture of copper and tin; and the Iron Age, when the discovery and use of iron gave a new impulse to the mechanical arts.



EARLY METAL IMPLEMENTS

Dawn of Civilization. — These so-called ages can not, of course, be separated from one another by any well marked lines. They simply indicate what were probably the early stages of human development. They merge into one another; and the features of one age often survive and continue to exist in the next age, and sometimes even remain after the dawn of civilization. For convenience we may say that civilization begins with the use of a written language; and it is chiefly by the use of written records that the progress of civilization is traced. But we must not think that there is any clear and definite line which separates civilization from barbarism; the one succeeds the other as imperceptibly as day follows night.

Primitive Culture of Civilized Peoples. — It is evident that at the dawn of civilization men had already made some progress in their manner of living, and already possessed a certain stock of customs and ideas inherited from their prehistoric ancestors. They were living in artificial dwellings, built of wood or of clay baked in the sun. They subsisted not only by hunt-

ing and fishing, but also by the rearing of flocks and herds, by the cultivation of the soil, and by exchanging their products with one another. They had the use of fire and cooked their food; they made utensils of clay, and also of metals such as copper, tin, iron, gold, and silver. They had a simple government, consisting of a chief, a council of elders, and perhaps a general assembly. Their knowledge was restricted mostly to the practical affairs of life, and they recorded their ideas in the form of picture writing. Their art was shown in articles of personal adornment, in crude graven images, and in simple decoration of their implements. Their religion consisted mostly in the worship of ancestors and the forces of nature, in weird ceremonies and in mythical stories about the gods. With a primitive stock of culture such as this, the civilized nations of the world may be said to have begun their career. But the degree of advancement made upon this early culture has differed greatly among the different divisions of the human race.

III. DIVISIONS OF THE HUMAN RACE

Unity and Diversity of Mankind. — It is generally believed that all the peoples of the world have had a common origin. But at what time man first appeared upon the earth, and how the different parts of the earth were first peopled, no one can tell. We find at the beginning of the historical period men living in nearly every part of the world, and separated into different groups, which are more or less distinct from one another. So while men may have had a common origin, they have, in the process of time, become broken up into various races and peoples; and these different races and peoples have shown very different degrees of capacity for development.

Classification by Physical Features. — Many attempts have been made to find a scientific method of distinguishing the different races of men. They have, for example, been classified according to color, into the White or Caucasian race, the Black or Negro race, and the Yellow or Mongolian race.

They have also been classified according to the shape of the head, the texture of the hair, and other physical features. But the various peoples of the world have become so intermingled that it is difficult to determine what are the pure, or original, races, and to distinguish them from the mixed, or secondary, races.

Classification by Language. — The most ordinary and convenient way of classifying men is by the languages which they speak. It is true that language is not a perfect means of distinguishing races; because some peoples have been known to adopt the language of another. But it is also generally true that in adopting the language of another people they have also adopted the manners and civilization of that other people. And so, while a common language may not always indicate a common race origin, it does generally indicate a common historical development. In studying the growth of civilization, therefore, we may consider the peoples of the world as divided into groups, corresponding to the different languages which they speak.¹ Thus the many peoples of the white race have been divided into the Hamitic, Semitic, and Aryan groups.

¹ The various languages of the world, and the most important peoples speaking them, may be grouped as follows:—

- I. *Monosyllabic* (in which each word consists of a single root, without inflections), — Chinese, Siamese, Burmese.
- II. *Agglutinative* (in which two or more roots are joined in a single word, which is not inflected), — American aborigines, Hungarians, Turks.
- III. *Inflected* (in which a word usually consists of a root the meaning of which may be variously modified by means of inflectional endings), comprising:—
 1. *Hamit'ic*, — Egyptians, Lib'yans, Ethio'pians.
 2. *Semit'ic*, — Hebrews, Babylonians, Assyrians, Phœni'cians, Arabians
 3. *Indo-European, or Ar'yan*, comprising:—
 - (1) *Indic*, — peoples of India.
 - (2) *Iran'ic*, — Medes, Persians.
 - (3) *Hellen'ic*, — peoples of Greece and western Asia Minor.
 - (4) *Ital'ic*, — ancient Romans and their historical descendants, the Italians, French, Spaniards, Portuguese.
 - (5) *Slavon'ic*, — Russians, Bohemians, Bulgarians, Poles.
 - (6) *Teuton'ic*, — Germans, Scandinavians, English.
 - (7) *Celtic*, — ancient inhabitants of the British Isles and Gaul.

Historical Progress from East to West. — Another important thing to be noticed in beginning our study is the fact that the general progress of civilization has been from the east to the west. Broadly speaking, the farther east we go the less progressive peoples do we find; and as we come toward the west we meet with higher and higher forms of culture. We can, therefore, better understand the higher civilization of the Greeks by looking first at the more primitive phases of culture developed by the eastern nations. If we consider these nations with reference to their relative attainments (and not with reference to their relative antiquity), we may arrange them in three groups, occupying quite distinct geographical areas:

(1) The first area is known as the Far East, where flourished two primitive civilizations — that of the Chinese on the shores of the Hoang and Yangtze rivers, and that of the Hindus on the Indus and the Ganges.

(2) The second area is the Tigris-Euphrates valley, where we shall see the development of a more progressive civilization — that of the Babylonians and Assyrians.

(3) The third area is what we may call the Hither Orient, where the civilization of the East reached its highest development — as seen in the remarkable monuments of the Egyptians, the extensive commerce of the Phœnicians, and the exalted religion of the Hebrews.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Clodd, *Primeval Man*, Ch. 3, "The Ancient Stone Age" (2).¹

Starr, *First Steps*, Chs. 3, 4, "Food-getting" (2).

Tylor, *Anthropology*, Ch. 1, "Man Ancient and Modern" (1).

Keary, Ch. 1, "Earliest Traces of Man" (2).

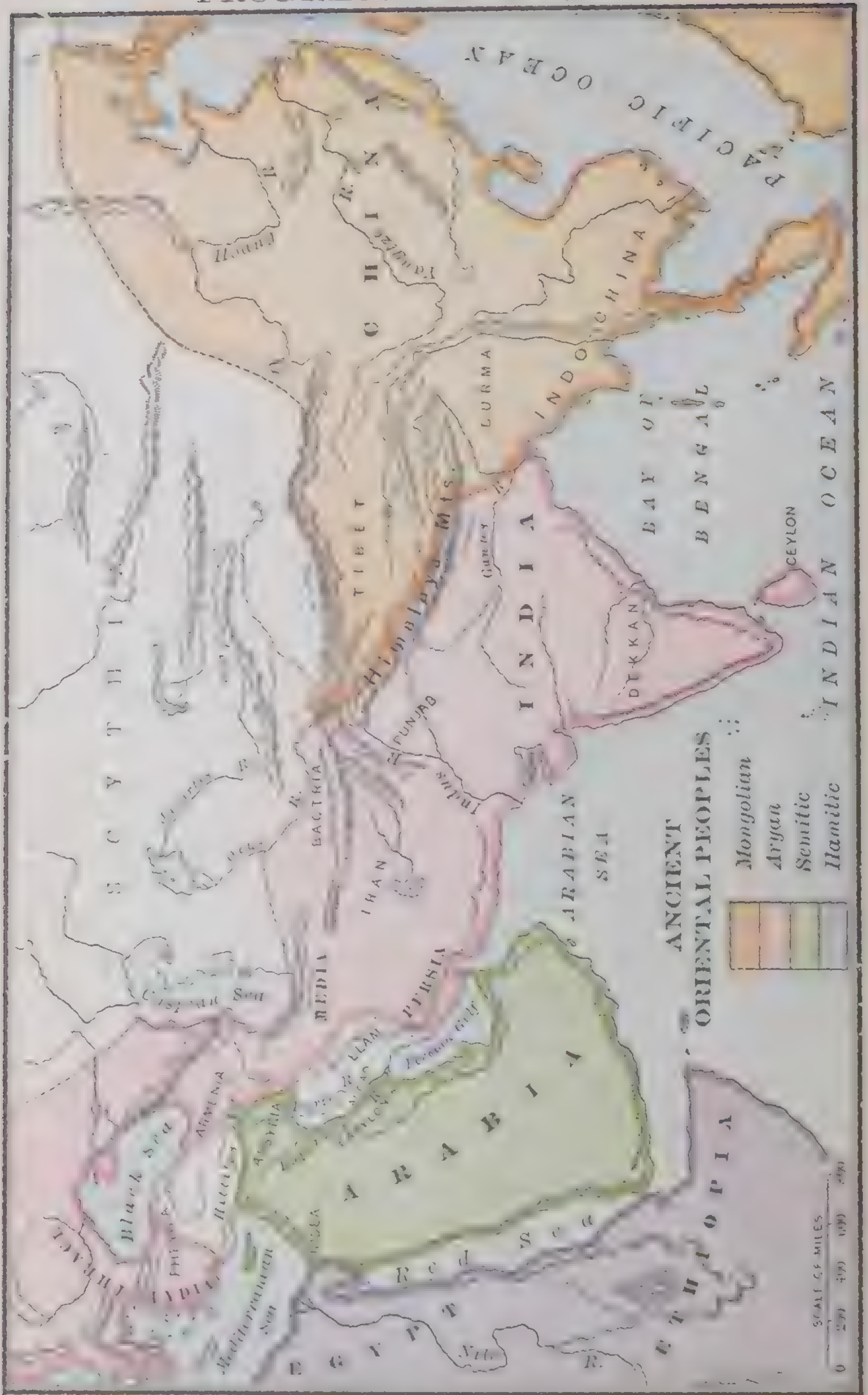
Joly, Part II., "Primitive Civilization" (2).

SPECIAL STUDY

PICTURE WRITING. — Starr, Ch. 21 (2); Joly, pp. 320-326 (2); Keary, Ch. 12 (2); Tylor, *Anthropology*, Ch. 7 (1), and *Early Hist.*, Ch. 5 (2).

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

PROGRESSIVE MAP, No. 1.



ANCIENT ORIENTAL NATIONS



CHAPTER II

THE FAR EASTERN COUNTRIES—CHINA AND INDIA

I. CHINA AND THE CHINESE

Historical Significance of China.—In tracing the early progress of mankind before the time of the Greeks, we begin with the countries of the Far East.¹ We do this not because these countries were the first to emerge from barbarism, and not because they have exercised a great influence upon the rest of the world—but for the simple reason that we can see in them the best type of a very early civilization. Especially is this true of China. Secluded as it has been in the remote parts of Asia, China has been little affected by foreign influences. We may therefore see in China a very primitive phase of civilized society.

The Mongolian Settlements in China.—The early traditions of China reach back to nearly 3000 B.C., and the mythical history covers many thousands of years before that time. But we need not trouble ourselves about Chinese chronology, dealing as it does with dates and dynasties upon which we can place little reliance. It is enough for us to know at present

¹ This arrangement of the Oriental nations—in a *geographical* rather than an attempted *chronological* order—has perhaps some advantages. It enables the student to proceed from the least progressive to the more progressive countries. Moreover, as he is now studying the Orient as a mere introduction to Greek history, he is led from the more remote countries to those more and more closely related to Greece. If the teacher's time, however, is limited, this chapter upon China and India may be omitted.

the general way in which China was settled, and how it passed from barbarism to an early form of civilization. To trace the course of the Mongolian settlements in China, we should notice the position of the two great rivers — the Ho'ang or Yellow River toward the north, and the Yangtze toward the south. The valleys of these rivers were already occupied by an obscure aboriginal people before the Chinese made their first appearance. It seems quite clear that the Chinese came from the central part of Asia, and first settled upon the head waters



SETTLEMENT OF CHINA

Successive seats, I, II, III

of the Hoang. Afterward they pushed down the course of this river and made more permanent settlements about its mouth. Here they developed some of the arts of civilized life. From the Hoang River they spread to the south and occupied the great valley of the

Yangtze, conquering or driving out the native inhabitants, and becoming the predominant race. They rapidly increased in numbers, so that in time China became the most populous country of the globe.

Chinese Industry and Art. — The Chinese traditions refer to a time when the people were in a condition of utter barbarism — a horde of wanderers roving among the forests, “without houses, without clothing, without fire to dress their victuals, and subsisting upon the chase, eked out with roots and insects” (Douglas). These traditions also refer to the origin of many of the industrial arts — the discovery of fire by the accidental friction of two pieces of dry wood; the first attempt to build houses by intertwining the boughs of trees; the discovery of the process of smelting and forging

iron; the cultivation of the mulberry tree; and the manufacture and weaving of silk.

Whatever truth there may, or may not, be in these traditions, it is quite certain that when the Chinese settled upon the banks of the Hoang, they passed from a nomadic to an agricultural people. They learned to live not only upon their flocks and herds, but also upon the products of the soil.



THE GREAT WALL OF CHINA

They also learned to drain the flooded districts, to build canals and roads. They constructed wooden buildings fashioned after the form of their primitive tents, which form was afterward preserved to a certain extent in their temples and pagodas. Although not distinguished as great architects, they yet constructed one of the greatest monuments of human industry — the Great Wall of China, fifteen hundred miles long, intended to protect the northern frontiers from invasions. They also became in time an ingenious and inventive people.

They are said to have possessed the use of paper, of movable type, of gunpowder, and of the mariner's compass before these articles were used or known by the western nations. They have also shown great skill and some taste in certain forms of art. Their dexterity is especially seen in the manufacture of silken fabrics, in ivory carvings, and in porcelain wares.

Chinese Society and Government. — As in their industrial arts, so in their society and government the Chinese show the marks of an early stage of development. The family is regarded as the first form of civilized society; and "the Chinaman still adheres closely to that first stage in which the organization of human society begins" (Peschel). The family grew into the clan, or village community, governed by the fathers of the different households. So strongly does the idea of the family influence the Chinese that the whole empire is looked upon as a great household, and the emperor is revered as the father of his people.

Chinese Religion and Morality. — Like the government, the religion of China is also closely linked to the early family organization. It consists largely of the worship of ancestors. Filial piety and reverence for the dead form a great part of the moral and religious life of the people. As the father performs the religious rites for the family, so the emperor performs the religious rites for the nation. He is regarded as the Son of Heaven, and Heaven is the Father of all.

The early religion of China was mixed with many superstitions. But in the middle of the sixth century before Christ, appeared a great teacher, Confucius (born 551 B.C.), who tried to purify the religious ideas of his people. He taught in a simple way the most important and common duties of life. He taught that "you should not do to others what you would not have others do to you." It may be said that Confucius and his system mark the highest point reached by the Chinese mind. Another teacher, called La'o-tse, lived about the same time as Confucius, and taught a more philosophical system of religion — Taoism. But this, being less intelligible,

did not take so strong a hold upon the people. Afterward a Hindu religion — Buddhism — was introduced from India. The Chinaman may thus be said to have three religions from which to choose, although they are all frequently professed by the same person. The Chinese never gained a high conception of the Supreme Being. But they hold up a high standard of moral duty — a standard which, as is the case with many other people, is considerably higher than their practice.

Chinese Language and Literature. — Like the other phases of Chinese culture, the language indicates an early stage of growth. The language is monosyllabic. The writing is developed from a crude form of picture writing, as may be seen from the following ancient and modern forms: —

	Sun	Moon	Mountain	Tree	Dog	Horse	Man
ANCIENT							
MODERN	日	月	山	木	犬	馬	人

These characters have generally no phonetic elements; that is, they do not usually represent sounds, but things or ideas. They have grown to be very numerous (25,000 or more), and are often united to represent complex ideas. In such rude characters as these the Chinese literature is written. The most important literature consists of the Five Classics and the Four Books. The former were either written or edited by Confucius; and the latter were written by his disciples, the most distinguished of whom was Mencius. These works form the basis of Chinese education. To be familiar with them is to be considered wise and learned. Candidates for public office must pass a competitive examination in these ancient books to show their fitness for public life. The civil service is thus based upon education.

From what has been said we can see that the people of China are bound to the past and isolated from the present.

From the earliest times it has been the policy of this people to exclude from their land all foreigners and all foreign influences. On this account they have remained a stagnant nation, scarcely affected by those movements which have changed the rest of the world. Not only do their arts and customs, their society, government, and religion preserve the marks of a primitive civilization, but their ideas and intellectual culture are fashioned upon the wisdom of the ancients; and it is only within very recent times that they have seemed disposed to depart from the "beaten paths."

II. INDIA AND THE HINDUS

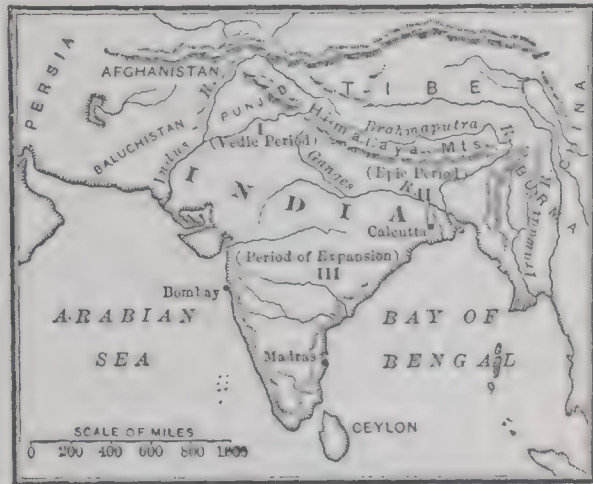
Beginning of Aryan Civilization. — As we pass from China to India, we see the early stages of a far greater civilization than that of the Mongolians; namely, that of the Aryans, or Indo-Europeans.¹ When we consider the fact that the most advanced nations of the world to-day are peoples who speak Indo-European languages, we may look with special interest upon the first attempt of an Indo-European people to lift themselves above the plane of barbarism. By the aid of language it is inferred that before their migration, the early Indo-European people had already passed out of the Stone Age, and were acquainted with the use of some of the metals. They were a pastoral people, having domesticated the cow, the horse, and

¹ It must be kept in mind that when we speak of the Aryan or Indo-European peoples (including the Hindus, the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Slavs, the Germans, and the Celts), we do not mean that they are descended from the same stock—a theory once held, but now disproved by recent anthropological discoveries. We simply mean that these peoples speak languages derived from the same ancient tongue, and possess a civilization derived probably from a common primitive culture. Scholars are not agreed as to where was the original home of the Aryan-speaking people. It was formerly thought to have been somewhere in central Asia. It is now thought to have been somewhere in Europe, perhaps in southern Russia, perhaps on the shores of the Baltic. The "Aryan question" has been largely a dispute resulting from different points of view—that of language and culture held by philologists and historians, and that of race affiliation held by anthropologists. No scholars now hold that a common language is necessarily an indication of a common descent.

the sheep, and were beginning to cultivate the soil. They used fire in cooking their food, and understood the arts of weaving and sewing, and dressed themselves in cloth garments. They were organized in families and village communities, and recognized the authority of a village chief and a council of elders. They worshiped not only their ancestors, but the objects of nature — the heaven, the sun, the dawn, the clouds, the earth, fire, etc., which were personified and made the subjects of many mythical stories. Chief among the objects of the worship was the overarching Heaven, which was looked upon as the Father of all, and long continued to be called the Heaven-Father — *Dyaus-pitar* by the Hindus, *Zeus-pater* by the Greeks, and *Jupiter* by the Romans.

The Aryan Settlements in India. — With a culture such as this, a part of the Aryan people migrating from their original home

— wherever that may have been — passed through central Asia and settled in India. The progress of their settlements here bears some likeness to the Mongolian settlements in China. As in China, so in India we have two great river systems which formed successive seats of occupation; these are the Indus



SETTLEMENT OF INDIA
Successive seats, I, II, III

and the Ganges. The first settlement of the Aryan Hindus was upon the head waters of the Indus, in the region watered by the five branches of this river, and called the Punjab. Here the Hindus improved in their arts of living, communed with nature, developed a strong religious spirit, and composed hymns in honor of the gods of nature — hymns still preserved

in the "Vedas," the oldest literature of India. From the Indus and the land of the Vedas, the Hindus spread into the valley of the Ganges, which formed the second seat of their settlement. The movement from the Indus to the Ganges was marked by a long period of conflict with the aboriginal tribes. As a result of this period of strife the warriors became honored next to the priests. The distinction between the classes of society became more strongly marked, and a severe caste system was developed. This system comprised four distinct classes: (1) the priests, or Brahmans; (2) the warriors, or Ksha'triyas; (3) the farmers, or Vais'yas; (4) the servile population, or Sudras, which class comprised the mass of the conquered peoples. Below these were the outcasts, or Pa'riahs. From the Ganges, the Hindus afterward spread over the remaining parts of India, conquering and absorbing the native inhabitants; so that the Hindus of the south became somewhat different from those of the north. Although the Hindus cultivated industry and commerce, their civilization was marked especially by thought rather than action, — by literature, philosophy, religious speculation, and ethical precepts.

The "Vedas" and Hindu Literature. — The thought of the Hindus was first put into literary form in the "Vedas." These consisted of sacred writings, expressed in the Sanskrit language, the most ancient written form of Aryan speech. This language is highly inflective, having eight cases, and is capable

अग्निमीळे पुरोहितं यज्ञस्य देवमृत्विजम् ।
होतारं रत्नधातमम् ॥ १ ॥

FIRST STANZA OF THE "RIG-VEDA"

of expressing fine feeling and subtle distinctions of thought. Of the sacred writings the most interesting and probably the oldest is the "Rig-Veda." This collection consists of more than a thousand hymns addressed to the gods of nature — the heaven god, Dyaus; the sun god, Vishnu; the fire god, Agni;

the rain god, Indra; the cloud gods, Maruts; the wine god, Soma; and others. These early hymns are simple in language, sincere in spirit, and are marked by an earnest religious feeling.

A more elaborate form of literature is seen in the two great epics — the “Rama’yana” and the “Maha-bha’rata” — which have been called “the most important and sublime creations of Hindu literature, and the most colossal epic poems to be found in the literature of the world” (Botta). The former contains twenty-five thousand and the latter two hundred thousand lines. They celebrate the heroic deeds of Rama and Krishna, who are supposed to be the incarnations of the god Vishnu. The ancient legal customs of the Hindus were reduced to writing and embodied in the so-called “Code of Manu,” the earliest and most important law book of India.

Brahmanism and Hindu Science. — The religion of the Hindus did not always remain in the simple form of nature worship, as held by the early Aryans and expressed in the earlier Vedic hymns. It grew into a higher and more philosophical form of nature worship held by the priestly class, or Brahmins. It is difficult for us, with our practical Western ideas, to understand fully this highest phase of Oriental thought; but the main features we may perhaps comprehend. The common people had been in the habit of looking upon the different objects of nature, or the different parts of the universe, as so many different gods, endowed with various human qualities. The Brahmins, on the other hand, came to look upon the entire universe as one system of things and pervaded with a universal soul. This universal Deity was regarded in a three-fold aspect as Brahma, or the creator, as Vishnu, or the preserver, and as Siva, or the destroyer. In explaining the world about us the Brahmins believed that all things emanate from the Supreme Being, as rays emanate from the sun, or as streams flow from the fountain. When any particular thing seems to pass away, it really reappears in some other thing, as water passes into vapor, or as the soul of one man was thought to pass into another man or into an animal (“transmigration”).

It is evident that such ideas as these would be difficult for the common people to grasp; and so Brahmanism became the religion of the priests, who alone possessed religious knowledge, and under whose direction the complicated rites and ceremonies were performed.

It is interesting to know that out of this complex religious system and the scrupulous care with which its rites were performed, grew the various forms of Hindu science. That the ceremonies might take place at exactly the proper times, the movements of the heavenly bodies were observed, which led to the rudiments of astronomy. That the altars might be properly constructed, rules of measurement were laid down, from which geometry was developed; and the necessity of making accurate calculations led to the science of arithmetic, which was based upon the decimal notation. Thus it came about that the Brahmans became not only the priestly, but the learned class of India, and the highest expounders of Hindu thought.

Buddhism and Hindu Architecture. — The religion of Brahmanism was not adapted to the wants of the common people. In opposition to this complicated system there grew up in India a new and simpler form of religion. Its founder was Gau'tama, or Buddha as he is more generally called. This great and good man (born 557 B.C.) believed that true religion does not consist in philosophy, in ceremonies and penances, but in an upright and sinless life, and that this kind of life is open to all, the lowest as well as the highest, the outcast as well as the Brahman. His ideal of life was the attainment of perfection by self-culture, and was taught in such maxims as these: "Sweeter than the scent of sandalwood is the perfume of noble acts." "The fault of others is easily seen, but that of ourselves is difficult to see." "Let one overcome anger by love; let one overcome evil with good." Many of the disciples of Buddha separated themselves from the world and lived in monasteries; they relinquished luxury, and shared their goods in common. The pure life of Buddha became the ideal of his

followers, and at his death he was worshiped as a divine being.

As Brahmanism led to the growth of Hindu science, so Buddhism led to the development of Hindu architecture. Before the Buddhist period it is said that building in stone was restricted mostly to city walls, embankments, and bridges. But the monastic system of the Buddhists required large buildings for the accommodation of monks and nuns, and these came to be extensive and built of stone. Temples, also, were dug out of the solid rock. These cave temples exhibit many artistic features in the form of columns and sculptured designs. Although Buddhism was finally driven out of India by the revival of Brahmanism, and took refuge in Ceylon, China, and other countries, the architectural monuments of the Buddhist period still remain in India, and have greatly influenced the art of the people.

The Influence of India. — Unlike China, India has not been entirely isolated, but has been brought into some relation to other countries. Its ideas are supposed to have exercised some influence upon Egypt and indirectly upon Greece. Its commercial products early attracted the attention of foreign merchants. Its silks, precious stones, and spices have furnished articles of luxury for other peoples. Its decimal system is now used by nearly all civilized countries. From what has been said it is evident that India attained to a higher civilization than did China. But its culture was developed chiefly along the lines of philosophy and religion, and to a less extent in the direction of science, art, and commerce.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Boulger, *Short History*, Ch. 1, "The Early Ages" (4).¹

Douglas, Ch. 1, "Early History of the Empire" (4).

Moule, Ch. 7, "Ancestral Worship" (4).

Martin, pp. 97-124, "The Three Religions of China" (4).

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

Dutt, Epoch I., "The Vedic Age" (5).

Ragozin, Vedic India, Ch. 4, "The Vedas" (5).

Wheeler, Short History, Ch. 1, "Maha-bharata and the Northwest" (5).

SPECIAL STUDY

EARLY ARYAN CULTURE. — Clodd, Childhood of Religions, Ch. 6 (2); Morris, Ch. 5 (1); Taylor, Ch. 3 (1); Keary, Ch. 9 (2); Schrader, Part IV. (2); Ihering, Book I. (1).

CHAPTER III

THE MESOPOTAMIAN COUNTRIES—BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA

I. THE EARLY BABYLONIAN, OR "CHALDEAN" EMPIRE

The Mesopotamian Valley. — From the early phases of civilization which were developed in the Far East, we now turn to



THE MESOPOTAMIAN VALLEY

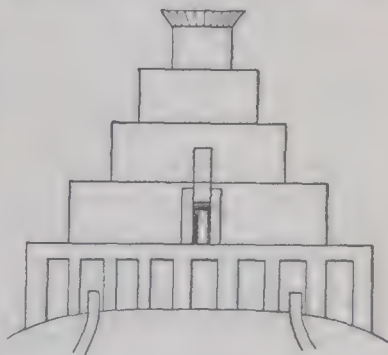
Successive seats of empire, I, II, III

another type of ancient culture, which sprang up in the Mesopotamian valley. This was no doubt earlier in its origin, and it was certainly more progressive in its character than that which appeared either in China or in India. It grew up in the valley formed by

the two rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates. These rivers, rising in the mountains of Arme'nia, unite their waters in a single channel as they flow into the Persian Gulf. The whole territory drained by this double river system is known as the Tigris-Euphrates, or Mesopotamian valley. Here we find the

early seat of a distinct form of culture which was developed chiefly by a Semitic people. This valley may be divided into two parts. The southern part, or Babylonia, has its center at Bab'ylon on the Euphrates; and the northern part, or Assyria, has its center at Nin'veh on the Tigris. These two capitals became the seats of successive empires, the first at Babylon, the second at Nineveh, and the third at Babylon again. Although the peoples of Babylonia and Assyria were mainly Semitic, their civilization had its origin in an earlier people, the Acca'dians.

The Accadian Civilization. — The Accadians, or Sumir'ians, belonged to the so-called Turanian race — which simply means that they did not speak an Aryan or Semitic language. They lived in the lower part of the Mesopotamian valley, — in Accad and Sumir, — and were, so far as we know, the original inhabitants of Chalde'a.¹ They had in very early times made considerable progress in industry and art. They lived upon the cereals, wheat and barley, that grew almost spontaneously upon the fertile soil of the valley. In rainless seasons they cultivated the soil by means of irrigating canals. In the absence of stone they used, for their buildings, bricks of clay, either dried in the sun or burned in kilns. They worshiped material objects, which were supposed to be possessed with spirits; and they especially revered the sun and moon and other celestial bodies. They built temple towers constructed in the form of terraces, or a succession of stories of diminishing size, reaching toward heaven. They also transformed their ancient picture writing into characters made by wedge-shaped strokes



FORM OF THE TEMPLE TOWER

¹ The name Chaldea is strictly applied to a district in southern Babylonia; but sometimes Chaldea and Babylonia are employed as synonymous terms. The early Babylonian monarchy is often called by way of distinction the "Chaldean"; although the name is quite as appropriately, and perhaps more properly, applied to the later monarchy. (See Philip Smith, p. 242.)

(cune'iform), which were afterward adopted by their successors. Recent discoveries seem to indicate that the Accadian civilization reaches back to at least four thousand years before Christ.

Rise of the Early Babylonian Empire. — The Accadians were conquered by Semitic tribes, who came perhaps from Arabia and spread over the whole of the Mesopotamian valley. The newcomers were a nomadic, uncivilized people; and while they preserved their own language, they gradually adopted the higher culture of the Accadians, including the cuneiform method of writing. Babylonia thus possessed a mixed population. Its towns gradually became united with those of Accad and Sumir under a common authority. A government was established first at Ur and then at Babylon, which in time became the seat of an extensive empire. During the early period other nations, like the E'lamites, came into temporary possession of Babylon, but were finally expelled. Under the rule of many kings — chief among whom were Sargon I., the king of Accad, and Hammura'bi, the great builder, warrior, and lawgiver¹ of early Babylon — the empire extended its frontiers and developed the arts of civilized life.

Until lately our knowledge of the early Babylonians was obtained chiefly from the Greek historian Herod'otus and the Chaldean priest Bero'sus. But the inscriptions unearthed in recent years have given us new knowledge regarding their myths, their kings, their conquests, and their customs. Their myths contain many stories which correspond to those recorded in the Hebrew writings, relating to the Garden of Eden, the Deluge, the Tower of Babel, and the confusion of tongues.

Babylonian Writing and Records. — We have noticed that the cuneiform or peculiar wedge-shaped characters employed in writing were first used by the Accadians. The origin of this form of writing is very curious, and illustrates the influence of external conditions upon human progress. As the

¹ The code of Hammurabi, recently discovered, is the oldest code of the world.

temples were made of bricks of clay for the want of other building material, so for the want of other writing material bricks or tablets of clay were used for this purpose also. The tablets were marked by means of a triangular-pointed stylus, or chisel, by a succession of strokes, and these strokes took a wedge-shaped form. This chiseling by successive strokes was first used in picture writing, as is seen in this representation of a fish. Such picture writing was gradually changed into symbols drawn by the same process, and used to denote more abstract ideas, like goodness, brightness, etc., and a complicated system of cuneiform characters was thus developed.



ACCADIAN CHARACTER FOR FISH

This peculiar and complex method of writing invented by the Accadians and adopted by the Babylonians and Assyrians was for a long time an unknown language to modern scholars. It was finally deciphered from the "Behistun" inscription —



AN INSCRIPTION IN CUNEIFORM CHARACTERS

an inscription carved upon a rock of the Behistun Mountain, and expressed in three languages — the Persian, Median, and Assyrian. By the aid of the Persian, which was known, the significance of the cuneiform characters was discovered. By this means other inscriptions could be read, on which were recorded the names of kings and dynasties, the events of the monarchy, the myths of the people; so that the deciphering of the Behistun inscription added greatly to our knowledge of this ancient civilization.

Babylonian Religion and Temples. —

Like all early peoples, the Babylonians were deeply imbued with religious ideas, tainted, however, with a large amount of superstition. Their religion was derived largely from the Accadians, but modified by Semitic influ-

ences. According to the old Accadian religion, every object had its spirit, good or bad, and these spirits could be controlled only by the priests and sorcerers through charms and magic rites, which fact led to the growth of a priestly class. The early Babylonian or Accadian religion was an elaborate



CHALDEAN GODDESS, ISHTAR

(From an Assyrian cylinder)

system of polytheism. There were principal gods and subordinate gods; gods terrestrial and gods celestial; general gods and local gods, almost every town and village being under the protection of its own deity; there were also masculine divinities and feminine divinities.

A special importance was attached to the worship of

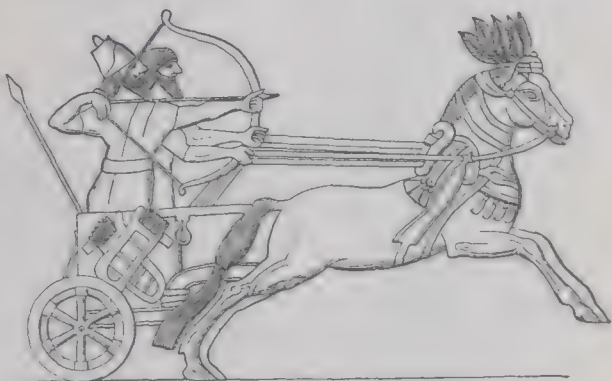
celestial objects — the spirit of the heaven, the sun, the moon, and the five then known planets, which were supposed to exercise an important influence upon human affairs. This fact seems to have led to the construction of temples like towers according to the Accadian custom, that men might come into closer relation to heaven and the celestial deities.

Babylonian Astrology and Astronomy. — The Babylonians believed that the affairs of human life were influenced by the celestial spirits, and hence the movements of the heavenly bodies were matters of deep concern. The temples therefore became not only sanctuaries, but also observatories. Here the priests could not only appease the anger of the gods, but could observe the will of the gods. By studying the position of the planets and their apparent relations to human events they developed a system of astrology, by which human events were supposed to be predicted. But they also observed the regular movement of the heavenly bodies, and ascertained certain facts of astronomy with more accuracy than was done in India. They marked out the constellations and the signs of the zodiac. They

divided the year into months, weeks, days, minutes, and seconds. It has been said that "the utmost progress that it was possible to make in this science with the naked eye, unaided by optical instruments, was made by the Chaldeans" (Lenormant).

II. THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE

The Assyrian Supremacy and Conquests. — While the early Babylonian empire was extending its power in the south, a new monarchy was growing up in the north with its seat at Nineveh. This monarchy was founded by the Assyrians, a people of purer Semitic stock than the early Babylonians. At first it was the rival of Babylonia; afterward it succeeded in overthrowing that empire, and in becoming the ruling power in western Asia (about 1250 B.C.). The Assyrians



ASSYRIAN WAR CHARIOT

have been compared to the Romans as a military and conquering people, and as the organizers of a great empire. They cultivated the arts of war, having well-organized bodies of infantry, cavalry, and war chariots. Like every warlike nation they became cruel to their captives and oppressive to their subjects. They not only subdued the rival monarchy at Babylon, but carried their arms into Media, into the country of the Hit'tites in Asia Minor, into Syria, Phœnicia, Jude'a, Arabia, and Egypt. Under various monarchs¹ Assyria became the most powerful empire in Asia, having under its control the whole country extending from the Mediterranean Sea to the Caspian Sea

¹ Chief among these monarchs were Tiglath-Pile'ser, Shalmane'ser, Sargon II., Sennach'erib, and Asshur-bani-pal (Sardanapa'lus).

and the Persian Gulf. The people of Assyria took up the civilization of Babylonia and added to it many features of their own.

Assyrian Government and Laws.—The Assyrians seem to have been the first great people to develop a systematic government based upon the imperial idea. In this respect they made a great advance upon the early Babylonians. The monarch was the supreme source of all authority. He was



ASSYRIAN KING

surrounded by a court composed of officers of his household, such as the grand vizier, the royal cupbearer, the royal treasurer, the captain of the guards, etc. These officers served the king and executed his commands. The provinces of the empire received a definite organization. They were divided into two classes—those under governors, or satraps, appointed by the king, and those under native rulers approved by the king and subject to him. The provinces were all alike obliged to furnish tribute for the royal treasury and troops for the royal army. Except the priestly class, the subjects of the king possessed a certain degree of equality,

there being no caste system, as in India, and no established aristocracy. There was, however, a class of slaves composed of captives taken in war and of persons unable to pay their debts. The Assyrians had certain civil laws regarding property and contracts. Their criminal laws were very severe and the penalties often cruel.

Assyrian Architecture. Royal Palaces.—The influence of the imperial idea, and the great dignity attached to the king, are seen in the character of the Assyrian architecture. The most important buildings were not the temples, as in Babylonia,

but the royal palaces, upon which the wealth of the empire was expended. The temple was merely accessory to the palace, and was still built in the form of a terraced tower. But the palace assumed another form, and was built over an extended area upon the flat surface of an artificial hill or elevation overlooking a plain or river. Either it was built in one story, or the upper stories were of light construction. Although this country furnished stone suitable for building, the Assyrians continued, like the Babylonians, to use brick for architectural purposes. The royal palace consisted of a vast system of courts, corridors, and galleries. In spite of the



ASSYRIAN PALACE AT NINEVEH (Restoration)

fact that the Assyrians used the arch in sewers, the roof of the palace was generally supported by wooden beams placed upon massive brick walls. Slender columns, made of stone or of wood covered with metal, were often used for ornamental purposes; and these were sometimes surmounted with capitals of artistic designs.

Assyrian Sculpture and Painting.—The Assyrians acquired considerable skill and proficiency in the art of sculpture. This was chiefly employed in the way of ornamentation for the royal palaces. The most conspicuous, but not the most pleasing, examples of Assyrian sculpture are seen in the enormous and grotesque figures which were usually placed at the entrance of the palace. They consisted of winged bulls or lions

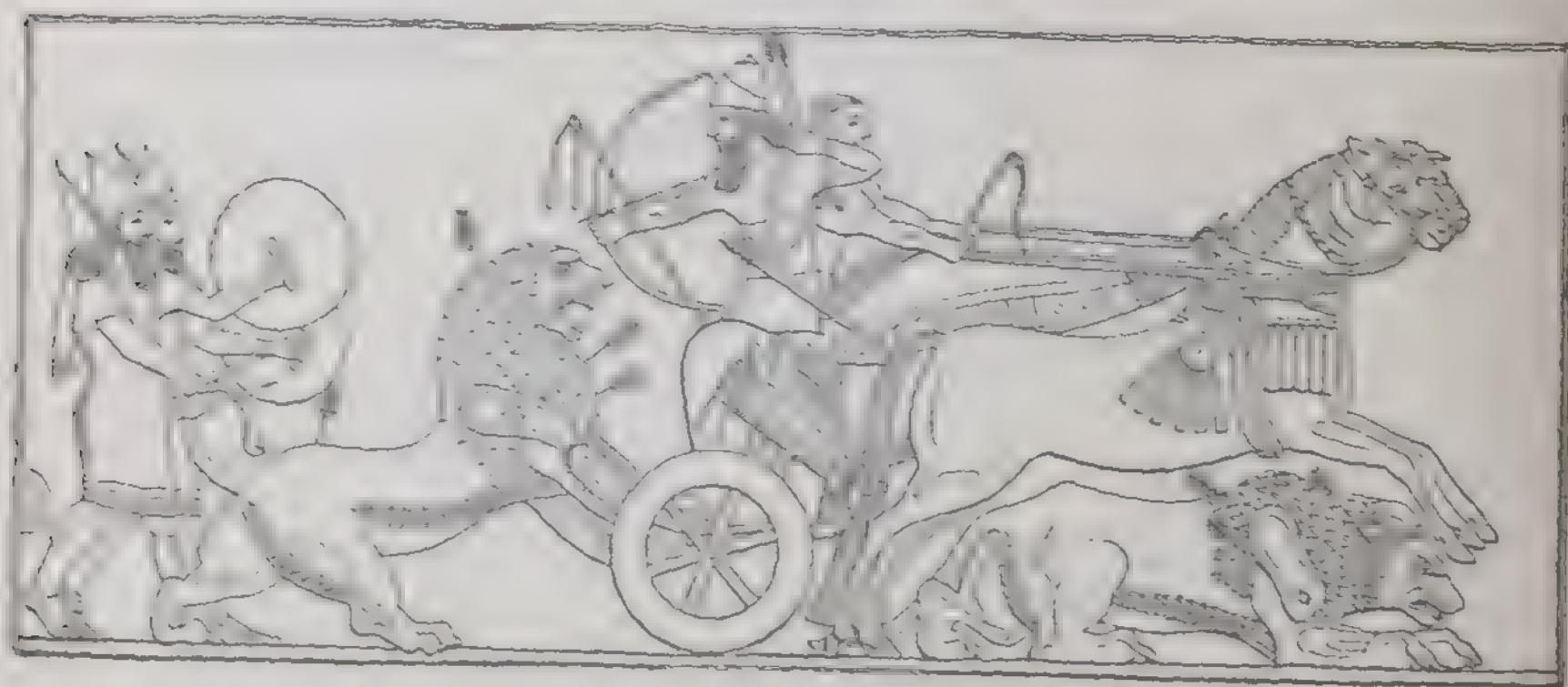
with human heads, — symbolizing perhaps strength, swiftness, and intelligence. — and were supposed to guard the palace from the intrusion of evil spirits. The highest examples of Assyrian



WINGED BULL WITH HUMAN HEAD

art are seen in the bas-reliefs, cut on alabaster slabs and adorning the interior of the royal palaces. Here are represented scenes of war and events in the life of the king. In these sculptured reliefs are exhibited the best specimens of ancient drawing before the time of the Greeks. Although the figures are drawn in profile and with no attention to perspective,

the scenes are full of action and show great care in matters of detail. Indeed, from the large number of these reliefs we have obtained much of our knowledge of Assyrian life and customs. The flat and strong colors — often a brilliant ver-



ASSYRIAN BAS-RELIEF

million — which are placed upon the reliefs, show the first steps in painting, which had not yet reached the dignity of an independent art.

Assyrian Seals and Cylinders. — We should overlook the most delicate skill of this people if we failed to notice the fine intaglio-work cut in precious stones, such as onyx, feldspar, jasper, chalcedony, and used as seals for making impressions upon clay. This work was often cut upon cylinders, which revolved upon a metallic axis, and consisted of inscriptions or symbolic designs. The finest of these cylinder seals were used by the king, and were cut in sharp and distinct lines, with details so minute as almost to require the use of a magnifying glass to perceive them. The inscriptions upon these cylinder seals as well as upon the coarser cylinder tablets have proved valuable as



A CYLINDER
SEAL

sources of information regarding the Assyrian monarchy and its civilization.



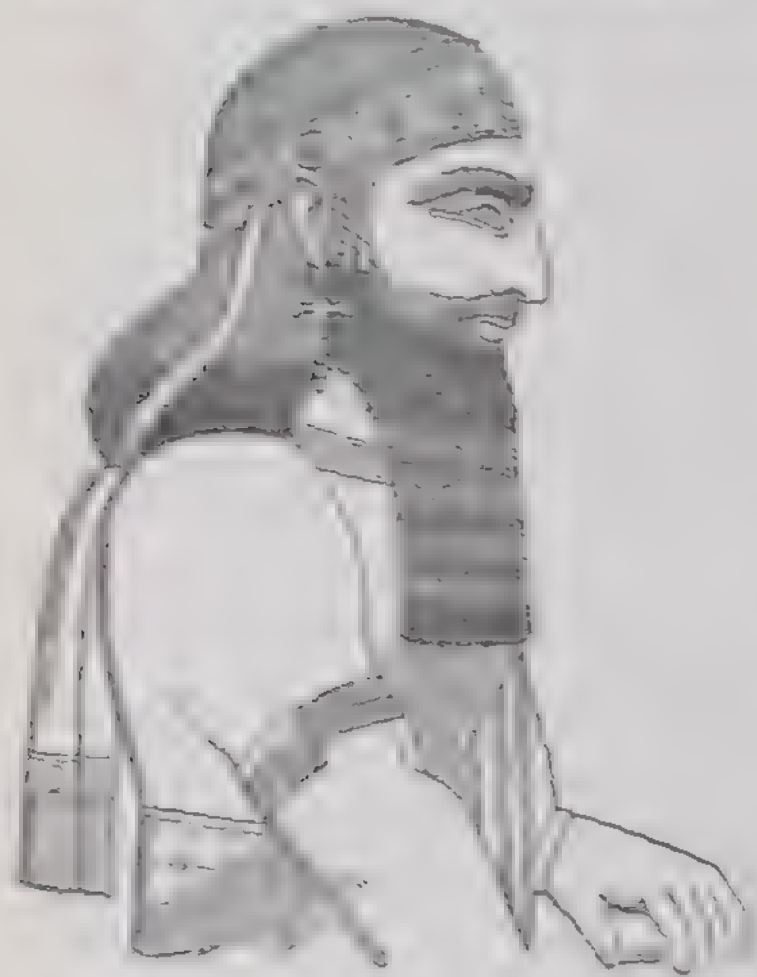
ASSYRIAN CLAY TABLET

Assyrian Literature and Libraries.

— This people also possessed a certain taste for literature, which they had derived from the early Babylonians. Their books were clay tablets, on which their traditions and records were inscribed in cuneiform characters. It was customary from very early times to collect and preserve these tablets in public libraries. Such libraries existed both at Babylon and at Nineveh. The most noted of these was the library in the royal palace of Asshur-bani-pal (Sardanapalus), the Assyrian king,

who was a zealous patron of literature and has been called the "Augustus of Assyria." This library was not only a treasury of knowledge for the Assyrian people: it has also proved to be a valuable storehouse of information for modern scholars.

Assyrian Life and Manners. — The life of the Assyrians was centered about the person of the king. The nearer one lived to the king, the more honored and ennobled was his station; and the farther removed he was from the king, the more despised and degraded he became. The life in the palace was a life of leisure and luxury; while the common people lived in cone-shaped huts built of clay, subsisting upon barley or the meat and milk of domestic animals. The well-to-do Assyrian wore



HEADRESS OF THE VIZIER

a long robe bordered with a fringe and decorated with embroidery. He wore his hair long and curled at the end, the beard cut square and also twisted into curls. The people were industrious and highly skilled in the mechanical arts. They wove cloths of brilliant colors, and carpets of rich designs. They had fine tools of iron and steel, and worked in bronze, enameled clay, precious metals, glass, ivory, and precious stones. They used the potter's wheel, the pulley, and the lever.

and also had a system of weights and measures which they employed in their trade. In their industrial arts they were probably not surpassed by any other ancient people. Their religion was practically the same as that of the Babylonians.

III. THE LATER BABYLONIAN EMPIRE

Recovery of the Empire by Babylon. — During the supremacy of Assyria, Babylon remained in the position of a dependent kingdom; but throughout this period she had preserved the memory of her former greatness, and frequently revolted against the Assyrian monarch. But in these attempts she was doomed to failure, until she found an ally in a people living

east of the Tigris. This people was the Medes, who had themselves been subject to Assyria for more than a century; they had now recovered their independence and established an empire of their own. With the aid of the Medes, the Babylonians succeeded in destroying Nineveh and overthrowing the Assyrian monarchy (606 B.C.). The dominions of Assyria were divided between the conquerors, — Media ruling the countries to the east of the Tigris, and Babylon the countries to the west.

Babylon under Nebuchadnezzar. — In this way Babylon recovered her ancient power, and ruled with increased splendor. The great King Nebuchadnezzar restored her fallen cities, and made her for a short time the center of Eastern civiliza-



THE NAME NEBUCHADNEZZAR IN
CUNEIFORM

tion. He rebuilt the city of Babylon, surrounded it with massive walls, and adorned it with sumptuous palaces. To rival the beauties of nature and to please his queen, a Median princess, he built the famous "hanging gardens," which were artificial hills built in the form of immense terraces and covered with luxurious shrubs and flowers. During this brief period of her later supremacy Babylon attained, in the highest degree, all the luxury and pomp peculiar to Oriental civilization. To the religious art of the early Chaldeans she added the palatial architecture of the Assyrians. The great skill which the Assyrians had developed in the industrial arts was also acquired by the Babylonians. And Babylon also vied with Nineveh as the great commercial center of the world. But Babylon finally fell before the rising power of Persia (538 B.C.), which absorbed all the countries of western Asia, and whose history became, as we shall hereafter see, interwoven with that of Greece.

The Assyrio-Babylonian Civilization. — We have considered Babylonia and Assyria as the seats of three successive empires; but in their culture we should regard them simply as present-

ing three phases of one and the same civilization. The early Babylonians had received the rudiments of their culture from the Accadians, and had developed a form of religion, science, and art which showed the evidence of intellectual growth and a certain degree of refinement. The Assyrians took up the culture of the Babylonians, and impressed upon it a political and imperial stamp, such as was naturally derived from a great and conquering people. And this imperial character was transferred back to Babylon with the establishment of the later empire. So the civilization which was finally developed in the Mesopotamian valley was a mingling of Babylonian and Assyrian elements. If we should try to disentangle these elements, we might say that the Babylonian culture was more religious and priestly, more intellectual and scientific, receiving its best expression in the temple tower, which was a center both of religion and science. And we might say that the Assyrian culture was more secular and political, more materialistic and practical, receiving its highest expression in the royal palace, which was the center of imperial power. But as a matter of fact these different forms of culture came to be but two sides of one civilization, which existed alike at Nineveh and Babylon.

The Influence of Mesopotamian Culture. — The Mesopotamian valley must be regarded as one of the great centers of ancient civilization. By its commercial and political relations its culture was extended to the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. The religious ideas of the Babylonians became the common property of the East, and their notions regarding the origin of the world and the early condition of mankind became entwined with the Hebrew account of creation. Their progress in certain branches of science, especially in astronomy, formed a contribution to the intellectual development of the ancient world. Their skill in some of the industrial arts, such as weaving and the cutting of intaglios, has scarcely been equaled by modern nations. Their political organization formed the basis of the later imperial systems of the East, which were afterward transferred to Europe under the later Roman empire.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

- Sayce, *Ancient Empires*, Ch. 2, "Babylonia and Assyria" (3)¹; Article "Babylonia" ("Encyclopædia Britannica").
- Lenormant, Vol. I., Bk. IV., Ch. 4, "Civilization, Manners, and Monuments of Assyria" (3).
- Rawlinson, *Monarchies*, Vol. I., Assyria, Ch. 7, "Manners and Customs" (3).
- Smith, P., Ch. 17, "The Cuneiform Writing and Literature" (3).
- Ragozin, *Media, etc.*, Ch. 9, "Babylon the Great" (3); Chaldaea, Ch. 5, "Babylonian Religion" (6).
- Maspero, *Life*, Ch. 16, "Assurbanipal's Library" (3).

SPECIAL STUDY

ASSYRIAN ARCHITECTURE. — Smith, pp. 377-383 (3); Lenormant, Vol. I., pp. 456-465 (3); Rawlinson, *Monarchies*, Vol. I., pp. 277-339 (3); Maspero, *Life*, Ch. 11; Hamlin, Ch. 4 (19); Smith and Slater, Ch. 3 (19).

CHAPTER IV

THE HITHER ORIENT—EGYPT, PHŒNICIA, AND JUDEA

I. ANCIENT EGYPT AND ITS CIVILIZATION

Egypt and the Nile. — To complete our brief review of the progress of civilization before the time of the Greeks, we must pass from the Mesopotamian valley to the shores of the Mediterranean, where the Oriental culture reached its highest development. This sea forms, in fact, the center of a new world. It not only became the center of a world commerce, but it also, by the facility which it afforded for the exchange of ideas, became the center of a world culture. Upon its shores have flourished some of the greatest nations of both ancient and modern times. The oldest, and in some respects

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

the most remarkable, of these nations was Egypt. The people who settled Egypt belonged to what has been called the Hamitic race. But where they came from, or when they made their first settlements, is a matter of conjecture. We can better explain why they, of all the African people, were the first to become civilized. We have already seen that the



EGYPT

Seats of empire, I, II, III

peoples that have made the greatest progress are those who have found their homes upon the shores of great rivers. What the Euphrates was to Babylon, and the Tigris was to Nineveh, the Nile was to Egypt. Every historian from the time of Herodotus has been impressed with the fact that "Egypt is the gift of the Nile." The habitable part of Egypt consists of a long, narrow valley, nearly six hundred miles in length, with a width of only about seven or eight miles until it spreads out into a wide area about the delta of the river. Not only has this valley been cut by the Nile, but its great fertility is due to the annual over-

flow of this river. The climate of Egypt is exceedingly dry; and to this fact is due the remarkable preservation of the monuments of this country.

Egypt may be divided into two principal parts. (1) The lower, or northern part, includes the extended plain about the Delta, where the soil is most fertile, and where the earliest civilization was developed. It was here, also, that the first empire was established, with its center at Memphis. (2) The upper, or southern part, includes the rest of the valley as far as the rapids, called the "first cataract," near the borders of Ethiopia. This formed a second area of civilization, with its

center at Thebes. In either direction from these two centers the banks of the Nile became dotted with a multitude of towns and villages, each one of which was a seat of industry and art. The country was subdivided into districts, called "nomes." These are supposed "to represent the numerous small states of the prehistoric age out of which the historic Egypt was constituted" (Sayce).

Egyptian Dates and Dynasties. — Formerly the chief sources of our knowledge of Egypt were: first, the Greek historians, especially Herodotus, who visited Egypt in the fifth century B.C.; and second, the Egyptian priest, Man'etho, who lived in the third century B.C., and who wrote a history containing a list of the various dynasties and kings, but whose work has reached us only in fragments. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, a vast amount of additional information regarding Egypt has been derived from the inscriptions which have been deciphered and the monuments which have been brought to light. With these sources many attempts have been made to reconstruct the chronological history of Egypt. But scholars do not yet agree in regard to the dates of the early Egyptian history.¹ The general divisions of Egyptian history and the most important dynasties may be briefly indicated as follows:—

1. *The Old Empire* (about 4000–2700 B.C.), covering the first to the tenth dynasties inclusive, with the capital at Memphis. During this time the most important dynasty was the fourth, when the great pyramids and the sphinx were built at Gizeh, and the vast necropolis, or rock cemetery, was laid out at

¹ Egyptologists are grouped into two schools, according as they advocate the *long* or the *short* chronology. (1) The long chronology, generally advocated on the continent, fixes the date of Menes, the first king, variously at 5702 B.C. (Boeckh), 5004 (Mariette), 3892 (Lepsius), and 3623 (Bunsen). (2) The short chronology, advocated generally in England, formerly fixed the date of the first king at about 2700 B.C. (Wilkinson and Rawlinson). The tendency at present, as shown in the writings of Petrie and Maspero, is to carry the date of Menes back at least to 4000 B.C. The dates in the text are approximately those of Lepsius, followed by Ploetz.



PYRAMID AND SPHINX AT GIZEH

Sakka'rah, near Memphis. The kings of the fourth dynasty are known as the "pyramid builders," the most noted of whom was Khufu (or Cheops).

2. *The Middle Empire* (about 2700-1670 B.C.), covering the eleventh to the seventeenth dynasties, with the capital first at Thebes and afterward at Tanis. The most important dynasty was the twelfth, when Lake Meris was constructed as an artificial reservoir for regulating the water supply of the Nile, the so-called labyrinth was built, and obelisks began to be erected. This dynasty was followed by the conquest of Egypt by foreign kings, called the Hyksos or Shepherd Kings, whose rule extended from the thirteenth to the seventeenth dynasty, which was the darkest period of Egyptian history.

3. *The New Empire* (1670-525 B.C.), covering the eighteenth to the twenty-sixth dynasties (to the time of the Persian conquest), the capital being again at Thebes and afterward at Tanis and Sais. The most important dynasties were: the eighteenth, when Egypt recovered its independence by driving out the Shepherd Kings, and under Thothmes III. extended its power into Ethiopia and into Asia as far as the Euphrates, and

magnificent temples and palaces were built at Thebes (Karnak and Luxor); the nineteenth, when the empire reached its highest glory, under Seti I. and his son Ram'ses II. (Greek Sesos'tris), the "grand monarch" of Egypt; the twenty-first, when the seat of power was transferred to Tanis in the Delta; the twenty-second, when Jerusalem was captured and plundered by the Egyptian king; the twenty-fifth, when Egypt was conquered by the Ethiopians and afterward by the Assyrians; and the twenty-sixth, when Egypt recovered its independence under Psammet'ichus I. (with the capital at Saïs), and after a century was finally reduced to a Persian province.



HEAD FROM SARCOPHAGUS OF
RAMESES II.

Egyptian Industry and Industrial Arts. — But more important than the knowledge of these dates and dynasties is the knowledge of the Egyptians themselves, and of their progress in the arts of civilized life. Their industrial life grew out of the nature of the valley in which they lived. The rich deposits of the Nile gave them a fertile soil so that they became an agricultural people. They plowed the ground, and raised crops of grain, such as wheat and barley; of vegetables, such as onions, radishes, and melons; of flax, which they wove into garments. For regulating and distributing the water supply of the Nile they built canals and reservoirs. The most remarkable of these artificial reservoirs was Lake Mœris, by which an outlying district called the Fayoum' was transformed from

a desert waste into fertile fields. The Egyptians acquired great skill in the industrial arts, working in clay, stone, and glass; in wood, ivory, leather, and the textile fabrics; in the coarser metals, bronze, lead, and iron; and in the precious metals, gold and silver. They exchanged these products with one another, by boats plying the waters of the Nile, which became an artery of commerce. They did not, however, carry on an extensive commerce with foreign countries.



GOLD BRACELET OF THE XVIIIth DYNASTY

Egyptian Society and Government. — Egypt, at the dawn of history, had already become a united empire. But there is evidence that this empire grew up from a union of towns and villages which had previously been independent, each under its own ruler and priests. These towns became grouped into districts, or *nomes*, under local governors; and these in turn came under the common authority of a king who ruled over the whole country. The people were divided into classes, but not into rigid castes like the people of India. The upper classes included the priests, whose office was hereditary, and the warriors, who were devoted exclusively to military pursuits. The lower classes comprised the common people, including the artisans, the farmers, and the herdsmen. The land was generally owned by the upper classes, and let out to the peasants, who paid their rent in the products of the soil. Above all these classes was the king, or *Pha'raoh*, who was

looked upon as a divine person. He was the fountain of all authority; and the labor, the property, and the lives of the people were at his disposal. He was approached only by the priests and the military nobles. His authority was limited only by the will of the gods; but in interpreting this will, the priests became a kind of power behind the throne.

Egyptian Religion and Science.

—The religion of Egypt was a strange mixture of seemingly incongruous elements. It is difficult to find in it any single principle, so that scholars have differed in their opinions as to its real character.

This is probably due to the fact that different religious customs grew up in different localities, before the country was



PHARAOH



SERAPIS

organized in a common empire. The lowest form of religion was animal worship, such as was prevalent among the primitive tribes of Africa. The crocodile, the serpent, the hawk, the cow, the cat, and many other animals were held as sacred. For many centuries the bull Apis was worshiped as an important god at Memphis. This low form of worship survived in Egypt even after the development of higher religious ideas. Besides this animal worship we find a complex form of nature worship. The forces of nature were worshiped as gods, and represented in human forms. The mixture of these two forms of religion — animal worship and nature worship — is seen in the

representation of the gods with human bodies and the heads of animals. The animal features came afterward to be regarded

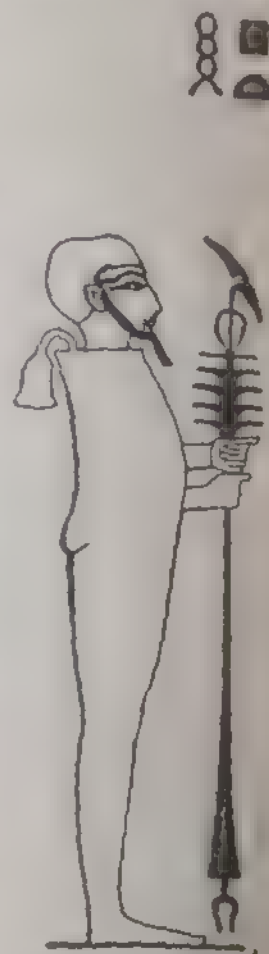
as simply symbolical of spiritual qualities. In the higher gods, however, human heads were joined to human bodies.

The chief object of nature worship was the sun, the source of light and life, whose journey through the heavens was the



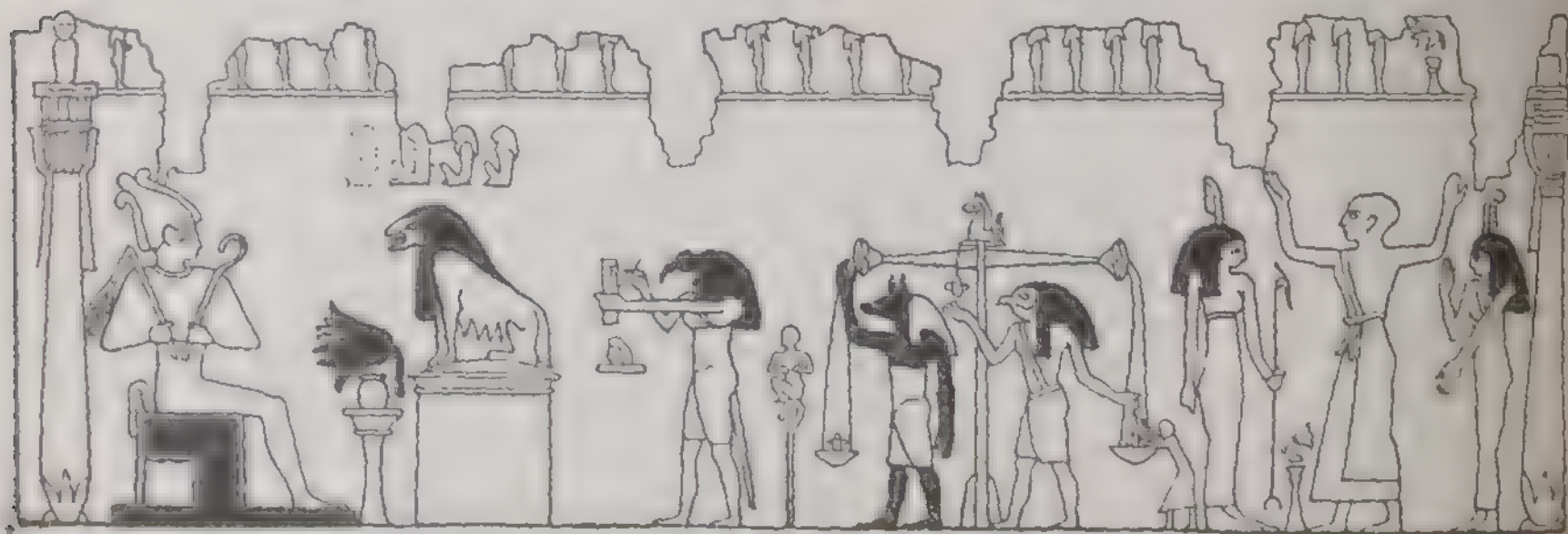
AMUN

cause of day and night and an emblem of life and death. The sun god was worshiped under different names at different places — as Ptah at Memphis, as Amun-Ra at Thebes, as Osi'ris at This and Aby'dos. "The unification of the empire brought with it the unification of these various circles of gods. They were all grouped together under the sovereignty of Ptah while the old empire lasted, and of Amun when Thebes gained the supremacy" (Sayce). The gods were often



PTAH

joined in "triads" — the most noted of which was that of Osiris the father, Isis the mother, and Horus the son. With the recognition of a supreme god, the most learned men of Egypt attained an idea which approached that of monotheism. We sometimes find in the old records such statements as this: "Before all things which actually exist, and before all beginnings, there is one God, unmoved in the singleness of his own Unity."



JUDGMENT OF THE SOUL BEFORE OSIRIS

The Egyptians believed in immortality, or the continued existence of the soul after death. This belief led to the practice of embalming the body of the deceased, that the mummy might be preserved for the return of the spirit. The Egyptians also believed in a system of future rewards and punishments and in the transmigration of souls, like the Hindus. The priests of Egypt, who had charge of the religion, were also the learned class. They cultivated philosophy, and the various sciences — astronomy, geometry, arithmetic, and medicine — which here attained a considerable degree of development.



THE RAMESSEUM

Egyptian Architecture and Monuments. — The religious spirit of the Egyptians was strongly impressed upon their architecture, which consisted mainly of tombs and temples. The buildings for the dead are seen in the rock-sepulchers cut in the sides of the hills which flanked the Nile — as, for example, the necropolis at Sakkarah (near Memphis) and also at Thebes. Separate



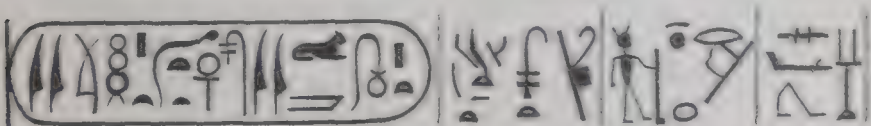
COLOSSAL STATUES OF RAMESES II.

monumental tombs took the form of pyramids, and reached the most gigantic proportions at Gizeh. In these artificial mountains of stone rested the remains of kings. The most impressive and finished specimens of architecture are seen in the massive temples, which were made up of a colossal combination of columns and sculptured walls. Noted examples of these temples were those of Luxor and Karnak and the Ramesse'um near Thebes, the ruins of which are among the most imposing in the world. Egyptian architecture is distinguished by simplicity of general design, but especially by grandeur of proportions and great elaborateness of decoration. It is also distinguished by the use of columns, instead of walls, as the chief means of supporting the roof—a feature which was afterward adopted by the Greeks.

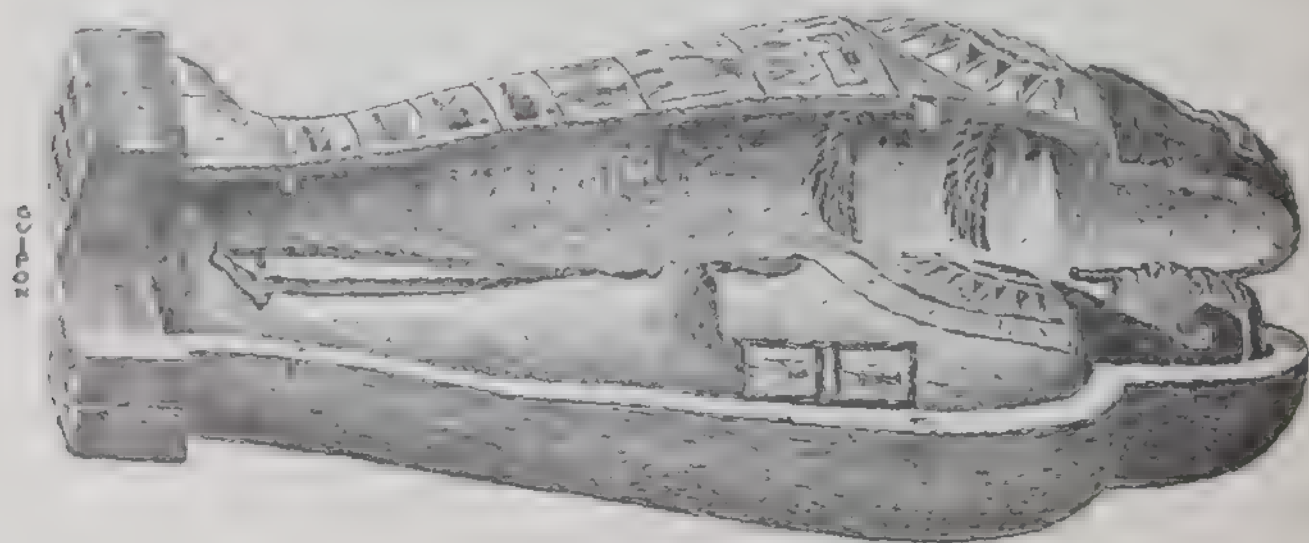
Egyptian Sculpture, Painting, and Music. — The other arts were also cultivated by the Egyptians. This people was probably the first to make sculpture an independent art,—that is, not joined

to architecture. Some of the best of their statues belong to a very early period. The colossal Sphinx is perhaps the most ancient example of independent sculpture existing in the world. But a less pretentious form of statuary grew up in the form of portrait statues, which were placed in the tombs to preserve the image of the deceased. Many of these portrait statues show a considerable degree of artistic skill. But Egyptian sculpture came to lose its independent character and to be used for the decoration of buildings. It appears in immense figures affixed to tombs and temples, and also in the multitude of bas-reliefs which adorned the walls of buildings. These sculptured designs were almost always colored, like the Assyrian, and show the early steps in the growth of painting. The subjects of these paintings are almost infinite in variety, from the representation of the gods to scenes of domestic life. The Egyptians also attained some skill in music, and possessed such instruments as the guitar, the harp, and the pipe, while the drum and the trumpet inspired the soldier on his march.

Egyptian Writing and Literature. — The great number of inscriptions cut upon the buildings and monuments indicate the peculiar character of the Egyptian writing, and one of the ways in which records were kept. On account of these inscriptions and designs the buildings are veritable books in stone. But they remained practically sealed books until a key was found by which the inscriptions could be deciphered. The "Rosetta stone," discovered near one of the mouths of the Nile during Napoleon's expedition to Egypt (1799), contained a royal decree written in three kinds of characters, the hieroglyphic, the demotic, and the Greek. With this key the French scholar Champollion deciphered the language (1821), and may be said to have unlocked the treasure-house of Egyptian learning. This line gives an example of the hieroglyphic characters: —



The written language of Egypt, like that of Babylonia and China, had its origin in picture writing. The most ancient form is the hieroglyphic, made up of pictures of things and symbols of ideas. The next form is the hieratic, which was used by the priests for executing long records, and hence is a more cursive, or running form. The final form is called the demotic, because it was used by the people. The Egyptian language contains not only ideographic but also phonetic elements, — that is, the symbols represent not only ideas but sounds, and they in fact contain the germs of a phonetic alphabet, such as the Phœnicians developed. The Egyptians



MUMMY AND MUMMY CASE

did not confine their writing to stone; they also used a kind of paper prepared from the papyrus plant. Their literature contained many books upon science and religion; the most remarkable of these is the so-called "Book of the Dead." Extracts from this book are found inclosed in mummy cases, and reveal the Egyptian ideas of immortality and descriptions of the future life.

II. PHŒNICIA AND ANCIENT COMMERCE

Phœnicia and its People. — The people of the Mediterranean which ranked next to the Egyptians in art, science, and material progress, were the Phœnicians. Their home was a narrow strip on the eastern coast of the sea, about 150 miles long, and from ten to fifteen miles wide, and shut off from the interior

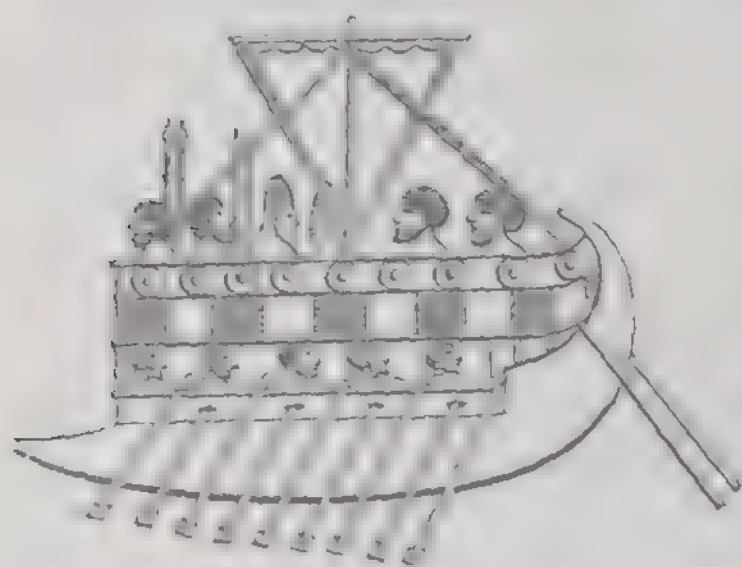
country by the range of the Leb'anon Mountains. The Phœnicians spoke a Semitic language. They borrowed many of their ideas and customs from the Egyptians and Assyrians, and showed something of the same skill in the industrial arts. They were especially distinguished for their glass and metal work, their pottery, their textile fabrics, their embroidery and purple dyes. In addition to the scientific notions which they borrowed from others, they are said to have discovered the relation between the tides of the sea and the motions of the moon. Their religion was a polytheistic nature worship, similar to that of Assyria, accompanied by gross and cruel ceremonies. Their chief god was Ba'al, or Moloch, the sun god or the fire god, to whom they sometimes offered human sacrifices. By the side of the sun god was the moon goddess, Astar'te (or Ash'toreth), the queen of heaven, whose worship was accompanied by ceremonies that revealed the low moral ideas of the people. In their limited territory they had no passion for military glory or political dominion, but were made subject at various times to Egypt, Assyria, and Babylon. Their government was restricted mainly to the cities, which were sometimes grouped into confederacies. Their greatest cities were Sidon and Tyre, which were in succession the chief seats of Phœnician civilization.

Phœnician Commerce. — If Egypt owed its civilization to the Nile, Phœnicia owed its greatness to the sea. Upon the sea the Phœnicians established an empire perhaps equal in importance to that which any other Oriental people had established upon the land. The cedars of Lebanon furnished



PHŒNICIA AND PALESTINE

timber for their ships; and with these they became the first masters of the Mediterranean, and the greatest commercial nation of ancient times. Their fleets established the first commercial intercourse between Europe, Asia, and Africa.



A PHŒNICIAN BIREME

They not only exported their own products to other countries, but they became the common carriers for the known world. From India they brought ivory, jewels, spices, and scented wood. From Arabia they brought gold, precious stones, incense, and myrrh. From the coasts of Ethiopia they added to their cargoes of gold and ivory,

supplies of ebony and ostrich feathers. They brought from the shores of the Baltic yellow amber; from Spain, silver, iron, lead, and copper; from Africa, the precious metals; and from Britain, tin. Thus the different parts of the world were brought into relation with one another by the Phœnician mariners and merchants.

Phœnician Colonies. — To aid in extending their commerce the Phœnicians established trading posts, or colonies, in all the countries visited by their ships and merchants. Not only were these established in the civilized countries of the East for the purchase and exchange of wares; they were also established among the uncivilized peoples of the West for the development of the resources of new lands. The coasts of the Mediterranean became dotted with Phœnician colonies. The most famous of these colonies was Carthage (founded about 850 B.C.), which itself established a commercial empire on the northern coast of Africa, and which in later times came into a bitter conflict with Rome. The colonies on the Mediterranean were largely mining stations, where the metals were extracted from the earth for the use of eastern factories. By thus coming into contact with the barbarous people on the European coasts, the Phœnicians diffused among them a taste

for the arts of civilized life. They carried not only commodities but culture. They have on this account been called the first "missionaries of civilization." It has been said that "from the Isles of Greece to the Straits of Gibraltar there is not a country that is not indebted to their teaching, not one where the fruitful effect of those bold voyages was not felt" (Lenormant).

The Phœnician Alphabet. — But the greatest gift of the Phœnicians to the world was a true phonetic alphabet. It is said that the Phœnicians invented their alphabetical writing as a common language of commerce. Wherever they sailed and carried their cargoes, they also carried their alphabet, which Renan aptly calls one of their "exports." The alphabet was, however, the result of a long process of growth. We have already seen, for example, among the Chinese and the Chaldeans (pp. 25, 35), that the earliest writing was in the form of pictures, and that these pictures at first represented material objects or concrete ideas like that of a fish, a man, a house, etc. We have seen that to these pictures were added symbols to represent more abstract ideas, like that of goodness, brightness, etc. This kind of writing which represents concrete or abstract ideas is called *ideographic*. It is evident that such a mode of writing requires a separate symbol for almost every separate idea; and as the ideas of men became more numerous, the number of these symbols would become very great. To meet this difficulty there were gradually adopted certain signs to represent sounds. This kind of writing is called *phonetic*. Such phonetic signs were first used to represent syllables. The Chinese began to use some signs of this kind, and the Assyrians adopted a great many. But the Egyptians made an improvement upon this by separating the syllables into more elementary sounds, and adopting a sign for each sound. This was the beginning of alphabetic writing; but the signs used by the Egyptians were very indefinite and largely pictorial; for example, the sound of *A* was represented by the picture of a feather or by that of an eagle.

It was reserved for the Phœnicians to develop a true phonetic alphabet, in which the chief elementary sounds were represented by separate and well-defined characters.¹ This alphabet was adopted by many peoples, especially by the Greeks, who gave it to the Romans, by whom it was given to modern nations. Thus the Phœnicians, through the development of commerce and the invention of a true phonetic alphabet, must be regarded as one of the most important nations of the Orient.

III. JUDEA AND THE HEBREWS

The Hebrew Nation. — Not far from Phœnicia in Palestine there grew up another Semitic nation, which was in many respects different from every other Oriental people (see map, page 57). This was the Hebrew nation. Having no great river like that

¹ The successive stages in the growth of writing in different Oriental nations, from the pictorial to the alphabetic stage, may be crudely illustrated by the following table: —

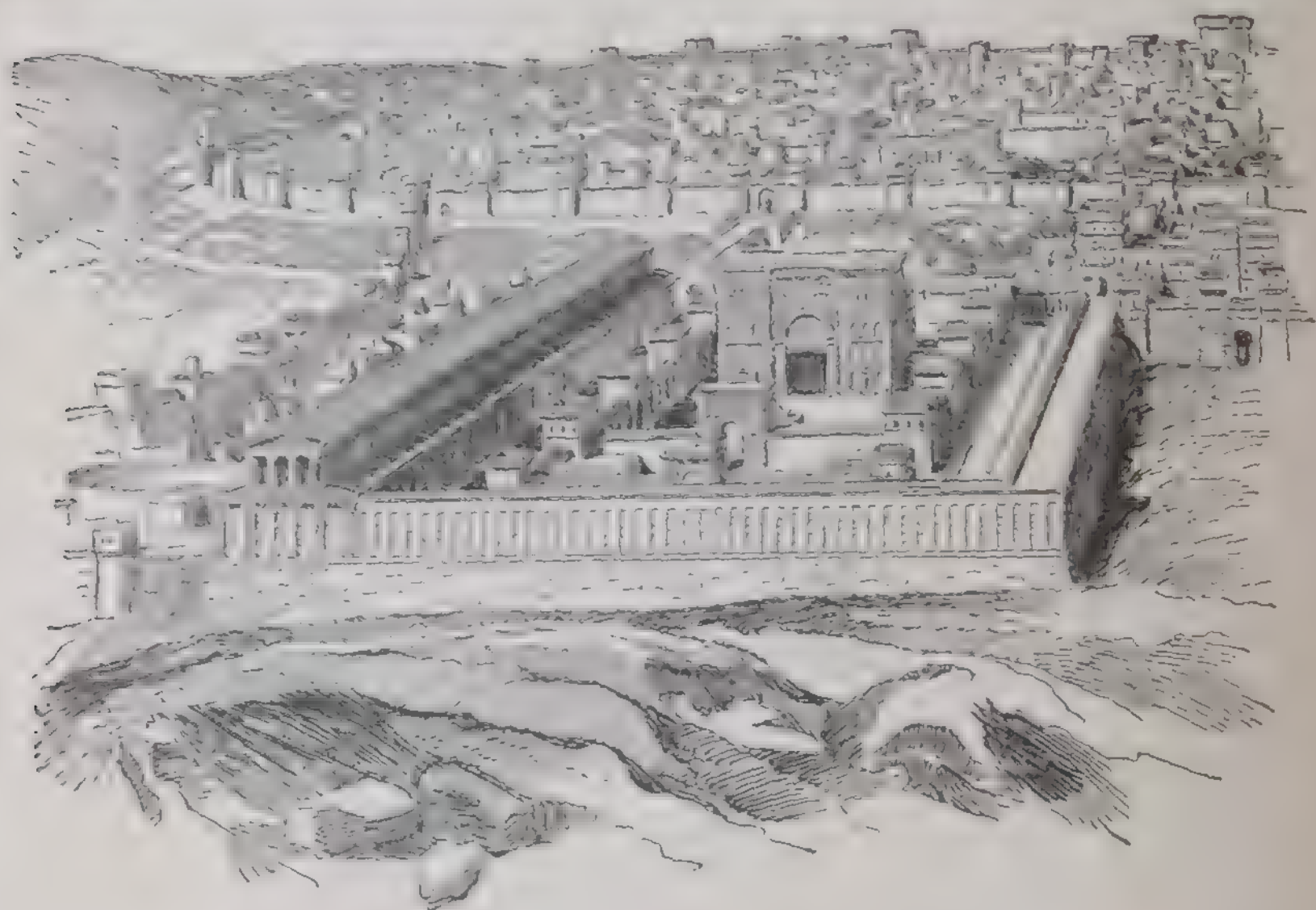
		CHINESE.	BABYLONIAN.	EGYPTIAN.	PHŒNICIAN.
IDEOGRAPHIC	pictorial	 <i>man</i>	 <i>fish</i>	 <i>man</i>	
	symbolic	 <i>left</i>	 <i>anoint</i>	 <i>good</i>	
PHONETIC	syllabic	 <i>neu</i>	 <i>an</i>	 <i>aukh</i>	
	alphabetic			 <i>A</i>	 <i>A</i>

of the Egyptians, and not taking to the sea like the Phœnicians, they did not attain distinction in the industrial or commercial arts. Their greatness did not depend upon art or science, or upon their capacity for political organization. Yet they have perhaps done for civilization as much as any other people of the East, for they became the moral and religious teachers of the world. We have seen in other peoples the growth of religious ideas — in animal worship, in ancestor worship, in nature worship. We have also seen, especially among the wisest men of India and of Egypt (pp. 29, 52), the attempt to reach after the idea of a supreme God, superior to all other gods. But these ideas never attained the form of a true monotheism, nor did they become a part of the religion of the common people. The Hebrews alone, of all the peoples of antiquity, acquired a true monotheistic religion.

Periods of Jewish History. — No other ancient nation professed to have so complete a record of the successive steps by which a people has passed from the primitive to the civilized stage. In these records, we read that their ancestor Abraham, or Abram as he was first called, came (about 2000 B.C.) from Ur, a city of the Chaldeans; that he visited Egypt, and finally settled in Judea. His descendants, in the time of a famine, took refuge in Egypt, and became subject to the Shepherd Kings, who assigned to them a home in lower Egypt (Goshen). Being oppressed by a king of a subsequent dynasty, they were delivered from their bondage by their great leader and lawgiver, Moses, a man skilled in all the learning of Egypt. From this time the history of the Jews may be divided into the following periods: —

1. *From the Exodus to the Establishment of the Monarchy* (1300–1095 B.C.). — During this time the people were welded into a nation, with a national law and a national religion, under the statesmanship of Moses. They crossed the Jordan under their leader, Joshua, captured Jer'icho, conquered the surrounding country in Palestine, and established a theocratic commonwealth under the rule of officers called "judges."

2. *From the Establishment of the Monarchy to the Division of the Kingdom* (1095–975 B.C.). — During this period the nation was ruled by three distinguished kings. The first of these was Saul, who carried on war with the neighboring tribes, the Am'monites, the Philis'tines, and others. The second king was David, who captured Jerusalem and made it the capital of the kingdom, building a royal palace, with the aid of Phœnician architects. By his conquests he established an empire



TEMPLE AT JERUSALEM (Restoration)

extending from the Euphrates on the north to the Red Sea on the south. The third and last king of the united monarchy was Solomon, who gave to the kingdom an air of Oriental magnificence. He built a splendid temple on Mount Mori'ah, and adorned Jerusalem with sumptuous palaces. He formed an alliance with the kings of Tyre, and carried on an extensive commerce with Egypt and the East. He amassed enormous wealth and surrounded his throne with pomp and splendor. He married an Egyptian princess, and established a luxurious court like that of the Eastern kings. But his glory was purchased at the expense of justice and his nation's honor. He

laid heavy burdens upon his subjects and impoverished his people. He disregarded the laws of Moses, and the Hebrew kingdom became practically an Oriental monarchy like that of Assyria or Babylon.

3. *From the Division of the Kingdom to the Babylonish Captivity* (975–586 B.C.). — During this time the Hebrew nation formed two distinct kingdoms. Ten tribes revolted and formed the kingdom of Israel, with its capital at Sama'ria; the remaining two tribes formed the kingdom of Judah, with its capital at Jerusalem. The kingdom of Israel was finally conquered by the Assyrian king Sargon (722 B.C.), and the people were removed to Nineveh, where they were "lost" as a separate people. The kingdom of Judah was destroyed by the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar (586 B.C.), and the inhabitants were carried away as captives to Babylon; but they were afterward allowed to return to Jerusalem (537 B.C.) as subjects of Cyrus, the Persian king.

The Hebrew Commonwealth.— Before the Hebrew nation passed under a monarchical form of government, their society is of special interest to us, because it was patterned upon a pure democratic type. The Hebrew commonwealth presents the best, and perhaps the only, example of a true democracy among ancient civilized nations before the time of the Greeks. The society was based upon the patriarchal family. The father was head of the family group and priest of the family worship. Parental, marital, and filial duties were the sacred ties of social life. The families were grouped into tribes, each under a patriarchal chief, a council of elders, and a general assembly. The tribes were united into a larger federal commonwealth, with its judge, who was a patriarchal and military chieftain; its san'hedrim, which was a national senate, or federal council; and its "congregation," which was a popular assembly of the tribes. Each tribe retained the right of local self-government, and all its people were equal before the law — except the slaves, who were, however, generally well treated. The decay of the Hebrew commonwealth was due to the influx

of Oriental ideas, and to the breaking down of the primitive customs of the Hebrew nation.

The Hebrew Religion. Monotheism. — In spite of the fact that the people and the rulers were often led astray by the influence of foreign religious ideas, still the highest and most distinctive feature of the Jewish civilization was the growth of monotheism. We must judge of the real character of the Jewish religion, not by the practices of those who departed



THE ARK OF THE
COVENANT

from it, but by the teachings of those who were its highest expounders — Moses and the prophets. In these great teachers we find the true idea of monotheism. This is not the idea of the Hindus and the Egyptians, that there is one god higher than other gods; it is the idea that there is only one Supreme God, and besides Him there are none else, — and this is the idea that the Hebrews may be said to have given to the world. Another feature of the Jew-

ish religion was the fact that it was closely linked to morality. Religious worship and moral duty were regarded as two sides of a complete life. The history of the nation was a constant struggle against false ideas of religion and false ideas of morality. When the priests were carried away with the idea that religion consisted simply in rites and ceremonies, and the kings were seeking the pomp and luxury of the East, and the people were falling into wickedness and idolatry, it was left to the later prophets to become the true expounders of religion and the moral law. They have been called the “great constitutional patriots of the Jewish state; the champions of virtue, liberty, justice, and the strict observance of the civil and religious law against the iniquities of the kings and the people” (Milman).

The Hebrew Literature. The Bible. — The idea of monotheism was the inspiring idea of the Hebrew literature, as it was

of the Hebrew religion. This literature is contained in what we call the Old Testament, and comprises (1) the Pentateuch, or the legal books; (2) the historical books; (3) the poetical books; and (4) the books of the prophets. In their literary genius the Hebrews surpassed all other Oriental nations. In the writings of their poets and prophets we find the highest examples of religious fervor and imaginative description. The Psalms of David, the Book of Job, and the Prophecy of Isaiah, considered merely as literary compositions, are unsurpassed in the literature of any people. When we consider the writings of the Hebrews and their religious influence upon the civilized world, we must assign to this nation a high place among the historical peoples of ancient times.

IV. NATIONS OF ASIA MINOR

Asia Minor and Europe. — Coming still nearer to Greece, we find certain nations which formed with the Phœnicians a connecting link between the civilization of the East and that of the West. Asia Minor (map, page 68) is a peninsula projecting toward Europe, and seeming to offer to the Western world the fruits of Eastern culture. The islands which fringe its coast almost mingle with those of Greece, so that the Ægean Sea became an easy highway for the exchange of ideas and customs. The soil and climate of Asia Minor were congenial to a civilized life. It has been described as “naturally the richest of countries, and blessed with an almost infinite variety of climates” (Sayce). The peninsula is cut nearly in two by the river Halys, which flows into the Black Sea, and which formed the dividing line between two quite distinct peoples. To the east of this river is Armenia, a country early settled by a strange and almost forgotten people of uncertain origin which spread to the south. This people, under the name of Hittites, developed a powerful kingdom to the north of Phœnicia and to the west of the Euphrates. In the western part of Asia Minor the people were more closely related in

race and culture to the Asiatic Greeks. They were known as Phrygians, Lycians, Carians, and Lydians. The most important kingdom among them came to be that of Lydia. By their position in Asia Minor we can see that the Hittites to the east, and the Lydians to the west, held an intermediate station between the old empires of Asia and the new nations of Europe.

The Hittites and their Empire. — As the Hittites have left to us no literature, we know comparatively little about them,



HITTITE RELIEF
(Photographed in situ)

except what is derived from the records of the Assyrians, the Egyptians, and the Jews. From these records we learn that they possessed an empire, at one time extending over a large part of Asia Minor, and rivaling that of Babylon and Egypt. They are said to have done much for civilization by taking up the arts and culture of Assyria, Egypt, and Phœnicia, and spreading this culture throughout Asia Minor and passing it on to their Western neighbors.

The Lydian Monarchy. — The Lydians in the west of Asia Minor were the people who came into the closest relation to the Greeks. When in early times the Greeks were found-

ing cities on the coasts of Asia Minor, the Lydians were building up an extensive monarchy with their capital at Sardis. Their kingdom covered the territory west of the Halys, including Phrygia and other countries. Through their neighbors, the Hittites, it is believed they received much of the civilization of the East. From the Phœnicians they derived a taste for commerce, and became a wealthy and industrious people.

From these statements we may conclude that the peoples of Asia Minor furnished some of the means whereby the civilization of the Orient found its way into Greece.

Review of Oriental Nations. — We can see that it was from the Orient that the world derived the rudiments of its civilization — of its government, its religion, its science, its industrial and fine arts. The most important centers of Oriental culture were the valleys of the Euphrates and the Nile, the monuments of the one being wrought in clay and brick, and those of the other in stone. By means of conquests and commerce these cultures were blended, and became the common property of the East. Their principal meeting ground was Syria, whence the civilization of the Orient was transmitted to the West, not only by the water routes opened by the Phœnicians, but by the land routes through the countries of Asia Minor. The East was finally consolidated under Persia, whose career we shall study in connection with that of Greece (pp. 168–173).

SELECTIONS FOR READING

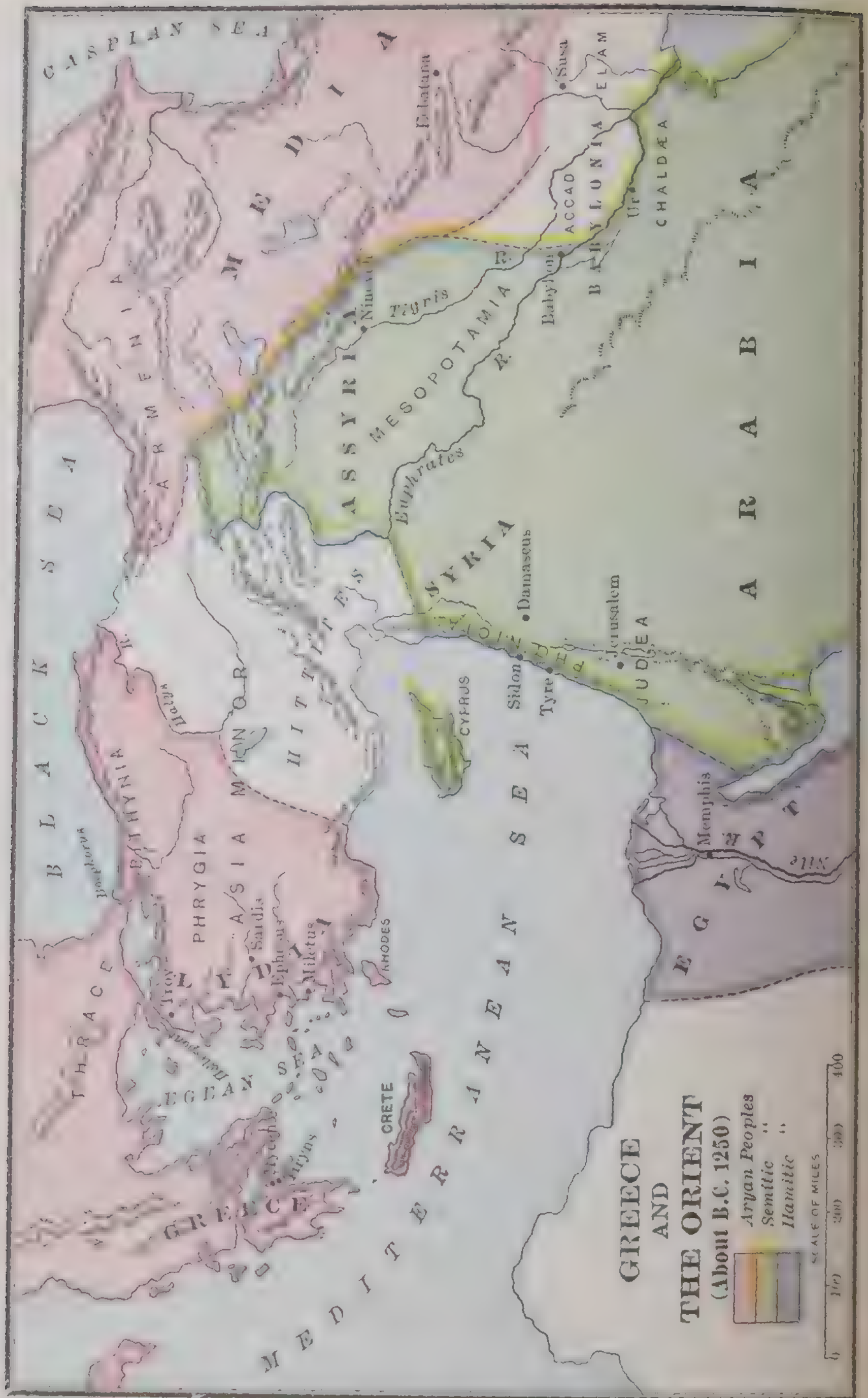
- Sayce, *Ancient Empires*, Part I., "Egypt"; Part II., "Phœnicia"; Part III., "Lydia" (3).¹
 Maspero, *Life*, Ch. 8, "The Funeral and the Tomb" (3); *Egyptian Archæology*, Ch. 5, "The Industrial Arts" (7).
 Rawlinson, *History of Egypt*, Vol. I., Ch. 4, "Language," Ch. 5, "Literature" (7); *Story of Egypt*, Ch. 4, "The Pyramid Builders" (7); *Phœnicia*, Ch. 18, "Phœnician Manufactures" (9).
 Smith, P., Ch. 9, "Industry, Religion, and Arts of Egypt" (3).
 Murray, pp. 381–392, "Mythology and Religion of Egypt" (25).
 Lenormant, Vol. I., Bk. II., "The Israelites"; Vol. II., Bk. VI., Ch. 4, "Civilization and Influence of the Phœnicians"; Bk. III., Ch. 5, "Civilization, Manners, and Monuments of the Egyptians" (3).

SPECIAL STUDY

PHœNICIAN COMMERCE. — Lenormant, Vol. II., pp. 199–206 (3); Grote, Part II., Ch. 18 (11); Keller, Ch. 1 (15); Harrison, *Introductory Studies*, Ch. 3 (19); Socin, article "Phœnicia" ("Encyclopædia Britannica"); Rawlinson, Chs. 5, 10 (9).

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

PROGRESSIVE MAP No. 2.



BEGINNINGS OF GREECE

PERIOD I. THE PREHISTORIC AGE OF GREECE (— 776 B.C.)

CHAPTER V

HELLAS AND THE HELLENES

I. THE PLACE OF GREECE IN HISTORY

Greece and the Orient. — Our review of the ancient nations of the East will help us to see more clearly than we otherwise could, two important facts. In the first place, it will help us to see the extent and character of the civilization which was developed before the time of the Greeks, and by which the Greeks were somewhat influenced. In the next place, it will help us to see more clearly the real additions which the Greeks made to the civilization of the world. By looking at the map we can see the close relation of Greece to Asia; and how the Greeks, before all the other peoples of Europe, would naturally become the heirs of the Eastern world. The culture of Egypt and Mesopotamia — the two great centers of Eastern civilization — had been taken up by the Phœnicians and the countries of Asia Minor. The drift of Oriental civilization was thus in the direction of the Ægean Sea. On the coasts and islands of this sea were scattered the fruits of Eastern culture. We must

therefore, first of all, think of the Greeks as the heirs of the Orient.

Greece and the Occident. — Although it is true that the Greeks gathered the fruits of Asiatic culture, it is just as true that they sowed the seeds of a new and higher civilization. That which makes Europe to-day different from Asia is due in large part to the genius of this gifted people. We think of Asia as belonging to another world; we think of Greece as a part of ourselves. We look upon the sculptures of Egypt and Assyria as something strange and foreign; but the models of Greek statuary we admire as the most beautiful objects of art in our own homes. Nearly all that we prize most highly in literature, in art, and in philosophy, we have received from the Hellenic race. We must therefore think of the Greeks, not only as the heirs of the Orient, but as the founders of that civilization which is ours, and which we call European; but which is in fact the civilization of the Occident, — that is, of the whole Western world.

The Greek Love of Freedom. — One of the chief characteristics that distinguished the Greeks from the people of Asia was their love of freedom. Nearly everywhere in the East the people had been reduced to a condition of servility. Their priests were supposed to hold the keys of knowledge, scientific as well as religious. Their lives and property were held at the service of the king, and the king was supposed to represent the divine will. Human life and human thought were thus cramped by despotic authority. In Greece, on the other hand, the people possessed a high degree of freedom — freedom of thought and freedom of action. They loved liberty and could brook no restraint except that which they imposed upon themselves. With such a passion for freedom they became a wide-awake, active, energetic, and versatile people.

The Greek Idea of Culture. — There was another feature that distinguished the Greeks from the Oriental peoples, which was perhaps quite as important as their love of freedom. This was their peculiar idea of culture. The culture of the

East was generally shown in excessive, extravagant, and often grotesque forms — in enormous temples and palaces, in colossal statues, in overwrought ornamentation and fantastic designs. To this extravagant form of culture that of the Greeks stands in striking contrast. The Greeks believed in simplicity and in moderation in all things. They loved harmony, proportion, and symmetry. Their civilization was marked by an intellectual discipline; and it everywhere bore the impress of a cultivated mind. It has been said that it was this quality, this rational self-control, this soundness of intellect, "which distinguished Greek art and literature from that of the East; it alone made the creation of classical forms possible" (Holm).

The Greek Sense of Beauty. — But it was especially in the domain of art that the Greek genius excelled. No other people ever possessed such an instinct for beauty. It is hardly too much to say that with the Greeks a new idea of art was brought into the world. The great temples, the rock-hewn sepulchers, the enormous columns, and the gigantic figures of Egypt are often very imposing; but it is impossible to find in them those marks of refined taste which satisfy the most cultivated minds of to-day. But the symmetry of a Greek temple and the grace of a Greek statue are as much admired now as ever.

The Greek Form of the State. — Another important advance which the Greeks made upon the Orient was in the form of the state. We have seen nearly everywhere in the East great empires and despotic governments, the people being subjects of the state, but not citizens, — having political burdens but no political rights. Greece, on the other hand, was a land of small self-governing communities, the people having more or less a share in the government. The East, it is true, had its great cities; but Greece first established the "city state," — that is, an organized community based upon political freedom and the rights of citizenship. And the Greek city state was the first phase of the European political system under which we live to-day.

II. HELLAS, THE LAND OF THE GREEKS

The Ægean Sea. — We may perhaps find some explanation of the peculiar character of the Greek people in the physical features of the country in which they lived. We call this



HELLAS: THE ÆGEAN LANDS

Routes across the Ægean Sea

country Greece; but the Greeks themselves called their home Hellas. And by this they meant not merely the Grecian peninsula in Europe, but all the lands inhabited by their people. At the beginning of the historical period, the Greeks had come to occupy all the lands about the Ægean Sea, that is, the Asiatic as well as the European coasts, and also the

intervening islands. The Ægean Sea must then be regarded as the home of Greek civilization. Its waters unite Europe to Asia, geographically as well as historically, and "the coast lands on either side belong to one another as if they were the two halves of the same country" (Curtius).

The Asiatic Coasts. — The eastern half of the Greek world lay upon the coasts of Asia Minor. It was here that the Greeks came into the closest contact with the older civilizations. Here they built many cities and made their first contributions to the world's culture. The coast lands form an undulating terrace sloping toward the sea. They are quite separate and distinct from the highlands and broad plateaus which form the main mass of Asia Minor. The coast line, like the opposite shore in Europe, is broken by a great number of bays and projections, which multiply the points of contact between the land and the sea. This fact was favorable, not only to the development of a commercial spirit, but to the growth of independent political communities. Since the lands upon the Asiatic coast were from very early times occupied by a Greek people, this territory is sometimes known as Eastern or Asiatic Greece.

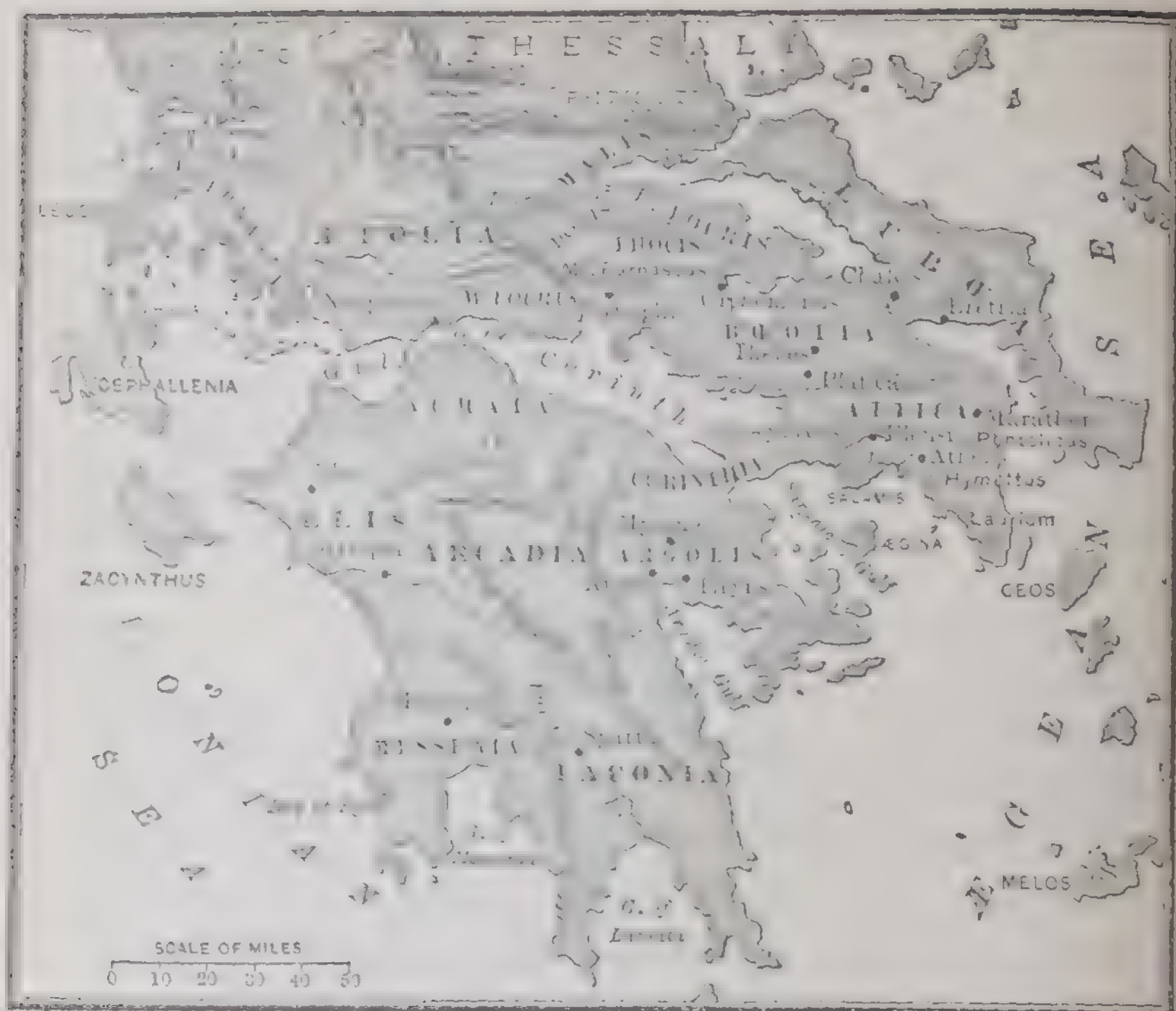
The Islands of the Ægean. — Scattered over the Ægean Sea are a vast number of islands, which have been compared to "stepping stones" between the eastern and the western coast. When navigation consisted largely of "coasting," these islands served to mark the course across the Ægean. We may trace on the map (page 72) some of these island courses. But these islands were something more than guides for the mariner. Some of them were sacred to the Grecian gods; and some of them were the seats of an early civilization. On the little island of Delos (which formed one of a group called the "Cyc'lades") was a celebrated shrine of Apollo, the god of light. Another island, Cythe'ra, was sacred to Aphrodi'te (Venus), the goddess of love and beauty; for it was said that near this island the goddess was born from the foam of the sea. Bordering upon the Ægean to the south is the large island of Crete, where are found to-day some of the most ancient remains of Greek civilization.

European Greece. — But the country where the Greeks reached their highest development was that part of Hellas which lies in Europe, and which we are accustomed to call Greece. The chief characteristic of this favored land is its infinite variety of outline and relief, together with its varied beauties of sea and landscape. There is no other country in the world of the same area which has such an extensive line of coast. The sea winds its way into every part of the land, and it is said that there is no point more than forty miles from the shore. The estuaries thus formed make up for the most part the available waters of Greece. The eastern coast, which looks toward Asia, is indented with a great number of bays and gulfs which are by nature suited for harbors, and which opened Greece to the commerce and influence of the Orient and helped to make the Greeks themselves a commercial people. The surface of the country is broken into an irregular and complicated network of mountains and valleys — thus furnishing a favorable place for a large number of separate communities. The land is drained by innumerable small rivers. The climate varies with the seasons from hot to cold, and stimulates to physical and mental vigor. The hills afforded abundant pasturage; and the soil, under ordinary tillage, produced wheat, barley, flax, wine, and oil. The soil was productive, but not lavish in its gifts; so that the people, while obtaining the necessities and comforts of life, were restrained from the excessive luxuries of the East. The face of nature was attractive to the Greek; and the pleasing variety of sea and land and sky conspired with the native genius of the race to make an independent, active, versatile, and æsthetic people. To obtain a more definite idea of European Greece, and of its historical places, we may glance at its three principal divisions.

Northern Greece is separated from the main part of Europe by the Cambu'nian Mountains. It comprised two provinces, Epi'rus and Thes'saly, divided by the range of the Pindus. Epirus, to the west, was a rugged and inhospitable land, through which flowed the upper part of the Achelo'us, the

largest river of Greece. Much smaller but quite as noted streams were the Ach'eron and Cocy'tus, whose dark waters were supposed to lead to the infernal regions. The most famous spot in Epirus was Dodo'na, where was located the most ancient oracle of Zeus. Thessaly, to the east of the P'indus, was a fertile plain, drained by the river Pene'us; this stream flows through the beautiful vale of Tempe on its way to the sea. To the north rises Mt. Olym'pus, the highest peak in Greece (nearly 10,000 feet), upon whose summit the gods were supposed to dwell. Toward the south might be seen the heights of Ossa and Pe'lion, around which clustered many fanciful legends.

Central Greece comprised a number of states of varied historical interest. Toward the west (see map, page 76) were the two provinces of Acarna'nia and of Æto'lia. Opposite the former province were the islands of Leucas and Cephalle'nia, and also Ith'aca, the home of Odys'seus, one of the heroes of the Trojan war. In the middle of central Greece were the five small provinces of West Locris, Phocis, Doris, Malis, and East Locris. Of these Phocis claimed the highest renown, for it contained the celebrated oracle of Apollo at Delphi, near which rose the mount of Parnas'sus, the favorite haunt of the Muses. Another kind of glory might be claimed for East Locris, on whose borders lies the famous pass of Thermop'ylæ. Toward the east of central Greece were the three provinces of Bœo'tia, At'tica, and Meg'aris. Bœotia was a land of marshes and fogs, with an atmosphere dull and heavy — qualities which were often attributed to the people themselves. This district contained the cities of Thebes and Orchom'enus, one of which took an active part in Greek politics, and the other was an early seat of civilization. To the east of Bœotia lay the triangular province of Attica, the most noted country of Hellas. Its most famous point was the Acrop'olis, about which grew the city of Athens, the most cultivated spot of the world. Other heights were the Pentel'icus, famous for its marble, and Hymet'tus, noted for its honey. To the south of Athens were the silver mines



CENTRAL GREECE AND THE PELOPONNESUS

of Lou'rium; to the northwest was the sacred city of Eleu'sis; and to the northeast lay the heroic field of Mar'athon.

Southern Greece received the name of the Peloponne'sus, or the "Isle of Pelops." It is separated from the rest of Greece by the Gulf of Corinth and the Saron'ic Gulf, having as a bond of union the narrow Isthmus of Corinth. The central country of the Peloponnesus was Area'dia; this was surrounded by a wall of mountains, the only country of Greece (with the exception of Doris) without a seaboard. It was perhaps the least civilized of all the Greek states, being noted for its primitive culture and the rustic manners of its people. To the west and north of Arcadia were the three provinces of Elis, Acha'ia, and Corin'thia. The most famous locality in these states was Olym'pia in Elis, the seat of the "Olympian games."

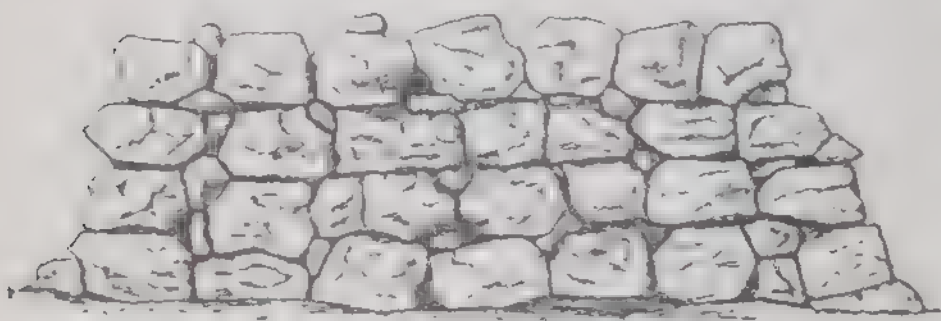
Finally, to the east and south of Arcadia were also three provinces — Ar'golís, Laco'nia, and Messe'nia. Argolis was distinguished for the prehistoric cities of Myce'næ and Ti'ryns, and the historic city of Argos. Laconia was the home of the Spartans, who became the ruling power of the Peloponnesus, conquering Messenia and other states, and whose chief city, Sparta, became the greatest rival of Athens.

III. THE HELLENES, THE PEOPLE OF HELLAS

Greek Settlements upon the Ægean. — It would be interesting to know precisely when, and how, and by whom, all these lands about the Ægean Sea were first settled. But this is a subject concerning which we have no very extensive or definite knowledge. Instead of attempting to review the various theories that have been proposed, or of dwelling upon what is unknown, it will be better for us to gather up in a few words what is generally accepted as true in regard to the early people of Hellas. It is now believed by scholars that the Greeks made very early settlements upon both shores of the Ægean Sea; and that "the coast of Asia Minor is just as much ancient Greek soil as European Greece" (Holm). These lands were probably occupied in very ancient times by "successive waves" of migration. Moving from their earlier home, — wherever this was, — the Greeks (an Aryan people) came into Thrace. A part of them crossed the Hellespont, and, passing along the eastern shore of the Ægean Sea, found new homes upon its bays and islands. Another part, pushing to the west, along the northern and western shore of the Ægean, occupied Thessaly, Bœotia, Attica, and the other Grecian provinces. At the time of their settlement, the early Greek tribes on either side of the sea were scarcely advanced beyond the stage of barbarism. They worshiped their ancestors and the gods of nature; chief among these gods was Zeus, the god of the heavens. They lived upon their flocks and herds and were beginning to acquire a knowledge of

agriculture, cultivating the cereals and perhaps the vine. They fought with spears and with the bow and arrow, and made their implements of stone, beginning perhaps to use some of the metals. They were acquainted with the art of navigation, certainly with the use of boats and oars; but the use of sailing vessels was probably acquired after they settled upon the Ægean. With the aid of these vessels, the people of the different shores were able to communicate with one another, to occupy the intervening islands, and thus to preserve the sense of their original kinship.

The Earliest Tribes of Hellas.—We have left to us the names of some very ancient peoples of Greece which lived in prehistoric times. Chief among these early peoples were the Pelas'gians, about whom much has been written, and little is known. Their name is found on both sides of the Ægean—in Asia Minor, where they are said to have fought on the side of the Trojans; in Attica, where they were be-



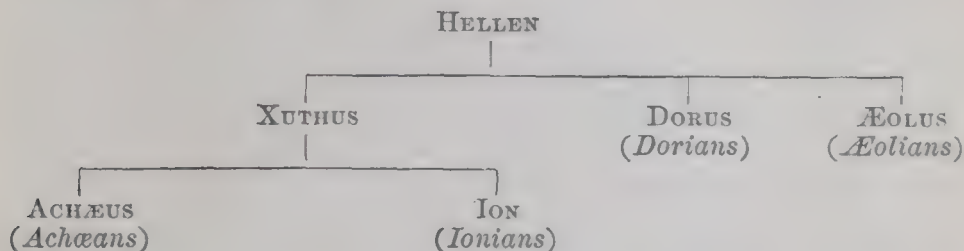
ANCIENT "CYCLOPÆAN" WALL

lieved to have been the ancestors of the Athenian people; and in Epirus, where they possessed at Dodona the oracle of Zeus. To them are attributed the massive stone walls, found in different parts of Greece, and often described as "Cyclopæ'an." But they, as well as other ancient tribes,¹ are to us scarcely more than names; for we know very little as to their real relation to Greek civilization. We may bear them in mind, however, as an evidence of the fact that the earlier, as well as the later, peoples of Hellas had

¹ Some of these very early tribes were the Le'eges, who are also said to have lived in Asia Minor and in many parts of European Greece; the Carians, who lived in Megaris, in the Cyclades, and in southern Asia Minor, where their name became attached to the territory; the Minyæ, who are said to have founded the city of Orchomenus in Bœotia, and to have also lived on the island of Lemnos.

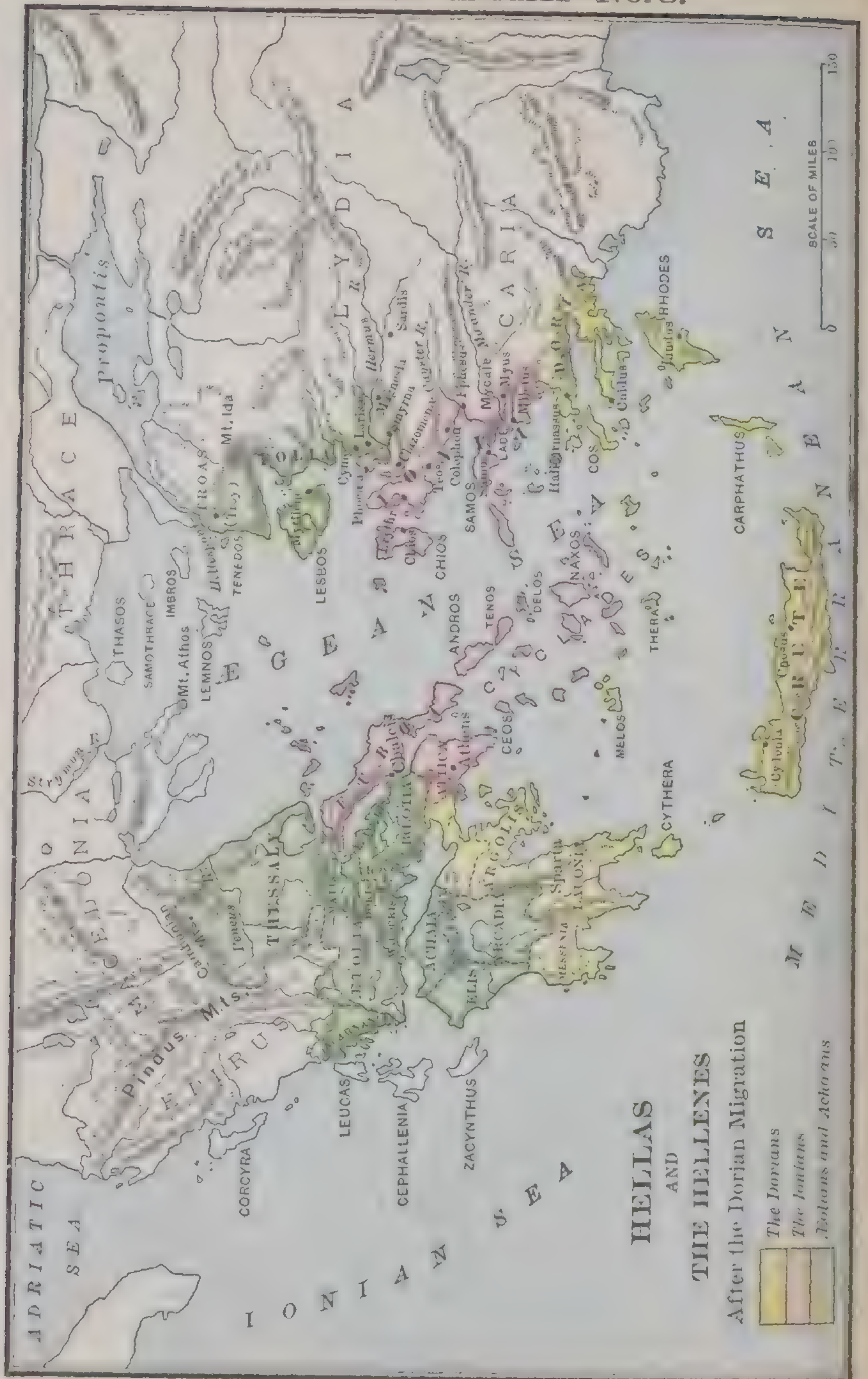
for their home the whole basin of the Ægean Sea, and were not restricted simply to the Grecian peninsula in Europe.

The Later Hellenic Tribes. — Passing over these obscure people, we come to the names of four tribes which are more conspicuous in Grecian history. These tribes were the Achæ'ans, the Io'nians, the Do'rrians, and the Æo'lians. They were regarded as the special representatives of the Hellenic race; and they were looked upon as the descendants of a common ancestor, Hellen — their mythical relationship being indicated as follows: —



The Achæans were in very early times the leading race of the Peloponnesus, being regarded by some as the founders of the kingdoms of Tiryns, Mycenæ, and Argos. The early home of the Ionians is placed on the northern coast of the Peloponnesus, also in Megaris, Attica, and the island of Eubœa. The Dorians are supposed to have occupied in very early times the plains of Thessaly. The name Æolian was used to cover the rest of the Hellenic people.

The So-called Dorian Migration. — But the places just referred to as the early seats of the Hellenic tribes do not correspond to the places which these tribes actually occupied in the historical period. It is quite certain that about the year 1000 B.C. there was a general shifting of the Greek population. This movement is usually called the "Dorian migration." It is known in the traditional history as the "Return of the Heracli'dæ," being mixed up with stories regarding the descendants of Heracles. Notwithstanding the myths connected with it, it must be regarded as a real movement which affected nearly all the tribes of Greece. It must also be regarded, not as one



movement, but as a succession of movements, covering perhaps several generations. In the first place, the Thessalians, pressed by northern tribes, left their original homes in Epirus and crossed the Pindus into the valley of the Peneus, which was henceforth called Thessaly. In the next place, the Dorians, being dislodged from Thessaly, sought new homes in central Greece (Doris). Then, uniting with the people of Ætolia, they crossed the Gulf of Corinth, and either expelled or conquered the Achæan population living south of it. In the course of time the Dorians subdued Messenia, Laconia, and Argolis, leaving Elis to their Ætolian allies, and Arcadia to its own original people. The Dorians thus displaced the Achæans as the leading race in the Peloponnesus. Finally, the remnants of the Achæans found a retreat on the shore of the Corinthian Gulf; and the Ionians hitherto dwelling in the Peloponnesus sought a refuge among their kinsmen in Attica.

The Hellenic Migration to Asia Minor. — The invasion of the Peloponnesus by the Dorians resulted not only in rearranging the tribes in Greece proper, but also in bringing about a closer union between Greece and Asia Minor. The people who had been dispossessed of their old homes in Greece, or who were not satisfied with their new ones, sought other settlements across the sea. The coasts of Asia Minor, already occupied by an ancient Greek race, thus came to be repopled by the newer Hellenic tribes. We may trace three streams of migration from Greece to Asia Minor.

1. One stream of migration was made up of the *Æolians*, — which name came to be a general term applied to all who were not Ionians or Dorians, — including even the Achæans. This mixed people took possession of the northern part of the western coast of Asia Minor. They occupied the island of Lesbos and founded the important city of Mytilene. They brought under their control the city of Cyzicus on the coast. Their settlements extended as far north as the Hellespont, and as far south as the river Hermus, upon which they built the city of Magnesia, and even farther south they held a single city, Smyrna.

2. A second stream of migration comprised the *Ionians*, who settled upon the central part of the coast. They took a course across the sea by way of the Cyclades, leaving on these islands colonies of their own people. They took possession of the islands of Chios and Samos. They occupied the coast land from Phocæ'a to Mile'tus, including the cities of Er'ythra, Clazom'enæ, Col'ophon, and Eph'esus.

3. A third stream was that of the *Dorians*, who took the southern course by way of Crete, where they left their colonies. They also occupied the islands of Rhodes and Cos, and on the neighboring coast they established the cities of Cnidus and Halicarnas'sus.

By these migrations which followed the Dorian conquest of the Peloponnesus, the Hellenic world acquired the general ethnic character which it possessed at the beginning of the historical period (see map, page 80).

SELECTIONS FOR READING

- Smith, Introduction, "Outlines of Grecian Geography"; Ch. 1, "Earliest Inhabitants of Greece" (10).¹
 Oman, Ch. 1, "The Geography of Greece" (10).
 Bury, Introduction, "Greece and the Ægean" (10).
 Grote, Part II., Ch. 1, "General Geography and Limits of Greece" (11).
 Abbott, Vol. I., Ch. 1, "Hellas"; Ch. 2, "The Earliest Inhabitants"; Ch. 4, "Asiatic Coasts and the Islands of the Ægean" (11).
 Curtius, Vol. I., Bk. I., Ch. 1, "Land and People"; Ch. 4, "Migrations among the Greek People" (11).
 Holm, Vol. I., Ch. 1, "The Country"; Ch. 6, "The Pelasgians"; Ch. 7, "Other Nations of Ancient Greece" (11).

SPECIAL STUDY

THE DORIAN MIGRATION. — Cox, pp. 18-20 (10); Smith, Ch. 4 (10); Bury, pp. 131-134 (10); Oman, Ch. 5 (10); Allcroft, Vol. I., Ch. 1 (10); Grote, Part II., Chs. 4, 5 (11); Curtius, Vol. I., pp. 161-164 (11); Holm, Vol. I., Ch. 12 (11).

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

CHAPTER VI

THE OLDEST CIVILIZATION OF GREECE

I. THE LEGENDS OF EARLY GREECE

Prehistoric Culture of the Greeks. — The Dorian invasion is usually regarded as marking the dividing line between the prehistoric and the historic period of Greece. Before this event — and as a matter of fact for two hundred years after it — we have no history in the ordinary and strict sense. But the question naturally arises whether anything is really known as to the condition and culture of the Greek people during the prehistoric age; and whether this ancient people left any permanent influence upon the later civilization of Hellas. What we know of the oldest civilization of Greece — that is, the state of Greek culture before the so-called Dorian migration (and for some time after it) — is derived for the most part from legends; from monuments or material relics; and from the early epic poetry, chiefly that ascribed to Homer.

Importance of the Legends. — It is sometimes thought that the early legends of Greece have no historical significance. Whether this view is correct or not depends very much upon how we look at them. If we look at them as giving an account of actual and well-defined events, they have of course little historical value. But if we look at them as indicating the ideas and beliefs of the people, they have a great deal of significance. It was by means of these legends that the Greeks attempted to reconstruct their own history. They looked upon this legendary past as something real, especially as it was depicted in the poems of Homer, and set forth in the "Theogony" of Hesiod (p.159).¹

Legends of the Founders of Cities. — The Greeks surrounded every locality, every mountain, stream, and vale, with a halo of

¹ For the "Greek reconstruction of Greek history," see Bury, *History of Greece*, pp. 79-84.

song and story. An important group of legends referred to the founders of cities. The foundation of Athens, for example, was ascribed to Cecrops, regarded by some as a native of Egypt; he is said to have introduced into Attica the arts of civilized life, and from him the Acropolis was first called Ceero'pia. Argos was believed to have been founded by another Egyptian, named Dan'aus, who fled to Greece with his fifty daughters, and who was elected by the people as their king, and from whom some of the Greeks received the name of Danaï. Thebes, in Bœotia, looked to Cadmus, a Phœnician, as its founder; he was believed to have brought into Greece the art of writing, and from him the citadel of Thebes received the name of Cadme'a. The Peloponnesus was said to have been settled by, and to have received its name from, Pelops, a Phrygian from Asia; he became the king of Mycenæ, and was

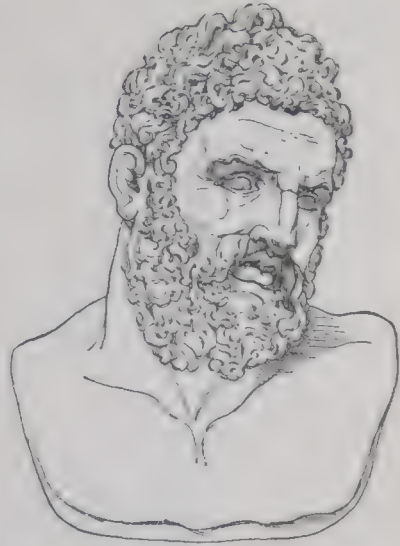


BELLEROPHON AND PEGASUS

the father of A'treus, and the grandfather of Agamem'non and Menela'us, chieftains in the Trojan war. Such traditions as these show that the early Greeks had some notion of their dependence upon the Eastern nations.

Legends of Grecian Heroes. — That the early Greeks had an admiration of personal prowess and valiant exploits is evident from the legends which they wove about the names of their great heroes. In these fanciful stories we may see the early materials of Grecian poetry. In them we read of philanthropic deeds, of superhuman courage, and of romantic adventures. We read of Per'seus, the slayer of the Gorgon Medu'sa, whose locks were coiling serpents, and whose looks turned every object to stone. We read of Beller'ophon, who slew the horrible Chimæ'ra, and captured the winged steed

Peg'asus, on whose back he tried to ascend to heaven. We read of Minos, the king of Crete, who rid the sea of pirates, and gave to his subjects a code of laws received from Zeus. We read of The'seus, who rid the land of robbers, and who delivered Athens from the terrible tribute imposed by the king of Crete — a tribute which required the periodical sacrifice of seven youths and seven maidens to the monster Minotaur. But the greatest of Grecian heroes was Heracles (Her'cules). Every one has read of the "twelve labors" of this famous giant, the prodigious tasks imposed upon him by the king of Mycenæ with the consent of Zeus.¹ The prototype of the Greek Heracles may be found in many Oriental countries — in Egypt, in Phœnicia, in Phrygia, and in Lydia. In these countries his power was related to that of the sun, especially in springtime. But the fancy of the Greeks turned the sun god of the East into a national hero, and conferred upon him a human character.



HERACLES

Legends of National Exploits. — The legends are not only grouped about particular places and individual heroes, but have for their subjects national deeds, marked by courage and fortitude that appealed to the pride and sympathy of every true

¹ The twelve labors of Heracles comprised the exploits in which he (1) slew the Ne'mean lion and (2) the hydra of Lerna ; (3) captured the roaming boar of Eryman'thus and (4) the swift-footed stag of Ceryne'a ; (5) killed the ravenous birds of Stymp'ha'lus ; (6) cleansed the stables of King Au'geas ; (7) brought to Mycenæ the wild bull of Crete and (8) the furious horses of Diome'des ; (9) secured the coveted girdle from Hippol'yte, queen of the Am'a-zons, and also (10) the fat cattle from the giant Ge'ryon ; (11) obtained the golden apples from the garden of the Hesper'ides ; and (12) brought to earth the three-headed dog Cer'berus, which guarded the gates of the lower world.

Greek. One of these stories describes the so-called "Argo-nautic expedition" — an adventurous voyage of fifty heroes, who set sail from Bœotia under the leadership of Jason, in the ship *Argo*, for the purpose of recovering the "golden fleece" which was carried away to Colchis, a far distant land on the shores of the Euxine (map, page 137). Another legend — the "Seven against Thebes" — narrates the tragic story of Œd'ipus, who was unwittingly led to commit a horrible crime and was banished from his native city. But the most famous of the legendary stories of Greece was that which described the Trojan war — the military expedition of the Greeks to Troy, in order to rescue Helen, who was the beautiful wife of Menelaus, king of Sparta, and who had been stolen away by Paris, son of the Trojan king. The details of this story — the wrath of Achil'les, the exploits of Hector and Paris, the wiles of Odysseus, the destruction of Troy, and the return of the heroes — are the subject of the great epic poems ascribed to Homer. All these legends, whether derived from a foreign source, or produced upon native soil, received the impress of the Greek mind. They form one of the legacies from the prehistoric age, and reveal some of the features of the early Greek character.

II. MONUMENTS OF ANCIENT GREECE; THE MYCENÆAN AGE

Recent Excavations in Hellas. — A far different and less fanciful view of this early age may be seen in the monuments and relics brought to light within the last few years. The name most closely connected with these remarkable discoveries is that of Dr. Schliemann, the German archæologist. It was his childlike faith in Homer and the tale of Troy that led him to seek for the Trojan city and the palace of Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ. The excavations made by him (beginning in 1871), together with the work of his successors, have not only given us new ideas regarding the poems of Homer, but have also presented many new and difficult problems regarding the early ages of Greece. We can do no more here than to

refer briefly to the most important of these excavations, and the monuments they have disclosed — matters of great interest to every student of Greek history.

Hissarlik and the City of Troy. — The hill of Hissarlik, situated in Troas, in northern Asia Minor, was believed by Dr. Schliemann to be the site of Troy. Here he found the remains of nine different settlements, or so-called “cities,” lying one above another and representing different stages of human progress. The lowest city contained relics of the stone age — stone axes, flint knives, earthen vessels covered with rude decorations.



THE HILL OF HISSARLIK

The second city — evidently destroyed by a conflagration and hence called the “burnt city” — was surrounded by walls built of brick and placed upon rough stone foundations. It contained a palace surrounding a court. Among the ruins were found battle-axes, spearheads, and daggers made of copper, showing that its inhabitants belonged to what we call the “age of bronze.” There were found also articles of fine workmanship, showing an Eastern influence — cups of silver, diadems, bracelets, earrings made of gold, and also articles of ivory and jade which could have come only from central Asia. This “burnt city” was believed by Dr. Schliemann to have been the Troy of Homer. But the later work of Dr. Dörpfeld, the distin-

guished colleague of Schliemann, has shown that the sixth city — with its great circuit walls, its stately houses of well-dressed stone, and its finely wrought vases — is more likely to be the city described in the Homeric poems.

The Citadel of Tiryns.— But the most important remains of this prehistoric age have been found, not in Asia Minor, but in European Greece, especially in the two cities of Argolis —



THE "LION GATE" AT MYCENÆ

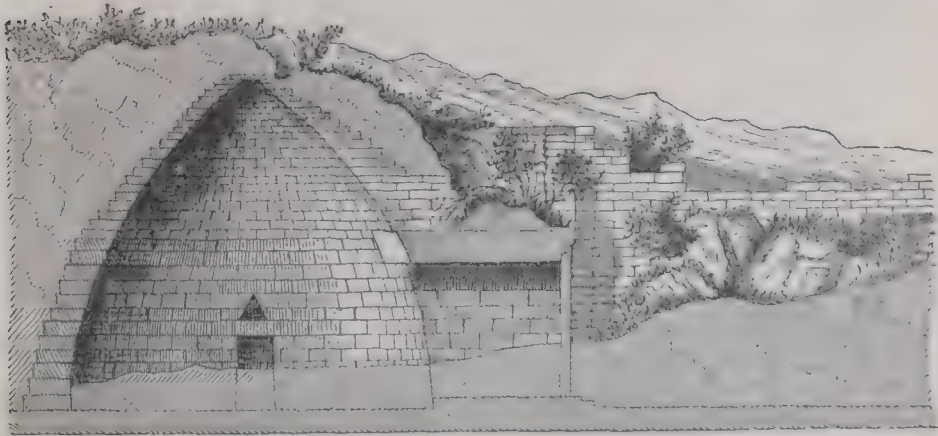
Tiryns and Mycenæ. Tiryns is the older of these, and its walls, too, are better preserved. The citadel of Tiryns was surrounded by massive walls. The palace consisted of a complicated system of courts, halls, and corridors, suggesting an Oriental palace rather than any building in historic Greece. The most artistic features of the palace were alabaster friezes, carved in rich patterns of rosettes and spirals, such as are described in the Homeric poems (*Odyssey*, Bk. VII.).

The Ruins and Relics of Mycenæ. — The prehistoric culture of Greece probably reached its highest development at Mycenæ. One of the most conspicuous objects here was the well-known "lion gate," through which the citadel was entered, and which



DIADEM FROM MYCENÆ

had been an object of interest to the later Greeks. The form of these rampant lions has often been compared to similar designs in the East, especially in Assyria and Phrygia. Within the walls near the gate was found a circle of upright slabs inclosing a number of graves. These contained human bodies



THE "TREASURY OF ATREUS"

and a wealth of art treasures — articles of gold, silver, copper, bronze, terra cotta, glass, ivory, and precious stones; articles of ornament, such as diadems, pendants, and rings of artistic design; articles of use, such as bowls, pitchers, cups, ladles,

spoons, etc. These articles show a high degree of mechanical skill and artistic taste. Some of them may have been brought from the East, and some of them may have been the products of native industry. Below the citadel was found another type of sepulchers, called from their peculiar form "bee-hive tombs," one of which the archaeologists have called the "Treasury of Atreus."

Other Sites of Prehistoric Remains.—Recent excavations have shown that the kind of culture which existed in the prehistoric



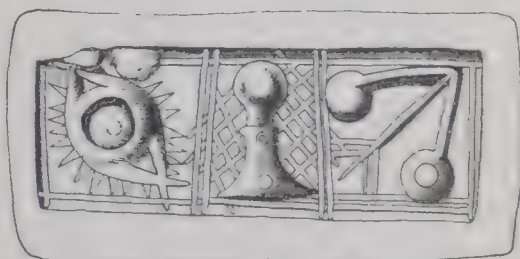
THE VAPHIO GOLD CUPS

cities of Tiryns and Mycenæ prevailed in many other parts of Greece, and in many islands of the Ægean. Relics similar to those found at Mycenæ have been found in Bœotia at Orchomenus, in Attica at Athens and Eleusis, in Laconia at Vaphi'o (near Amy'clæ), in the islands of Melos, Thera, Rhodes, Crete, and in numerous other less important places. At Orchomenus was discovered an elaborate and beautiful ceiling said to be of a pure Egyptian pattern. At Vaphio were found two remarkable gold cups covered with finely wrought relief work, and regarded by some as the most artistic work of the prehistoric age. In Crete has been discovered a crude and curious form of hieroglyphic writing. In fact, the latest explorations

have revealed in the island of Crete far older monuments of this ancient culture than those which we have noticed as existing in Greece proper; that is, in the prominent centers of Tiryns and Mycenæ.

III. THE MYCENÆAN CIVILIZATION IN GREECE

Stages of Prehistoric Culture.—The type of civilization brought to light by these discoveries has been called by some Mycenæan, from the city where its remains are most conspicuous in Greece; and by others it has been called Ægean, from the fact that it seems to have extended over a large part of the Ægean basin. It is supposed to have reached its culmination perhaps between the years 2000 B.C. and 1500 B.C. But there is reason to believe that in its earlier stages it may have extended back as far as 3000 B.C., or even to an earlier date. Its last and declining stage was evidently closed by the Dorian migration about 1000 B.C.



PREHISTORIC WRITING FROM CRETE

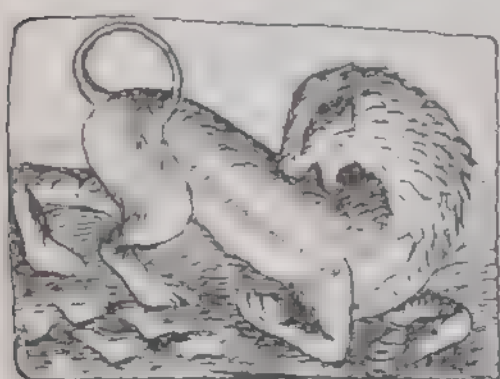
When we now speak of the Mycenæan civilization we refer to that special phase of the Ægean civilization which flourished in Greece proper. In looking at this prehistoric culture in Greece we may distinguish certain stages of progress: The first stage, which we may call the Pre-Mycenæan period, was an age of stone, and its primitive form of culture was no doubt the product of native industry, with little or no foreign influence. The second stage, which may be regarded as distinctly the Mycenæan period, was an age of copper and bronze, and might even be called an age of gold. During this period Greece was evidently submerged by the westward tide of Orientalism, receiving an influx of ideas and commodities from various Eastern countries by way of the islands of the Ægean. The last stage, which

may be called the Achæan period, marks the beginning of the age of iron, and the transition to a state of society like that described in the poems of Homer.



DESIGNS ON GOLD RINGS FROM MYCENÆ

Sources of Mycenæan Culture.— Regarding the origin of this ancient culture of Greece, we have no right to speak with confidence, since scholars are by no means agreed upon this question. The great variety of objects discovered, and the various styles of art revealed, have naturally led to a great variety of theories as to its source. It has been referred to the Dorians, to the Achæans, to the Pelasgians, to the Carians, to the Phœnicians, and even to the Hittites.¹ Such a great variety of



GOLD INTAGLIOS FROM MYCENÆ

theories would seem to indicate that the Mycenæan culture was, in fact, a very composite culture, being produced either by many peoples, or under the influence of many.

¹ The Dorian theory has been advocated by Beloch and Niese; the Achæan theory by Percy Gardner, and in a modified form by Hall, and by Tsountas and Mauatt; the Pelasgian theory by Ridgeway; the Carian theory by Koehler; the Phœnician theory by Helbig and M. Pottier; and the Hittite theory by Reinach and de Cara. For the results of the latest scholarship as to the origin and character of the Ægean civilization in general, and of the Mycenæan civilization in particular, the student is referred to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Eleventh Edition, articles "Ægean Civilization," "Crete," "Tiryns," "Mycenæ."

It seems reasonable to suppose, in the first place, that the primitive culture of Greece was produced by the primitive peoples of Greece. So far as we know these peoples were the early tribes which went under the names of Pelasgians, Carians, Minyæ, and Leleges. To these native peoples, then, may be attributed the material relics which bear the marks of the stone age—the stone implements, the crude pottery, and the simple styles of decoration. In the next place, it seems quite as reasonable to suppose that the higher forms of Mycenæan art were due to the strong Orientalizing influence which extended to the West, including within its sweep the coasts and islands of the Ægean. The most striking speci-



SPHINX FROM MYCENÆ

mens of Mycenæan art are seen in articles capable of transportation, which could be brought from various Eastern countries by foreign merchants, and also might furnish models for native Greek artisans. Finally, the transition to the iron age may be referred to the Achæans, who became for a time the ruling people of the Peloponnesus, who took up the Mycenæan civilization and added certain features to it, and some of whom, being driven from their homes by the Dorian invaders, fled to Attica, and then to Asia Minor, bearing with them the memories of this civilization, which were afterward impressed upon the poems of Homer.

Influence of the Mycenæan Civilization. — On account of the many brilliant features of this culture, we may be inclined to overestimate its real historical significance. While we may see in it many native Greek elements, it was no doubt largely the product of foreign influences superimposed upon the primitive culture of the Greek people. When the wave of Orientalism receded from Greece, it left little more than monuments and memories. The essential elements of the Greek people remained in their simple primitive character. The royal palaces at Tiryns and Mycenæ were useless to the Dorian invaders.

The golden diadems and other products of Oriental art had little attraction to the simple Greek taste. The foreign elements in the Mycenæan culture, which found no response in the genuine Greek mind, therefore passed away and were buried.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Smith, Ch. 2, "The Grecian Heroes" (10).¹

Cox, Ch. 3, Mythology and Tribal Legends of the Greeks (10).

Bury, Ch. 1, "Beginnings of Greece and the Heroic Age" (10).

Timayenis, Vol. I., Part I., "The Mythological Age" (11).

Abbott, Vol. I., Ch. 3, "Migrations and Legendary History" (11).

Curtius, Vol. I., Bk. I., Ch. 2, "Prehistoric Age of the Hellenes" (11).

Holm, Vol. I., Ch. 4, "Earliest Traditional History"; Ch. 10, "Most Important Legends of Greece" (11).

Grote, Part II., Ch. 16, "Grecian Myths as Understood, Felt, and Interpreted by the Greeks themselves" (11).

SPECIAL STUDY

THE MYCENÆAN AGE. — Oman, Ch. 2 (10); Bury, Ch. 1, §§ 1, 2 (10); Tarbell, Ch. 2 (19); Warr, Ch. 1 (15); Holm, Vol. I., Chs. 8, 9 (11); Diehl, Ch. 1, 2 (14). See also Appendix (14).

CHAPTER VII

HOMER AND THE HOMERIC CULTURE

I. THE HOMERIC POEMS

The Culture of Asia Minor. — We come now to consider another phase of the early civilization of Hellas, namely, that which is pictured in the Homeric poems. The first thing which we must observe regarding these poems is the fact that they were produced, not in European Greece where the Mycenæan culture had reached its highest development, but in Asia Minor. We remember that Asia Minor had in very early

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

times been settled by primitive Greek tribes. We have also noticed the fact that, after the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnesus, many of the inhabitants of Greece had been led to migrate to the Asiatic coasts. We thus find in Asia Minor two kinds of Greek people: (1) a primitive Greek people, descendants of the earliest Greek settlers, and (2) a large body of Greek emigrants who had come across the Ægean Sea, bringing with them the memories and traditions of the Mycenaean age. We shall find that during the transitional period which followed the Dorian invasion Asia Minor became the chief seat of intellectual life and activity. Its culture, however, did not consist in reproducing the remarkable works of Mycenaean art; it consisted rather in rehearsing the traditional glories of that old Mycenaean age.

The Rise of Epic Poetry. — From this disposition to sing the praises of the past arose the first form of Grecian poetry. The bards of Ionia recounted the mythical stories of the gods, the legends of ancient heroes, and the traditions of Troy and Mycenæ. They accompanied their words with regular strokes upon the lyre; and their fanciful stories fell into rhythm and took the form of the hexameter verse. The group of Ionian bards in Asia Minor received the name of the “cyclic poets”; and the group of narrative poems which they produced is known as the “epic cycle.” These lays were descriptive in character and inspired with an heroic spirit; they were full of imagination, reciting the deeds of gods and men and throwing a halo about the past.

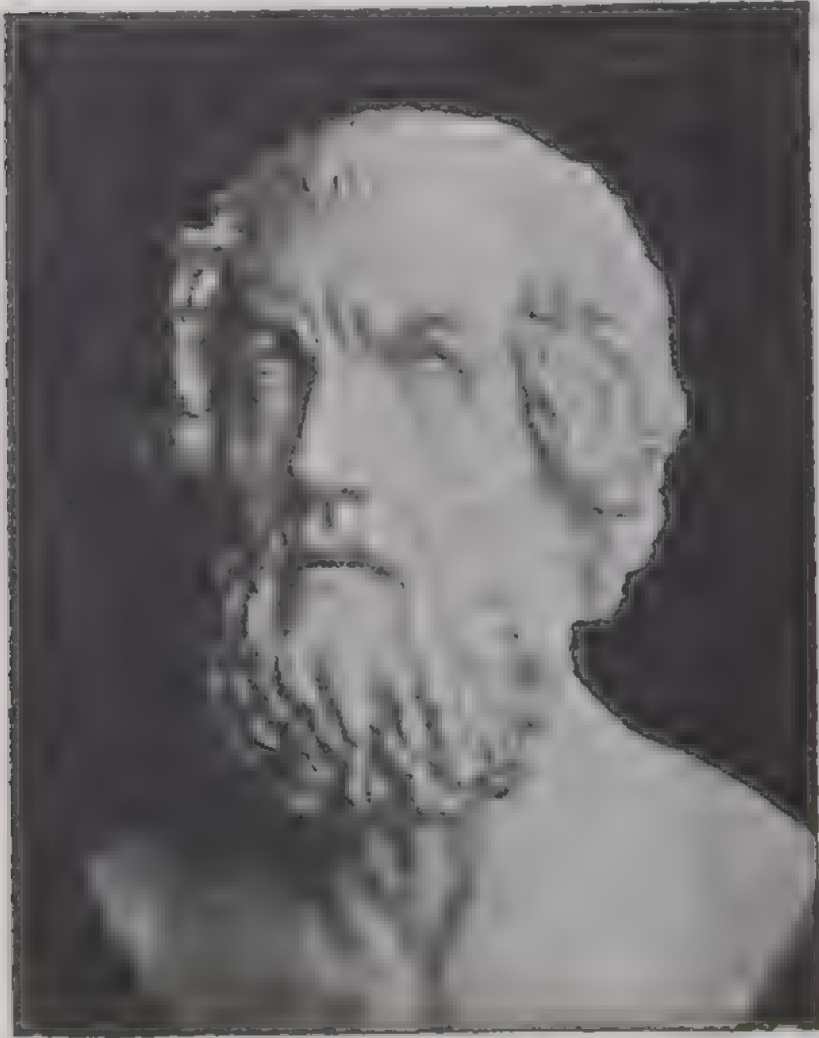
The Iliad and the Odyssey. — Out of this cycle of poems there emerged two great epics, known as the “Iliad” and the “Odyssey.” Being the fittest expressions of the popular thought and feeling, they survived. They are, in fact, regarded by many critics as the greatest epic poems in the world’s literature. The Iliad is a poem of war, and the Odyssey is a poem of peace. The former describes the closing scenes of the Trojan war, and revolves about the wrath of Achilles, the son of Pe’leus, who was the king of Thessaly. The leader of the



DEPARTURE OF ACHILLES (From an ancient vase)

Grecian armies was Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ, and hence we find many traditions which reach back to the Mycenæan age. The *Odyssey* narrates events which were supposed to follow the Trojan war, especially the wanderings of Odysseus (Ulysses) on his homeward return to Ithaca.

The Homeric Question. — These poems stand out prominently from an otherwise dark and obscure period. They have naturally been made the subject of the most searching inquiries. Was there ever such a poet as Homer? Were the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* both produced by the same person? Was either poem originally a single production? Was not each one rather a collection of separate ballads, afterward brought together by some skillful hand? These queries comprise the chief points in what is called the "Homeric question." The ancients generally believed that the two epics



HOMER

were produced by the same poet, and that this poet was Homer. Certain critics of Alexandria, observing the difference between

the two poems, declared that they were produced by two different poets. Modern critics have submitted the theory that each poem was a collection of lays, originally distinct, but collected into a coherent form during the historical period. This question will perhaps never be settled to the satisfaction of every one. It is no doubt true that there were many bards who recited the legends of the Trojan war. But it seems hardly possible that any one age ever produced more than one poet of such transcendent genius as the bard whom we call Homer. It certainly seems more reasonable to believe in one Homer than in many.

Historical Value of the Homeric Poems. — Whether the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were the product of one poet or many, they were evidently produced in the transitional period (probably about 850 B.C.) between the prehistoric age of Tiryns and Mycenæ, and the historic age of Sparta and Athens. They are made up largely of legends and traditions, and so far are no more valuable than any other legends and traditions. But traditions are not necessarily false. The recently discovered relics of the prehistoric age show how faithfully the memories of "golden Mycenæ" were preserved by the people who migrated to Asia Minor, and were expressed in the Homeric poems. But the great historical value of these poems does not consist merely in the narrative of traditional events and the pictures of past glories. It consists rather in the great number of allusions made to the life and customs of the early Greek people. Homer painted the past in the colors of his own time. From the numerous allusions made to industry and art, to society and government, to religion and morality, we can get a comprehensive view of that early culture which existed among the prehistoric Greeks of Asia Minor, and which was bequeathed to the Greeks of historical times. It has been forcibly said that "while the pre-Doric art in Europe was not continued in later times, and the later genuine Greek art followed other paths than those of Mycenæ and Orchomenus, the earliest poetry of Asia Minor is still the truest expression of Greek life that exists" (Heim).

II. HOMERIC INDUSTRY AND ART

Means of Subsistence. — We can obtain from the Homeric poems an idea of the industry of the time, and the degree of progress made by the early Greeks in the art of living. We may see that hunting and fishing were occupations that survived from a primitive period. We may also see that the people lived upon the flesh of animals which they had domesticated, such as cows, sheep, goats, and swine. But their chief food supply was derived from agricultural products. They cultivated certain grains, such as wheat and barley, from which they made flour. They also raised certain fruits, such as the fig, the grape, the olive, the pear, and the apple. Orchards and vineyards were especially prized, not only for their products, but also for their beauty. Wine was the chief beverage of the people; but drunkenness was despised.

Use of Metals; Manufactures. — The Homeric Greeks possessed the use of at least six metals — gold, silver, lead, iron, copper, and tin. The most of these metals they obtained from other lands. They worked them in a simple way, with the hammer and anvil, using also the bellows and tongs. These simple processes seem to indicate that the finer and more artistic metal work was fashioned by foreign artisans. Homer's description of the famous shield of Achilles (*Iliad*, Bk. XVIII.) shows that the poet was acquainted with the finest relief work of the East; but it also seems to show that he was not familiar with the methods by which such work was manufactured.

Trade and Commerce. — The early Greeks traded with one another by barter; and they measured the value of their commodities in terms of oxen. We find no evidence that they had yet come to be a commercial people. They obtained their foreign products chiefly through Phœnician merchants, who brought to them the metals and other commodities which they could not produce themselves.

Architecture and the Fine Arts. — We have little knowledge of the buildings of this period, which were no doubt simple and

unpretentious. It is true that Homer describes the princely palaces of Argolis, but these are connected with the life of the old traditional heroes who ruled in the Mycenæan age. The temple was not yet a feature of Greek architecture. The people lived a simple life in hill towns and dwelt mostly in the open air. The mention which the poet makes of the finer arts — the exquisite goblets, the beautiful glasses, the candelabra in the form of statuettes — is connected with the description of the ancient palaces, and suggestive of the Oriental skill which marked the furnishings of those old and splendid structures — buildings which had long since fallen into decay. All this Mycenæan art was practically a thing of tradition; and the art of historic Greece had not yet been born.

III. HOMERIC SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT

The Early Greek Society. — In the poems of Homer we find the picture of a simple and primitive society. It was a society similar to that which we find among other early Aryan peoples. Its primary element was the family, comprising the household father, the mother, the children, and the slaves. The father had entire control of the members; he had charge of the domestic worship and of the lands and other property of the family. From the family grew up the clan or gens, which was simply a group of families related by blood and a common worship, and also recognizing a common ancestor. Several clans might unite for common protection in a larger fraternal community, called a "phratry." But the political organization reached its most complete form in the tribe, or phyle.

The Tribal State — King, Council and Assembly. — The tribe was a collection of communities usually settled about a fortified hill, and having a common government. At its head was the chief (*basileus*). He performed the common religious rites, settled disputes, and commanded the people in time of war. But the power of the king was not absolute; it was restrained by a council (*boule*), made up of the clan leaders, or other influ-

ential men. Matters of great importance, like the declaration of war, or the distribution of plunder, might be left to the assembly (*ag'ora*), which comprised all the people capable of bearing arms. The king, the council, and the assembly thus formed the political elements of the tribal state. How important these elements were in the political history of Greece we shall see hereafter.

The Confederation of Tribes. — While the tribe was the most important political group, there was a tendency from very early times for different tribes to unite under a common head. For example, in their expedition against Troy, the Greek tribes united under Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ. But anything like a permanent union could be effected only by adopting a common religion. The old tribes of Epirus, for example, had gathered about the oracle of Zeus at Dodona. The tribes of Thessaly had been bound together by a common worship at Mt. Olympus. We shall hereafter see other federal unions growing up in Greece. But still the confederation, while based upon a national sympathy, never reached the character of a national state.

IV. HOMERIC RELIGION AND MORALITY

The Early Greek Religion. — We may also get from the Homeric poems an idea of the early Greek religion. The germs of this religion existed no doubt in the ancestor worship and nature worship of the older Aryans. The Greeks kept alive the worship of ancestors; and the family was bound together by the sacred domestic rites growing out of this worship. The larger social groups were bound together by the worship of the powers of nature. The early Greeks, like the Hindus, saw in the heavens, in the sun, in the clouds, in the flickering fire, the presence of supernatural beings. But while the Homeric religion is evidently an outgrowth of earlier religious ideas, it had stamped upon it the peculiar features of the Greek mind — fertility of fancy and genial human sympathy. The

Greeks saw in their gods beings like themselves; and they coupled with their nature worship an elaborate and fanciful mythology. The divine and the human were brought into close relations. The gods dwelt not in the inaccessible sky, but on the top of Mount Olympus, where the heavens touch the earth.

The divine circle of Olympus consisted of the twelve greater deities—six gods and six goddesses. Their personal traits are drawn by Homer, and came afterward to be appropriately expressed in the forms of Greek art. The future culture of Greece is so thoroughly imbued with religious ideas that it is well for us to keep in mind the personality of the Olympian deities. In studying their character we must see that they not only represent the powers of nature, but are clothed with special human qualities and are closely related to special spheres of human life.

The Gods of Olympus.—We may see in each of the gods of Olympus the union of certain natural and human elements.

(1) *Zeus* (Jupiter) is the supreme god of the heavens, who gathers the clouds and hurls the lightnings; but he is also the king and father of men, who governs the affairs of the world. (2) *Apollo*, the god of sunlight, is also the god of prophecy, the patron of human art and science, of poetry and music and medicine. (3) *Ares* (Mars), the god of the storm and the tempest, also presides over human turmoils, over wars and battles. (4) *Hermes* (Mercury), the god of the wind, is not only the winged messenger of the gods, but the patron of inventions and commerce, and the master of cunning and deceit. (5) *Posei'don* (Neptune), the god of the sea, not only governs the



ZEUS

ocean, but he also blesses mankind by causing the springs to burst forth from the dry land. (6) *Hephaestus* (Vulcan), the



HERA

god of fire, presides over the working of metals and the mechanic arts which are so useful to man.

The Goddesses of Olympus.

—In the goddesses of Olympus, also, we may see how nature is brought into relation with human life.

(1) *Hera* (Juno), the goddess of the sky, is looked upon as the faithful wife of Zeus, the ideal of strict womanly virtues and the jealous guardian of her husband's honor. (2) *Athe'na* (Minerva), the goddess of the pure daylight, is represented as having been born from the forehead of Zeus; she became the ideal of

wisdom, of feminine courage and honor, aiding in the household arts of spinning and embroidery, and inspiring men with heroism in war. (3) *Ar'temis* (Diana), the goddess of the moonlight, roams with mortals through fields and groves, aiding the traveler in his journey and the huntsman in the chase. (4) *Aphrodi'te* (Venus), the goddess of the dawn, is the impersonation of human love and beauty. (5) *Deme'ter* (Ceres), the goddess of the earth, watches the growth of grain and is the friend of the husbandman. (6) *Hes'tia* (Vesta), the goddess of fire, is the guardian of the hearth, of domestic life and happiness.

Inferior Deities and Mythical Beings. — But the Greek ideas of the supernatural were not limited to the Olympian circle. There were *Hades* and *Perseph'one* (Pluto and Proser'pina),

the god and goddess of the lower world; *Dionysus* (Bacchus), the god of wine; *Pan*, the god of the shepherds; *Iris*, the goddess of the rainbow; *Themis*, the goddess of justice — and many others. There were also strange mythical beings, who lived below the plane of the gods — Titans and Giants, Tritons and Sirens, Nymphs and Graces, Demons and Furies, the nine Muses and the three Fates, and Satyrs and Fauns, and Centaurs and Dragons. The Greek imagination peopled the sky, the earth, and the sea with supernatural beings. Men lived everywhere in the midst of an invisible world.

Ideas of the Future Life. — The religious imagery of the Greeks included pictures of the future life. At death, the soul is conducted to the realm of Hades, which is the world of the departed spirits. At its entrance lay the dog Cerberus, the three-headed monster that prevented the spirits from returning to the upper world. Upon the sentence of Minos, the soul is given a place in Elys'ium (e-lizh'i-um), the field of the blest, or is condemned to Tar'tarus, the gulf of torment. The ingenious tortures inflicted upon those who have incurred the anger of the gods are described by Homer (*Odyssey*, Bk. XI.)

Religious Rites and Customs. — If the anger of the gods may result in eternal misery, the most important thing in life is to retain their favor. This idea lies at the root of the religious rites of the early Greeks. Prayers and sacrifices must be offered to retain the divine favor. The sacrifices might consist either in offerings of fruit or grain, or in the slaughter of living victims. The will of the gods might be ascertained by divination, that is, by the interpretation of signs presented by natural phenomena, as the flight of birds, the rolling of thunder, etc.; or one might have recourse to an oracle, established at some fixed place, presided over by priests or priestesses. The priestly class, however, never attained in Greece such an exclusive position and authority as it had in the East.

The Morals of the Homeric Age. — The people of the Homeric period were no better and probably no worse than any other

early people. Their home life was bright and cheerful; and women were held in high esteem. The men were as courageous in war as any men could well be, without any better organization and discipline than those which then prevailed. We find examples of great individual prowess; but we also find instances of vindictive cruelty to a fallen foe. The Greeks were hospitable to the stranger, and listened to the prayer of the suppliant. But they were often tricky and deceitful in their dealings, and even looked upon piracy as an honorable occupation. The question of right and wrong was determined not so much by any proper moral code as by the fear and favor of the gods, which formed the highest motives of human life.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Bury, Ch. 1, § 7, "Homer" (10).¹

Oman, Ch. 3, "The Homeric Poems and the Greeks of the Homeric Age" (10).

Warr, Ch. 2, "The Homeric Poetry" (15).

Abbott, Vol. I., Ch. 5, "The Homeric Poems" (11).

Grote, Part I., Ch. 21, "Grecian Epic — Homeric Poems" (11).

Mahaffy, Survey, Ch. 2, "The Homeric Age" (10).

Smith, Ch. 3, "Society in the Heroic Age" (10).

Holm, Vol. I., Ch. 13, "Civilization of the Asiatic Greeks — Homeric Poetry"; Ch. 14, "Institutions and Mode of Life of the Early Greeks, especially as Described by Homer" (11).

Jebb, Greek Poetry, Ch. 1, "The Distinctive Qualities of the Greek Race as Expressed by Homer" (23).

Keller, Ch. 2, "Industrial Organization" (15).

Homer, Iliad, Bk. I., in Bryant's translation (13).

SPECIAL STUDY

THE ANCIENT GREEK RELIGION.—Oman, Ch. 4 (10); Holm, Vol. I. Ch. 11 (11); Grote, Part I., Ch. 1 (11); Coulanges, Bk. I. (20); Keller, Ch. 3 (15); Murray, pp. 37-242, 251 (25). See also Appendix (25).

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

PERIOD II. THE FORMATION OF THE GREEK STATES (776-500 B.C.)

CHAPTER VIII

THE CHARACTER OF THE GREEK CITY STATE

I. THE ELEMENTS OF THE CITY STATE

Transition to Historical Greece. — We have now considered, so far as we are able, the condition of Greece in what is called the Prehistoric Age. We have seen the existence of myths and traditions, which show the poetical tendencies of the Greek mind, but which give us little knowledge of real facts and events. We have also seen the remains of an old civilization, which was strongly influenced by the East, and which was swept away by the Dorian invasion. We have, moreover, seen how the memories of this old Mycenaean civilization were carried to Asia Minor and were preserved in the Homeric poems. While we call this ancient and obscure period the prehistoric age, we must remember that out of it grew the Greece of history. There is no definite date or event which marks the transition from prehistoric to historic times. But from about the eighth century B.C. we begin to see a little more clearly historical events and characters. From this time also the institutions and culture of Greece begin to take more definite forms, such as were preserved in the historical period.

Importance of the City State. — The first and one of the most important facts which we observe in the early historical period is the formation of little city states. Nearly everywhere in

Greece the people were coming to be better organized. They were beginning to establish regular city governments.¹ But these governments were entirely different from the great empires of the East. They were different also from the old monarchies of Tiryns and Mycenæ. The city state was simply a city with its neighboring territory organized under an independent government, in which the people came to have a share. It grew out of a simple condition of society like that which is described in the Homeric poems (see p. 99). Before we consider especially the growth of the two most important city states of Greece, — Sparta and Athens, — let us look at the elements which made up the city state in general.

The Family as the Basis of the State. — We can best understand the way in which the city and its government grew up if we trace them back to their origin in the family. The family was in fact the foundation of the state. To describe the family in the simplest terms, we may say that it was a group of persons bound together by kinship, by a common religion, and by a common authority. The authority which governed the family was that of the father. He was the priest of the family worship, the judge of the family disputes, and the guide in all family matters. With the family as a starting point, we may trace the several steps which finally led to the development of the city as it was in Greece.

The Greek Gens, or Clan. — As the family increased, it expanded into the clan, or gens. This was simply the larger body of family relatives, kept together by a common feeling of kinship. Its members regarded themselves as having descended from a common ancestor. They had a common worship and a common burial place. By living together in the same neighborhood, they formed a little village community.

¹ Among the most flourishing of these city centers were the following: in central Greece, Athens, Elis, Plataea, Thebes, Orchomenos, Delphi, Naupactus; in the northern Peloponnese, Mycenæ, Tiryns, Argos, Naupactus, Corinth, Sicyon, Opuntion, Elis, Olympia; in the southern Peloponnese, Sparta, Amyclæ, Helos, Mantinea, Tegea, Pylus. (See maps, pp. 76, 119.)

and had a simple form of government. They were controlled by a council, composed of the fathers of the different households. They also had a headman, selected by the council, to preside over their common religious rites, to settle disputes between the different families, and to command them, if necessary, in time of war.

The Greek Phratry, or Brotherhood.—In times of great danger different clans or villages would be compelled to unite for common protection. They would select some defensible place, like a hill, for a common rallying point. Here they would swear allegiance to one another in the name of some common god. They would thus establish a common worship. They would then select a common war leader, who would be assisted by a council made up of the different village chiefs. Such a union of neighboring villages was called a "phratry," which means a brotherhood, or fraternal league.

The Greek Phyle, or Tribe.—The same causes which led to the union of villages into a phratry, would lead to the union of phratries into a still larger group. This larger group was the phyle, or tribe. Like the village and the phratry, it was made strong by a common worship. The chief of the tribe was a military leader; but he also performed the common religious rites, and settled disputes, if necessary; in other words, he was a commander in chief, a priest, and a judge. We can readily see that in times of war the power of the tribal chief would be well-nigh absolute. But he was accustomed to call together the lesser chiefs, or leading men of the different phratries, who formed a council; and these leading men would come to be regarded as a privileged class. On important occasions the whole body of people capable of bearing arms might be called together to approve the will of the chief and council.

In this way was gradually formed the tribal state of Homeric times, which formed the basis of the city state of the historical period. We may say in brief that a number of families composed a clan; a number of clans, a phratry; a number of phratries, a tribe; and a number of tribes, the state.

II. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE CITY STATE

The Citadel as a Center of Defense. — The city state was generally made up of a union of tribes; this was the most complete political organization developed by the ancient Greeks. Like the tribe, the city also was formed for the common protection of its people. Hence we find the cities of Greece usually built about high places selected as suitable centers of defense. These hills were fortified and formed citadels, like the Acropolis of Athens. The citadel was thus the nucleus of the city, and about it the people dwelt in their humble homes.

Religion as a Bond of Union. — The people of the city were not only united about a common citadel; they were also bound together by a common religion. Each smaller group — like the family, the gens, etc. — retained its own particular worship; but to be a part of the city it must also recognize the common deity under whose protection the city was founded, and by whose continual worship the city life was maintained. Religion was thus the sacred bond of union which held together the various parts of the community.

The City King, or Basileus. — The city also possessed a political organization, which was developed from that of the tribe. The highest officer of the city was the king (*basileus*). He was, like the tribal chief, the leader of the people in time of war; he was the priest of the common city religion; and he was the chief judge who settled the quarrels arising between different citizens. The king did not govern by any written laws; he settled all questions according to existing customs, or what he supposed to be the will of the gods.

The City Council, or Boule. — Another political feature of the city government was the council of chiefs (*boule*). Like the council of the tribe, it was composed of the most influential men in the community. They were called together whenever the king desired. Their opinions were consulted and their assent was obtained for the purpose of upholding the royal

authority. The chiefs, on account of their superior birth and influence, formed a sort of aristocratic class, or body of nobles.

The City Assembly, or Agora. — It was only in times of great emergency that the king would feel obliged to call upon the people for the expression of their opinion. If a war was to be declared, or an expedition to be undertaken, it was necessary to feel the temper of the people, who were to fight the battles. But the people were called together quite as much to influence them as to ascertain their will. It was only when the city state acquired less of a military and more of a civil character that the assembly of the people (*agora*) became a real democratic element in the state.

City Leagues, or Amphictyonies. — Although the Greek cities were politically independent of one another, they sometimes united into leagues or confederacies, called "amphictyonies." These leagues were generally formed to maintain the worship of some common deity, or to promote common commercial interests, or to protect their members against a common foe. But such a league never became in any proper sense a state. The national life of the Greeks was still restricted to the cities.

III. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN GREECE

Tendency to Revolution. — We must not suppose that the Greek city states always remained in the simple and primitive condition which we have just described. Their political life, on the contrary, was one of continual activity and change. One form of government succeeded another as the king, or the nobles, or the people gained the upper hand. Although the different cities presented a great diversity in their political life, we can trace a general tendency in the direction of more democratic ideas and freer institutions.

From Monarchy to Aristocracy. — In the earliest times, the king was the most prominent figure in the government. This supremacy of the king and the royal family is what constitutes a monarchy. But this monarchical form of government did not always last. When the rule of the king became oppressive,

the political power passed into the hands of the nobles. The supremacy of such a class of influential men in the state is what constitutes an aristocracy. If the power is restricted to a very few persons, the government is called an oligarchy. At an early period the political authority in the cities was transferred from the hands of the king to the hands of the nobles; and this change is what we mean by the transition from monarchy to aristocracy, or oligarchy.

From Aristocracy to Tyranny. — When the nobles obtained the supreme power in the city, they were tempted to use it for their own interests. This was often done at the expense of the people. The city population thus came to be divided into two parties, the aristocratic and democratic parties — the former striving to maintain their own power and privileges, and the latter struggling to obtain an equality of rights. In the midst of these popular discontents appeared nearly everywhere the men whom the Greeks called “tyrants.” The so-called tyrant was not necessarily a despotic ruler, but a man who had seized the power of the state in an irregular way. He might be a patriot, working for the interests of the people, or he might be a demagogue, working for his own interests. In either case, he was an enemy to the oligarchy; and his triumph meant the overthrow of the aristocratic power. The tyrants were in fact “the means of breaking down the oligarchies in the interests of the people” (Abbott).

From Tyranny to Democracy. — The one-man power was established in many of the cities of Greece. As long as the tyrants looked after the interests of the people, their rule was tolerated. But whenever and wherever they became selfish, ambitious, and oppressive, they were detested. The so-called “age of tyrants” formed, generally speaking, a period of transition to the democratic form of government; and democracy came to be the prevailing form of government in a great part of Hellas. The different states, however, were not equally successful in obtaining a democratic government. The least successful were the Dorian cities, especially Sparta; the most

successful were the Ionian cities, especially Athens. Sparta and Athens, indeed, represent the two extreme tendencies in the political development of Greece; and hence they may be taken to illustrate the two types of the Greek city state. In Sparta we shall see the forms of a monarchical government still preserved, but the real power passing into the hands of a small part of the people, which resulted in the growth of an aristocracy, or oligarchy. In Athens, on the other hand, we shall see the forms of monarchy entirely abolished and the political power transferred to the great body of citizens, resulting in the growth of a well-organized democratic state.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Bury, Ch. 1, § 1, "Political and Social Organization of the Early Greek States"; § 9, "Fall of Greek Monarchies and Rise of Republics" (10).¹

Abbott, Vol. II., Introduction, "Sketch of Constitutional History" (11).

Allcroft, Vol. I., Ch. 9, "Evolution of Governments" (10).

Holm, Vol. I., Ch. 20, "Political Development of the Greek States" (11).

Whibley, Greek Oligarchies, Ch. 3, "Historical Development of Constitutions" (20).

Greenidge, Ch. 2, "Early Development of the Greek Constitution through Monarchy, Aristocracy, Tyranny, to Constitutional Government" (20).

Fowler, Ch. 2, "Genesis of the City State"; Ch. 3, "Its First Form of Government"; Ch. 4, "Rise of Aristocratic Government"; Ch. 5, "Transition from Aristocracy to Democracy" (20).

SPECIAL STUDY

THE GREEK "TYRANNIES." — Smith, Ch. 9 (10); Oman, Ch. 10 (10); Cox, Bk. I., Ch. 6 (10); Allcroft, Vol. I., Ch. 10 (10); Bury, pp. 144-157 (10); Greenidge, pp. 25-35 (20); Fowler, pp. 140-149 (20); Holm, Vol. I., Ch. 22 (11); Abbott, Vol. I., Ch. 12 (11); Mahaffy, Problems, Ch. 4 (12).

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

CHAPTER IX

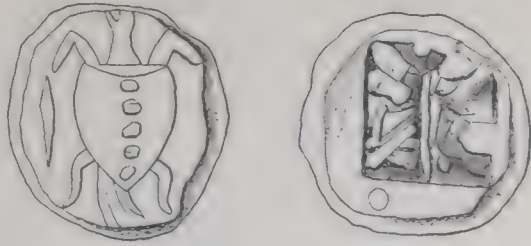
THE DORIAN CITY STATE — SPARTA

I. POLITICAL GROWTH OF SPARTA

Character of the Dorian Race. — The first people of historic Greece to attain political distinction were the Dorians. Since leaving their early home in Thessaly (see page 81), this people had preserved the simple character and rugged habits of their ancestors. They were by nature fitted for a kind of culture different from that which prevailed among the people whom they drove from the Peloponnesus. They had no love for the massive walls, the gorgeous palaces, and golden ornaments of Tiryns and Mycenæ; and, unlike the Achæans, they did not fall under the spell of Orientalism. They came into the Peloponnesus as conquerors; and they seemed to know that to maintain their supremacy over others, they must learn to govern themselves. The Dorians were thus the leaders in the development of a distinct Hellenic culture — a culture based not upon extravagance and excess, like that of the East, but upon restraint and self-control. The phase of Greek culture which they established was not, however, intellectual and artistic, but physical and military. This physical training, crude as it may have been in its methods, made sturdy men and hardy warriors. It made the Dorians supreme in the Peloponnesus and for a time in Hellas.

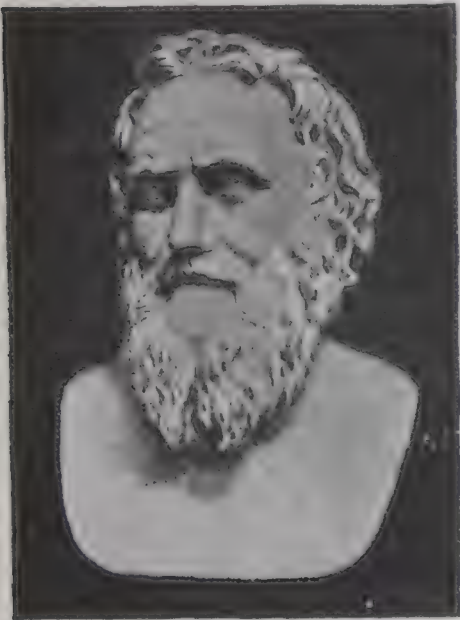
The Rise of Sparta. — In their conquest of the Peloponnesus the Dorians took possession of three important countries — Argolis, Laconia, and Messenia. Their first important cities arose in Argolis; chief of them was Argos. One of the rulers of Argos, Phi'don by name, was especially noted as the man who introduced a system of weights and measures, and who established a mint for the coinage of money. From Argos as a center, the Dorians subdued the towns of Corinth,

Meg'ara, and Sicyon (*sish'i-on*; map, p. 119). But all the Dorian cities were at last overshadowed by Sparta, a town of Laconia, which we may regard as the typical city state of the Dorian race. Situated on the Euro'tas River, it was at first a mere military garrison, struggling to maintain itself against a hostile people. By degrees it gained in strength until it became the center of the Dorian civilization. This remarkable city owed its success to its peculiar organization and discipline, said to have been established by Lycur'gus.



COIN OF PHIDON

The Legislation of Lycurgus. — The Spartans always looked upon Lycurgus as the founder of their institutions. But all



LYCURGUS (So-called)

we know of this famous law-giver is gathered from traditions which are not very trustworthy. He is said to have ordered the people to recognize the gods, and to build temples to Zeus and Athena; to have divided the population into tribes and clans (*obes*); and to have instituted a council of chiefs and an assembly. It is quite evident that these institutions could not have been established by Lycurgus, for they were common to all the Greek states, and were similar to those of the Homeric age. But with-

out attempting to say exactly what was and what was not established by Lycurgus, or to settle the question whether or

not there was such a man, we may review the Spartan institutions as they existed in historical times.

Divisions of the People. — The first thing we notice in Sparta is the division of the whole population into three classes — which had evidently grown up as the result of the Dorian conquest of the Peloponnesus.

1. The upper class consisted of the Spartans themselves, the descendants of the Dorian conquerors. They were the free inhabitants of the Spartan city, and were the sole possessors of political rights and privileges. They formed a comparatively small part of the entire population — not more than ten thousand men capable of bearing arms. They received the best portions of the land; but they were forbidden themselves to till the soil, or to do the work of artisans or traders. Their sole occupation was war and service to the state.

2. The next class comprised the *Perice'ci* (dwellers around), who formed a large part of the conquered people. They lived in the neighboring towns, farmed the lands of the state, and engaged in manufactures and commerce. They were personally free, but forced to pay tribute to Sparta. They were, moreover, called upon to serve in the Spartan army in time of war, and were even assigned to posts of command.

3. The lowest class were the *Helots*, or serfs, who tilled the soil allotted to the citizens. They belonged to the state, and could not be sold by their Spartan masters. They formed the largest part of the population. They had no rights, and their condition was wretched.

The Spartan Government. — The form of the government of Sparta was an outgrowth of the system which prevailed in the tribal state of Homeric times. This we see in the three branches of the early government, the kingship, the senate, and the assembly.

1. At the head of the state were two kings, members of distinct royal families. The origin of this double kingship it is difficult to determine. The kings acted as a restraint upon each other, and this tended to weaken the royal power.

2. A more important element of the state was the senate (*geron'sia*). This was a body composed of thirty of the leading citizens, including the two kings. In early times the members of the senate no doubt represented the clans which united to form the state. But in historical times they were elected by the citizens. They must be sixty years of age, and they held their position for life. Originally the senators were simply the advisors of the kings; but they came to be the sharers of their power. They not only determined largely the policy of the kings, but were judges in criminal cases, and prepared the matters which came before the assembly.

3. The third branch of Spartan government was the assembly (*apel'la*), which consisted of all Spartan citizens above thirty years of age. The assembly not only elected the senators, but decided upon the most important matters of state. It ratified the laws, determined questions of war and peace, and settled disputes regarding the royal succession. The highest power thus rested in the body of Spartan citizens; and in this respect the state might be called a democracy. But when we consider the fact that the body of citizens formed but a small part of the whole population, the government can more properly be regarded as an aristocracy.

The Ephors and their Power.— We should not have a complete view of the Spartan constitution if we failed to notice the ephors (watchers), who were officers peculiar to Sparta. They were five in number, and formed a kind of supervisory board. They were elected by the assembly each year to protect the interests of the people against the encroachments of the kings and the senate. They came in time to be the guardians of the constitution and the real rulers of the state. They exercised executive and judicial powers, punished those who opposed their will, and called to account the officials, even the kings; and from their sentence there was no appeal. But more than all, they supervised the Spartan discipline and training, which, above everything else, determined the character of the Spartan state.

II. THE SPARTAN DISCIPLINE AND EDUCATION

Character of the Spartan Discipline. — The strength of Sparta was due not so much to the form of her government as to the character of her citizens. If there is anything that Sparta owed to some lawgiver like Lycurgus, it was, no doubt, that peculiar form of discipline by which her citizens were trained to be soldiers, and her soldiers to be lovers of their country. The great end of this training was to fit the citizen for the service of the state. This end was attained by a system of public education and supervision which began with childhood and ended only with old age.

Education of the Young. — The Spartans evidently believed that the character of a nation depends upon the training of its children. If the state is to be prepared for war, the children must be physically strong and inured to hardships akin to those of war. The Spartan elders decided whether each child, at birth, was sufficiently strong to be reared, or whether he should be exposed to the wild beasts. At the age of seven the boy was taken from his mother's care and placed in the hands of the public trainers. From this time he was subject to a training which was severe, and which to us seems brutal; but to the Spartans it seemed the necessary preparation for a soldier's life. The boy was obliged to prepare his own meals; to wear the same clothing summer and winter; to sleep on a bed of rushes; to forage at home as he would be obliged to forage in the field; to deceive his friend as he would deceive his foe; to be hardened by the lash that he might better endure the hardships of the camp. To develop his physical strength and agility, he was trained in gymnastic exercises, in running, wrestling, and throwing the javelin.

If the boys were trained to become men in the Spartan sense, the girls were trained to become the mothers of such men, to be healthy and strong; so that it was said that the Spartan women were the most vigorous and beautiful of all the women of Greece. The Spartans had little sympathy with

higher intellectual culture, with art and science. Music and poetry, however, were appreciated if they were inspired with a martial spirit. But oratory had for them no attraction; and they insisted upon brevity of speech.

Restraints upon Luxury. — The supervision of the state was exercised not only over the training of the young, but over the lives of all citizens. Every form of luxury was discouraged. The dress was simple. The houses were humble and unadorned. Money was not lavished upon public buildings and works of art. The temptations to a life of luxury were withstood, especially by the institution of public meals (*syssitia*). The men were organized in companies, and each one contributed to the common meal. The fare was of the simplest sort, the chief dish being the famous "black broth."¹ The men were withdrawn from their families and lived in public barracks. Home life was thus destroyed in the interests of the state. In these ways the simple and severe discipline of the camp was maintained in peace as well as in war.

Military Organization. — The Spartans evidently knew that battles are not to be won by mere physical courage and endurance. They knew that to make an effective army, men must be properly organized and officered. Hitherto men had fought in large masses, arranged by tribes and clans, and directed by the herald of the king. The Spartans introduced a new arrangement, something like our modern companies, regiments, and brigades. The smallest division was a company of twenty-five or thirty men under a captain. Each division, from the largest to the smallest, was under its own officers; and the orders from the commander in chief were transmitted through these different grades of officers. The men marched to the music of the fife, and were trained in various tactical evolutions. The Spartans came to have the most efficient army of Greece, and, as a matter of fact, of the world at that time.

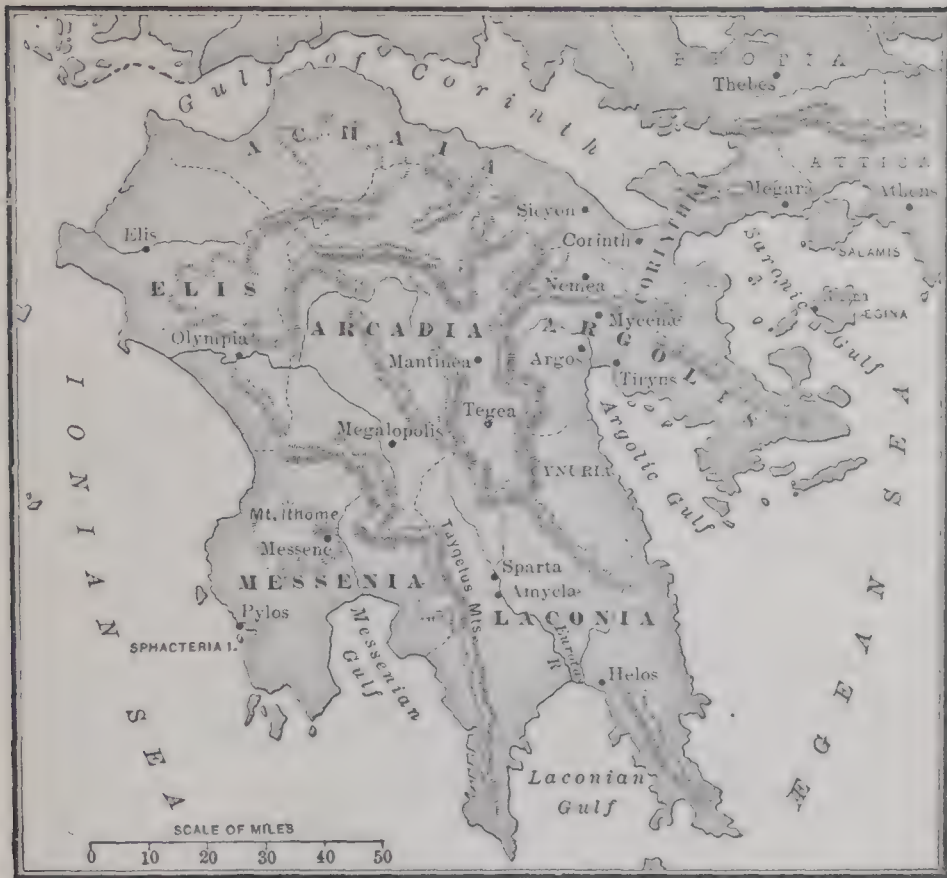
¹This national dish of the Spartans consisted of "pork cooked in blood and seasoned with salt and vinegar" (Gilbert, *Constitutional Antiquities*, p. 69).

III. SUPREMACY OF SPARTA IN THE PELOPONNESUS

Conquest of Laconia and Messenia. — With such a political and military organization, Sparta was able not only to maintain her own position, but also to extend her authority over her neighbors. But this was accomplished only after a long series of struggles. The valley of the Eurotas was first subdued. The Achaean city of Amyclæ was conquered, and also Helos near the mouth of the river. The possession of Cynu'ria, the territory bordering upon Argolis, was wrested from Argos; and it was not long before the whole of Laconia was Spartan territory. Sparta was then brought into contact with Messenia, the country to the west of the Tayg'etus Mountains. After two severe wars — each covering a period of twenty years — the Spartans were finally victorious, and the inhabitants of Messenia either fled into exile or were reduced to the condition of helots.

Extension of the Spartan Power. — Sparta now turned her attention to the other states of the Peloponnesus. After a stubborn resistance — especially on the part of the city of Te'gea — Arcadia was compelled to acknowledge her supremacy. She was then called upon to interfere in a quarrel going on in Elis in regard to the control of the Olympian games; and she succeeded in establishing her superior influence in that district. The city of Argos maintained a bitter opposition to Sparta, and was able to preserve its independence; but a large part of Argolis was brought under Spartan control.

The Peloponnesian League. — By her conquests and alliances Sparta became the supreme power in the Peloponnesus. With the exception of Argos and the district of Achaia, all the states of the peninsula were united under the hegemony, or leadership, of this one power. The inhabitants of these states were permitted to retain their local independence; and each state possessed an equal vote in a council which was supposed to regulate matters of common interest. As a result of this policy there arose a Peloponnesian league, but not



THE PELOPONNESUS

a Peloponnesian state. Sparta was still a city state, maintaining an authority over other city states.

Position of Sparta in Greece. — While there are many things that we might criticise in the narrow government, the austere training, and the domineering policy of Sparta, we must confess that she contributed much to the future greatness of Greece. She set an example of simplicity in life, of self-control, of patriotic devotion, of respect for existing institutions. She showed the importance of physical education, of healthy, strong, and symmetrical bodies; and she gave Greece an ideal of physical manhood, which furnished an inspiration to Greek sculpture. She also set a pattern of military organization, by which in the subsequent period of foreign invasions Greece

was saved from destruction. Although Sparta did not represent the highest culture of Greece, she did much to make that highest culture possible.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

- Cox, Ch. 5, "Constitution and Early History of Sparta" (10).¹
 Smith, Ch. 7, "Early History of the Peloponnesus" (10).
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 Oman, Ch. 7, "The Dorians in the Peloponnesus" (10).
 Allcroft, Vol. I., Ch. 8, "The Spartan State" (10).
 Curtius, Vol. I., Bk. II., Ch. 1, "History of the Peloponnesus" (11).
 Holm, Vol. I., Ch. 15, "Sparta, the Constitution of Lycurgus" (11).
 Greenidge, Ch. 5, "Mixed Constitutions" (20).
 Gilbert, pp. 81-91, "The Lacedæmonian League" (20).
 Plutarch, "Lycurgus" (13).

SPECIAL STUDY

THE SPARTAN DISCIPLINE. — Oman, pp. 68-70 (10) ; Smith, pp. 66-69 (10) ; Abbott, Vol. I., pp. 211-217 (11) ; Curtius, Vol. I., pp. 215-222 (11) ; Holm, Vol. I., pp. 181-185 (11) ; Grote, Part II., Ch. 6 (11) ; Blümner, Ch. 3 (22).

CHAPTER X

THE IONIAN CITY STATE — ATHENS

I. THE ATHENIAN MONARCHY AND ITS DECLINE

Character of the Ionian Race. — As the Dorians represented the physical and military side of Greek culture, so the Ionians represented its political and intellectual side. The Ionians, therefore, stand for what we generally regard as the highest and most essential features of Greek civilization — the love of freedom, the taste for intellectual pursuits, and a fine sense of beauty. The chief seats of the Ionian race were Attica, the

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

islands of Eubœa and the Cyclades, and the central coasts of Asia Minor (see map, page 80). Of all the Ionian city states, Athens may be regarded as the most typical. The history of this state shows a continual tendency in the direction of democratic institutions. As we study it we shall see passing before us in succession the various phases of government — monarchy, aristocracy, tyranny, and democracy.

The Ancient Monarchy of Athens. — Our knowledge of the early history of Athens is based almost entirely upon traditions; but we are able to see that its most ancient government was patterned after the Homeric type — with a king, a council, and an assembly. We can also see that the Athenian state was evidently formed, in the usual way, out of a union of smaller groups — the family, the gens, the phratry, and the tribe — each of which was bound together by a common religion. The district of Attica was covered by a number of small communities, each of which had been formed by such a union; and these communities came to be united about the Acropolis of Athens — the common citadel of Attica — where they joined in the common worship of Athena.

The king was the head of this common state; and he was supposed to have founded the early institutions of Athens — which in fact were the result of a gradual growth. The royal line included a long list of names from Cecrops, the mythical founder of Athens, to Codrus, the “last of the kings.” The most celebrated of the intervening kings were Erech'theus, after whom one of the noted buildings of Athens was named (Erechthe'um), and Theseus, who was said to have brought the various towns of Attica (twelve in number) under one centralized monarchy. While we know very little of these traditional kings, there can be little doubt that the ancient monarchy was the result of a gathering together of the smaller Ionian towns of Attica about a common center at Athens.

Divisions of the People in Attica. — In each of the Ionian towns of Attica there were certain divisions of the people which remained after the towns were united under the common

monarchy. In the first place, there were the four Ionian tribes which bore distinct names (*Geleon'tes*, *Hople'tes*, *Ægic'ores*, and *Ar'gades*) and which were each made up of phratries and clans. In the next place, there were three class divisions, upon which were based social rank and political privileges: (1) the well-born, or nobles (*Eupat'ridæ*), (2) the farmers (*Geom'ori*), and (3) the artisans (*Demiur'gi*). Of these classes the Eu'patrids stood nearest to the king. They were the only persons who possessed political privileges; and from them the king chose the members of his council. If the rest of the freemen were ever called together in an assembly, it was only on very rare occasions.

Decline of the Monarchy; the Archonship. — The decline of the kingly power at Athens was woven by tradition into a patriotic story. It is related that when the Dorians were once invading Attica, an oracle declared that that side would win whose king was slain. Codrus was then the king of Athens. In order to save his country Codrus devoted himself to death; he disguised himself as a peasant, entered the ranks of the enemy, and was killed; and the Athenians declared that no one after Codrus was worthy to bear the name of king. This was the tradition. The fact seems to be that the power of the king gradually declined, as other magistrates were appointed to exercise authority alongside of him. Relating to this subject Ar'istotle, who wrote a book on the Athenian government, says: "The first magistrates, both in date and importance, were the king, the polemarch (or commander in war), and the archon. The earliest of these offices was that of the king, which existed from the very beginning. To this was added, secondly, the office of polemarch, for the reason that some of the kings were feeble in war. The last of these three offices was that of the archon" (*Athenian Constitution*, Ch. 3). Afterward, there were appointed six junior magistrates called, by way of distinction, *thesmoth'etæ*, or guardians of the law. This whole body of magistrates came to be called the "nine archons." They were arranged in the following order: first, the three senior archons,

including (1) the chief archon, after whom the year was named, and who came to be regarded as the highest civil officer, (2) the polemarch, who commanded the army, (3) the king archon, who presided over the public worship; and, secondly, the six junior archons, or *thesmothetæ*, who were equal in rank, who kept the public records, and who acted as judges in certain cases. The nine archons were chosen from the body of Eupatrids, or the nobles, and served for a year. Those who had served as archons became members of the council—which position they held for life. As this council was accustomed to sit on the hill of Ares (Mars), it was called the “Council of the Areop’agus.”

The Conspiracy of Cylon (628 B.C.).—Although the kingship had now given way to the archonship, still the government was entirely in the hands of the noble families; that is, the Eupatrids. Their rule was often harsh, and the people were discontented. We now see the first attempt to establish a “tyranny” at Athens. The story goes that an ambitious young man by the name of Cylon—who had won a foot race at the Olympian games and had married the daughter of the tyrant of Megara—hoped that his popularity would enable him to acquire the same power in Athens that his father-in-law exercised in Megara. So, with the aid of Megarian troops, he and his followers seized the Acropolis. But the people, instead of coming to his support, as he expected, joined the nobles in putting down the conspiracy. They besieged the Acropolis, and starved the conspirators into submission. Cylon himself escaped; but his followers, when they saw that they must surrender, sought refuge near the shrine of Athena, which stood upon the summit of the Acropolis. To seize them while under the protection of the goddess would have been sacrilege. The archon Megacles, therefore, induced them to leave the shrine by promising them a fair trial. But to guard against any possible treachery, they attached a cord to the statue of the goddess, and, holding to this as a safeguard, they descended from the citadel. When they reached the foot of the

hill, the cord broke, and by command of the archon they were nearly all massacred. Thus the first attempt at tyranny proved a failure. On account of the treacherous act of the archon Megacles, his family (called the Alcmaeon'idæ) was "accursed." The city of Megara, also, incurred the bitter hatred of the Athenians for its aid in this conspiracy.

The Reforms of Draco (621 B.C.). — We can not say exactly what effect the conspiracy of Cylon had upon the condition of the people. It may be that they were emboldened to make new demands for justice and equality. It may be that their loyalty during this disturbance induced the nobles to grant them some rights. However this may be, certain changes were made which were intended to bring about a more peaceful condition of things. These changes were made by Draco, one of the six junior archons.

In the first place, if we are to believe Aristotle, there were some political changes made by Draco. "The franchise was given to all who could furnish themselves with a military equipment. There was also to be a new council, consisting of four hundred and one members, elected by lot from among those who possessed the franchise. Both for this council and for the other magistracies, the lot was cast among those who were over thirty years of age; and no one might hold office twice until every one else had had his turn" (Athenian Constitution, Ch. 4).¹ By giving the franchise to those who could furnish themselves with a military equipment, Draco made wealth, as well as birth, the basis of political rights.

Another change attributed to Draco was the reduction of the laws to a written form. Hitherto the law had been simply a body of customs which the nobles could interpret about as they pleased. When now these customs were written down, their severity became apparent; so that it was said that the

¹ The attempt of certain recent critics (like Nissen, Niese, and Peter Meyer in his "Aristotle's Politics and the Athenian Constitution") to throw discredit upon the above statements can not be regarded as successful, and seems to have been fully met by Gustav Gilbert. (Cf. "Constitutional Antiquities of Sparta and Athens," Eng. ed., 1895, pp. xxxiii-xxxix; also p. 119, note.)

laws of Draco were "written not in ink but in blood." And there was some ground for this opinion; for a petty theft could be punished by death, and an insolvent debtor could be sold into slavery. But this severity was probably due not to Draco, but to the old customs themselves, which he simply put into a written form.

II. SOLON AND THE ATHENIAN ARISTOCRACY

Solon as a Reformer. — Thus far we have seen the decline of the old Athenian monarchy and the growth of an aristocratic form of government — a government which rested not only upon the high-born Eupatrids, but upon the wealthy men who could furnish the equipment of a heavy-armed soldier. This aristocratic government was reorganized by Solon. It was placed by him upon a broader basis, which prepared the way for the future democracy. The Athenians looked upon Solon as their greatest lawgiver. He was fitted by nature to be a social and political reformer. He was a man of thought, and was counted among the seven wise men of Greece. Like a genuine Greek, he believed in moderation in all things. He was, withal, a philanthropist and patriot, and placed all his ability at the service of his country.



SOLON (So-called)

Need of Social Reform. — The legislation and reforms of Draco did not relieve to any extent the condition of the common people. The government was still in the hands of those who were privileged by birth or the possession of wealth. But

more than this, the poorer classes were held in a state of practical bondage to the rich. Aristotle has given us a vivid account of the condition of the people at this time. "The whole country," he says, "was in the hands of a few persons; and if the poor tenants failed to pay their rent, they were liable to be reduced to slavery, and their children with them. Their persons were mortgaged to their creditors, a custom which prevailed until the time of Solon, who was the first to appear as the leader of the people. But the hardest and bitterest part of the condition of the masses was the fact that they had no share in the offices existing under the constitution. At the same time they were discontented with every other feature of their lot: for, to speak generally, they had no part nor share in anything." (Athenian Constitution, Ch. 2.)

Removal of Economic Burdens. — Solon was elected to the archonship (594 B.C.), with full authority to remedy the evils of the state. His first measure was to emancipate the debtor slaves. The persons who had been sold into slavery were



ATHENIAN COIN OF SOLON'S TIME

freed. Those who had fled into exile to escape the cruelty of their masters were called back. The lands of the poor which had been mortgaged were relieved from their burdens. All debts secured upon the persons or prop-

erty of debtors were canceled;¹ and all loans made upon the security of the person were henceforth prohibited. This social reform was called "the removal of burdens."

Extension of Political Rights. — The reforms of Solon affected not only the social condition of the people, but their political rights as well. He knew that the people could not protect

¹ Aristotle says that Solon "canceled all debts public and private"; but he probably had in mind the kind of debts which caused the wretched condition of the people which Solon intended to relieve.

themselves unless they received a larger share in the government. He did not, however, break down all class distinctions and make a pure democracy; but he did give to all the free inhabitants of Attica certain political privileges according to the amount of their wealth. The people had already been divided for the purposes of taxation into four "census classes" as follows:—

1. Those who received from their land an income of five hundred measures of barley or wine, and were called "Five Hundred Measure Men" (*Pentaco'sio-medim'ni*).

2. Those who received three hundred measures, and could furnish a horse for the army, and hence were called "Knights" (*Hip'peis*).

3. Those who received two hundred measures, and were supposed to be able to own a yoke of oxen, and were called "Yokemen" (*Zeug'itæ*).

4. All others, whether they owned landed property or not, called "Laborers" (*The'tes*).

Upon these census classes Solon based the distribution of political rights; that is, the right to hold office and the right to vote. The archons could be elected only from the first class. The inferior officers could be elected from the first, second, or third class, but not from the fourth class. The members of all four classes, however, could vote in the assembly. Still further to protect the lower classes from injustice, he established a system of jury courts (*helia'a*) in which all citizens, including the Thetes, could sit as jurors (*dicas'tæ*).

The New Council of Four Hundred. — Solon retained the old Council of the Areopagus, which continued, as Aristotle says, to be the "guardian of the constitution," since it watched over the conduct of the magistrates and the welfare of the citizens, and punished the greater crimes against the state. But the Council of Four Hundred and One, established by Draco, was abolished; and a new Council of Four Hundred was created — one hundred members being chosen by lot from each of the four Ionian tribes. This council prepared the laws to be sub-

mitted to the people in the assembly. In this, as in the other features of the new constitution, we can see that the purpose of Solon was not to destroy the aristocratic element in the state, but to give a greater importance to the democratic element.

Solon and the Athenian Discipline. — Like the Spartans, Solon believed that the character of the state depended upon some form of discipline. But, unlike the Spartans, he believed that the sources of public virtue were in the home. He held the father responsible for training the son in habits of industry. He believed that education — physical, intellectual, and moral — was a means of preserving the state. “In the shady wrestling-grounds, which spread themselves out in the neighborhood of the city, the young Athenians were to unfold the vigor of their bodies and minds, and grow to be a part of the state, which demanded men not drilled in the Spartan fashion, but fully and freely developed” (Curtius). Solon believed it to be the duty of every citizen to have an interest in public affairs; and he disfranchised the man who refused to take part in political life. He also believed that individual liberty should be restrained in the interests of public morality; and he punished those who led infamous lives, or attempted to corrupt others. The Athenians were thus trained by a discipline, no less than the Spartans. But it was a discipline more rational, and based upon broader ideas of human nature; and it finally led to a higher form of culture.

The Last Years of Solon. — The reforms of Solon were guided by wisdom and moderation. They were therefore criticised by the extremists of all parties. That they might be fairly tested, Solon is said to have bound the Athenians by an oath to observe them for ten years; and then he departed from the city. He traveled in Egypt, in Cyprus, and is said to have visited Cræsus, the king of Lydia. In response to a question of the king, as to who was the happiest of men, Solon, knowing the fickleness of fortune, is said to have replied that “no one can be counted truly happy until he is dead.” Whether this story is true or not, the fate of Cræsus afforded an example

of the truth of these words ; for he was afterward driven from his throne. Indeed, Solon also learned their truth ; for when he returned to Athens, he found his native city, for whose happiness he had so faithfully labored, still disturbed by civil strife, and he was led to believe that his work was a failure.

III. PISISTRATUS AND THE ATHENIAN TYRANNY

Political Parties at Athens. — As the old distinctions based upon birth — the high born and the low born — were passing away, new parties were growing up, composed of men who were looking after their own special interests. These parties took their names from the localities where they received their strongest support. There were, in the first place, the wealthy landowners, whose estates occupied the most fertile part of the lowlands, and who were hence called the Men of the Plain ; they formed the extreme aristocratic or oligarchical party. In the next place, there were the small farmers, shepherds, and herdsmen living upon the highlands, and therefore called the Men of the Hill ; they formed the extreme democratic or popular party. Finally, there were the merchants and traders engaged in commerce, and hence called the Men of the Shore ; they formed the moderate or conservative party. During the absence of Solon these parties were engaged in bitter struggles. In the midst of this strife and discord, one of the chief defects of the Athenian constitution became apparent. This was the lack of a single executive head, with sufficient power to administer the government with a firm hand. The war between the parties gave an opportunity for an ambitious man to seize the government, and to rule as a "tyrant."

Usurpation of Pisistratus. — The man who now played the rôle of tyrant at Athens was Pisis'tratus. He was an able general, a fluent speaker, a man who combined culture with craftiness. Although a noble by birth, he espoused the cause of the people and became the leader of the popular party. To seize the government he used a stratagem. He suddenly

appeared one day in the market place with bloody wounds inflicted by his own hand. But he gave the people to believe that he had received these wounds in defending their rights. In spite of the protest of Solon, the people were deceived and voted him a bodyguard of fifty men armed with clubs. With this he seized the Acropolis and made himself supreme (560 B.C.). After a rule of five years his enemies united and he was driven into exile. To restore himself to power he resorted to another stratagem. This time he was drawn into the city in a chariot attended by a stately woman dressed in armor to represent the goddess Athena, under whose ægis he claimed to be brought back to power. The people were again deceived, and he was reinstated. After a rule of six years he was again expelled. He recovered his power a third time, not by a stratagem, but by open force, with the aid of a body of mercenaries obtained from Argos. From this time he was permitted to rule until his death.

The Rule of Pisistratus. — The methods which Pisistratus used to acquire his power were entirely different from the mode in which he exercised it during his three successive terms. "His administration," says Aristotle, "was more like a constitutional government than the rule of a tyrant." He retained the political forms established by Solon, only taking care that his own supporters should be elected to the archonship. He advanced money to the poorer people to aid them in obtaining a livelihood. He appointed local judges in the country, so that the rights of the lower classes might be protected without their being obliged to come to the city for justice. He adorned Athens with public buildings, not only to satisfy his own love of art, but to give work to the unemployed. He was a patron of literature and collected a library which he threw open to the public. He is said to have made the first collection of Homer's poems. He gathered about him the poets and artists of Greece. He also encouraged commerce and formed alliances with foreign states. He encouraged in every way the worship of the gods, and instituted

splendid festivals in their honor. Although a tyrant by name, he was one of the greatest of Athenian rulers, and began the policy which afterward made Athens the literary and art center of Greece.

Fall of the Athenian Tyranny. — At the death of Pisistratus, the power passed into the hands of his two sons, Hip'pias and Hippar'chus. Hippias, being the elder, was really the head of the government. During the early years of his rule he followed his father's example, governing the people with mildness and encouraging art and literature. But a conspiracy was formed, led by the noted tyrannicides, Harmo'dius and Aristogi'ton, resulting in the assassination of the younger brother, Hipparchus. Embittered by this deed, Hippias became a tyrant in fact. He put to death his suspected enemies. He banished those whom he feared. He surrounded himself with a bodyguard of foreign mercenaries. He imposed arbitrary taxes upon the people. As the result of four years of such despotic rule, the name of tyrant was made forever odious to the Athenians. But Athens was helpless to throw off this tyranny without the aid of the gods or the help of some foreign power. The gods, accordingly, sent a foreign power to their relief. The Spartans were enjoined by the Delphic oracle to go to the aid of Athens. Under their king, Cleom'enes, the Spartan army entered the city and invested the citadel. The children of Hippias were captured by the Spartans; and to obtain their release, Hippias surrendered the Acropolis (510 B.C.). He was permitted to retire into Asia Minor; the Athenians passed against him and his family a sentence of perpetual exile, and he became an open and bitter enemy of Greece.

IV. CLISTHENES AND THE ATHENIAN DEMOCRACY

Transition from Tyranny to Democracy. — During the fifty years which extended from the rise of Pisistratus to the fall of Hippias (560-510 B.C.), the Athenians were able to see

the dangers of a tyranny. They learned that the character of a tyranny depended upon the character of the tyrant. If the power was in the hands of an able and generous man like Pisistratus, the people might prosper; but if it fell into the hands of a suspicious and violent man like Hippias, their liberties would be endangered. The man who now appeared as the friend of the people was Clis'thenes, who had taken part in overthrowing the recent tyranny. He was an able and far-seeing statesman, and one of the greatest political reformers that Greece ever produced. Although not devoid of personal ambition, he identified his own interests with those of the people, and placed the government upon a more democratic basis.

New Territorial Basis of the State. — The political organization had hitherto been based upon the old Ionian tribes, which were made up of phratries and clans. To possess any political rights, one must, therefore, belong to one of the old Ionian families. But Clisthenes laid a new foundation to the state, by dividing the territory into local districts and giving to all persons residing in these districts a share in the government. The smallest district was the *deme*, or township, which had its own local government, with its town officers and its town meeting. A number of demes (generally three or four) made the next larger district, the *trittys*, which might be compared to our county. There were thirty of these trittyes — a group of ten in and about the city of Athens, of ten along the coast, and of ten in the intermediate territory. To make his new local *tribe*, which was a sort of senatorial district, Clisthenes selected by lot one trittys from the city group, one from the coast group, and one from the intermediate group. In this way the territory of Attica was divided into ten local tribes, each one of which was made up of people living in different localities. This ingenious arrangement tended to break down the old strife between the men of the Plain, the Hill, and the Shore. We might compare the old Ionian state of Solon with the new Attic state of Clisthenes as follows: —

The Old Ionian State

4 Ionian tribes.
12 phratries, or brotherhoods.
360 (?) clans, or gentes.

The New Attic State

10 local tribes.
30 trittyes, or county districts.
100 (?) demes, or townships.

The New Government of Clisthenes. — The new territorial division of the people furnished a new basis for the various branches of the government.

1. The assembly (*eccle'sia*) was now made up of all persons who were enrolled in the various demes, whether they were members of the old Ionic tribes or not. The assembly became the real sovereign power in the state. It passed upon questions relating not only to peace and war, but also to revenues and taxation, and to domestic and foreign policy.

2. The senate (*boule*) was now composed of five hundred members, fifty of whom were chosen by lot from each local tribe, or senatorial district. It took the place of the old Council of Four Hundred chosen from the Ionian tribes. It formed a deliberative body, preparing measures to be submitted to the assembly, and it also had a supervision over matters of administration.

3. The chief magistrates were still the nine archons, who were, however, now chosen by lot from candidates presented by the demes. About this time there was a new arrangement made in respect to military officials. Ten generals (*strate'gi*) were elected, — probably one from each tribe, — to command the ten tribal regiments; while the polemarch remained the commander in chief of the whole army. The ten generals came in time to supersede the archons as chief magistrates of the state.

Protection against Tyranny; Ostracism. — The great purpose of Clisthenes was to insure the political equality of all citizens. The changes which he made in the constitution were sufficient to protect the state against the dangers of aristocracy. Neither birth nor wealth now conferred any special privileges. It was also necessary to protect the state against the dangers of tyranny, or the usurpation of power by a prominent party leader.

Cleisthenes decided to leave to the people themselves the question whether the presence of any man threatened the safety of the state. If at any special meeting of the assembly, called for that purpose, six thousand votes were cast against any man, that man was obliged to withdraw from the city for ten years. As these votes were written upon pieces of earthenware (*ostraca*), the process was called "ostracism." It was intended, not as a punishment, but as a precaution. The person ostracized lost none of his rights of person or property; he simply went into an honorable exile. This peculiar custom, while it was intended as a safeguard against tyranny, was yet capable of abuse and of being used for partisan purposes.

The Triumph of Democracy.—From this review we can see how the ancient monarchy of Athens was gradually transformed into a well-organized democracy. The old king, who held his office by hereditary right, was displaced by the archons, chosen at first from the nobles, and finally from the whole body of the people. The ancient Council of Elders, or war chiefs, passed into the Council of the Areopagus, which consisted of the ex-archons, and which was supplemented by new councils.—at first, the Council of Four Hundred and One, established by Draco, and chosen from the wealthy classes; afterward, the Council of Four Hundred, established by Solon, and chosen from the four Ionian tribes; and, finally, the Council of Five Hundred, established by Cleisthenes, and chosen from the members of the new Attic tribes. The assembly had passed through somewhat similar changes, until it had come to be composed of the whole body of citizens, and to hold the sovereign power of the state. As Athens came to represent the principle of democracy, the Spartans came to be the chief defenders of the aristocratic principle. Under their king, Cleomenes, they even invaded Attica and attempted to overthrow the new Athenian constitution; but these efforts proved a failure. With her democratic institutions firmly established, Athens continued to grow in strength until she became the chief city of Hellas and the champion of Greek liberty.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

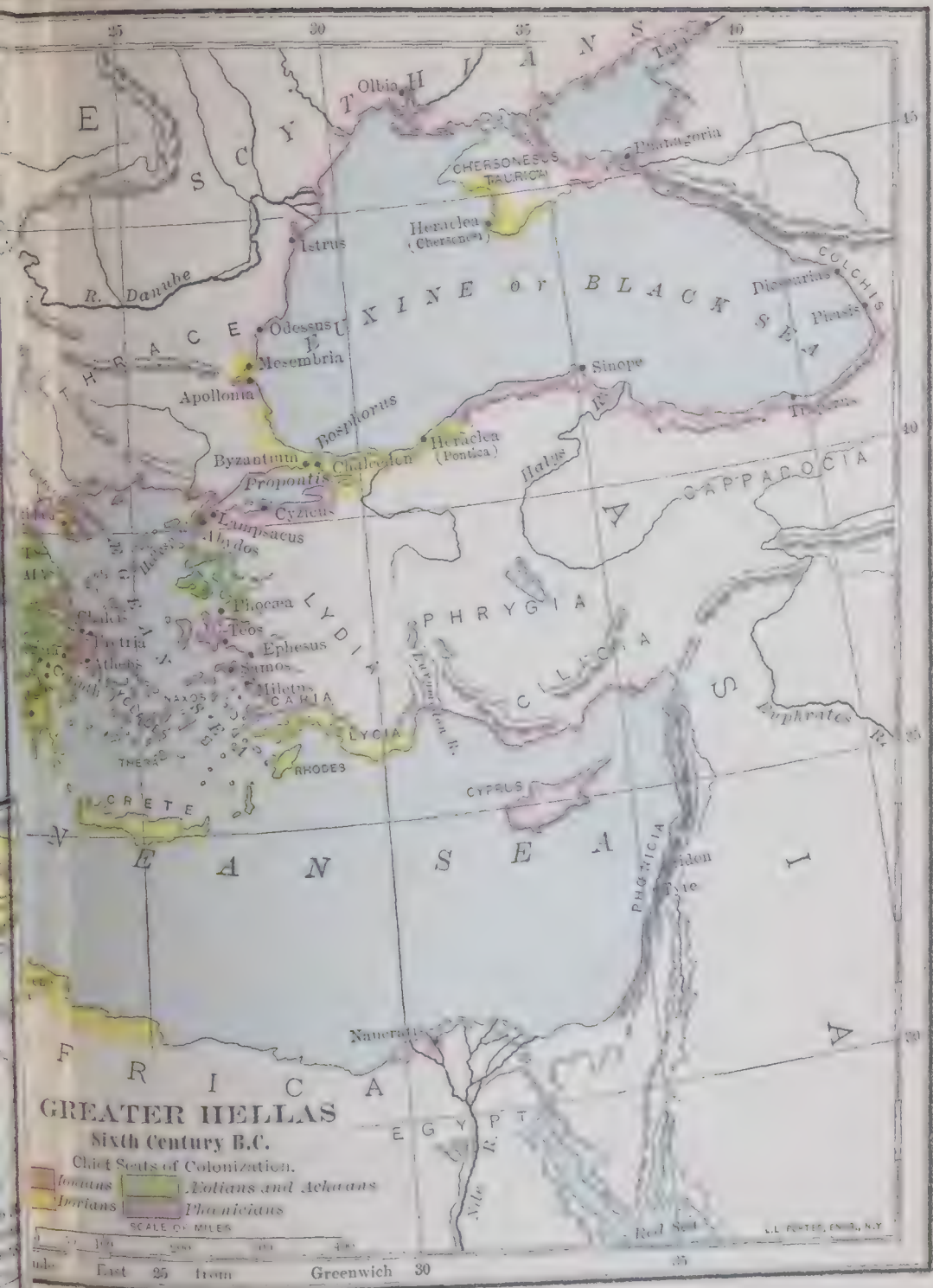
- Smith, Ch. 10, "Early History of Athens to Pisistratus" (10).¹
 Oman, Ch. 11, "Early History of Attica"; Ch. 13, "Solon and Peisistratus" (10).
 Bury, Ch. 4, "Union of Attica and the Foundation of the Athenian Democracy" (10).
 Curtius, Vol. I., Bk. II., Ch. 2, "History of Attica" (11).
 Abbott, Vol. I., Ch. 9, "Early Attica"; Ch. 13, "Solon" (11).
 Holm, Vol. I., Ch. 26, "Athens to the Time of Solon"; Ch. 27, "Athens under Peisistratus and his Sons" (11).
 Grote, Part II., Ch. 11, "Solonian Laws and Constitution" (11).
 Cox, Greek Statesmen, "Solon," "Peisistratos," "Kleisthenes" (26).
 Plutarch, "Solon" (13).
 Aristotle, Athenian Constitution, Chs. 3-21 (13).

SPECIAL STUDY

THE CONSTITUTION OF CLISTHENES. — Oman, Ch. 16 (10); Cox, Ch. 12 (10); Abbott, Ch. 15 (11); Bury, pp. 211-215 (10); Allcroft, Vol. I., Ch. 15 (10); Curtius, Vol. I., pp. 401-411 (11); Grote, Part I., Ch. 31 (11); Greenidge, pp. 157-162 (20); Gilbert, pp. 145-152 (20).

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

MAP No. 4.



LIST OF PRINCIPAL GREEK COLONIES

The name of the parent colony is placed in parenthesis, together with the date of settlement when known. These dates can be regarded as only approximate, and are variously given by different authorities; the dates below are generally those accepted by Grote.

I. EASTERN COLONIES.

1. Northern *Ægean*.

- Methone (Eretria, 720 B.C.).
- Mende (Eretria).
- Torone (Chalcis).
- Olynthus (Chalcis, 480 B.C.).
- Potidæa (Corinth).
- Abdera (Teos, 553 B.C.).
- Maronea (Chios).
- Ænos (Æolia).

2. Propontis.

- Abydos (Miletus).
- Lampsacus (Miletus, 450 B.C.).
- Cyzicus (Miletus, 756 B.C.).
- Chalcedon (Megara, 674 B.C.).
- Byzantium (Megara, 667 B.C.).
- Perinthus (Samos, 600 B.C.).
- Sestos (Æolia).

3. Euxine or Black Sea.

(a) Southern and Eastern Coast.

- Heraclea (Megara, 560 B.C.).
- Sinope (Miletus, 770 B.C.).
- Trapezus (Sinope).
- Phasis (Miletus).
- Dioscurias (Miletus).

(b) Western and Northern Coast.

- Apollonia (Miletus).
- Mesembria (Megara).
- Odessus (Miletus).
- Istrus (Miletus).
- Olbia (Miletus).
- Heraclea (Heraclea Pontica).
- Tanais (Miletus?).
- Phanagoria (Miletus).

4. Africa.

- Naucratis (Miletus, 650 B.C.).
- Cyrene (Thera).
- Barca (Cyrene).

II. WESTERN COLONIES.

1. Adriatic Coast.

- Corcyra (Corinth, 730 B.C.).
- Ambracia (Corinth, 650 B.C.).
- Apollonia (Corinth, 600 B.C.).
- Epidamnus (Corcyra, 625 B.C.).

2. Italy.

(a) Southern Coast.

- Tarentum (Sparta, 707 B.C.).
- Sybaris (Achaia, 720 B.C.).
- Croton (Achaia, 710 B.C.).
- Lauri (Lauris, 680 B.C.).
- Rhegium (Chalcis, 720 B.C.).

(b) Western Coast.

- Cumæ (Chalcis, 1050 B.C.).
- Neapolis (Cumæ).
- Posidonia (Achaia).
- Velia (Phocæa, 550 B.C.).

3. Sicily.

(a) Ionian Colonies.

- Naxos (Chalcis, 735 B.C.).
- Catana (Naxos, 720 B.C.).
- Zancle (Chalcis, 725 B.C.).
- Himera (Zancle, 648 B.C.).

(b) Dorian Colonies.

- Syracuse (Corinth, 734 B.C.).
- Gela (Rhodes, 600 B.C.).
- Aracuntum (Gela, 582 B.C.).
- Selinus (Megara, 650 B.C.).

4. Gaul.

- Massilia (Phocæa, 597 B.C.).
- Olbia (Massilia).

CHAPTER XI

THE EXPANSION OF GREECE — THE COLONIES

I. THE EXTENSION OF HELLAS

The Hellenic World. — We look upon Sparta and Athens as the two most important cities of Greece; but we must not lose sight of the fact that the Hellenic world extended far beyond the boundaries of these two states. There were many other cities which passed through a similar political experience. Some of them, like Sparta, formed aristocratic governments. Others, like Athens, worked their way toward democratic institutions. The most important of the aristocratic cities, or oligarchies, were Thebes in Bœotia, Chalcis and Eretria on the island of Eubœa, and also Corinth, Megara, and Sicyon, on or near the isthmus of Corinth. The most important of the democratic cities, after Athens, were Argos and Elis. Moreover, these political movements were not confined to Greece proper, that is, to European Hellas; they extended to that part of Hellas lying upon the Asiatic coasts. Here, in the presence of Oriental monarchies, the Greek spirit of freedom showed itself in political agitations and revolutions. The whole Hellenic world seemed imbued with a common Hellenic spirit — the spirit of liberty and of local independence.

Colonial Expansion. — At the same time that the cities of Hellas, both in Europe and in Asia, were working out the problem of free government, the boundaries of the Hellenic world were widening by the establishment of colonies. The causes leading to the colonial expansion of Greece were various. In the first place, the growth of population required the formation of new settlements; and these could be formed only in the unoccupied lands which bordered upon the adjoining seas. In

the next place, the political discontent resulting from aristocratic oppression led many people to seek a refuge in new lands. In their new settlements they hoped to find more freedom than they had possessed at home. Hence, we find a large number of colonies established by cities subject to aristocratic rule. Finally, the growing spirit of commerce furnished a strong impulse to colonization. The coasts of the Ægean were indented with natural harbors; and the Greeks early shared with the Phœnicians the spirit of commerce and the trade routes of the sea. With the decline of the Phœnician power, the Greeks became the leading commercial people of the East. Like the Phœnicians, they dotted the shores of the Mediterranean with their trading posts. Greece thus became the mother of colonies, and from the eighth to the sixth century (750-550 B.C.), the territory of Hellas was continually growing wider and wider.

Character of the Greek Colony. — The Greek colony was a community of Greek citizens transported to a new land. It was generally the offshoot of a single city, although one colony might sometimes be formed by the people of different cities. The Greek colony carried with it the traditions, the customs, the language, and the religion of the parent city. Wherever it might be planted, it continued to bear the blossoms and fruits of Greek culture. The founding of a colony was a matter of so much importance that it was customary to consult the oracle at Delphi to ascertain whether the undertaking would meet with the divine sanction. If the response was favorable, a "founder" was appointed to lead the colonists to their new home. The sacred fire taken from the altar of the parent city was carried with the colonists as a symbol of their filial devotion. The infant colony worshiped the same gods as the parent city; and in every way showed the sacred reverence due from a daughter to a mother. But in its political life the colony was entirely independent of the parent state. Though bound by filial affection, it was not subject to parental authority. It formed its own government, made its own laws, and

was expected to work out its own destiny.¹ The colonies thus became new centers of Greek life.

The Colonizing Cities.—The cities of Greece were not equally zealous in the planting of colonies. Of the chief cities, Athens was one of the least conspicuous in this movement. This may have been due to the fact that she was at first more devoted to politics than to commerce, or to the fact that her subjects were less discontented than elsewhere. Sparta, on account of her distance from the sea, was also not important as a colonizing state. But her subjects—especially the Messenians—were sometimes driven by her oppressive government to seek a refuge beyond her dominion. Of the cities of Greece proper the foremost in the colonizing movement were Chalcis and Eretria, situated on the island of Eubœa; and of these two cities Chalcis was the leader. This city had a favorable seaboard; it had an extensive trade with the East; and its aristocratic government



COIN OF ERETRIA

was a cause of popular discontent. These facts are sufficient to explain its colonizing spirit. Next after Chalcis and Eretria should be mentioned Megara and Corinth, both of which were favorably situated for commerce, and were often misruled by an oppressive oligarchy. But the city which surpassed all others as a colonizing center was situated not in Europe, but in Asia. This was Miletus, the most celebrated city of Ionia. It possessed four large harbors, and seems to have fallen heir to the commercial enterprise of the Phœnicians. Miletus is said to have been the mother of eighty colonies. Other, less important, colonizing cities of Ionia were Phocæa, Teos, and

¹ This statement does not apply to the subject colonies, or "cleruchies," sent out by Athens as a means of maintaining her influence in a foreign land. In this case the settlers retained their political relations and rights as members of the parent state.

Samos. A few colonies were established by the Æolian cities of the north, and a still less number by the Dorian cities of the south of Asia Minor. (See maps, pages 80 and 136, 137.)

Areas of Colonization. — The lands open to Greek colonization were the unoccupied coasts of the Mediterranean and Black seas. Some of these lands had already been held by Phœnician colonists; but the decline of Phœnicia gave an opportunity to the Greeks, either to take possession of the old Phœnician sites, or to establish new settlements. The new lands were generally inhabited by a barbarous people; but the native products of these lands afforded a strong inducement to Grecian traders. There were two general areas open to colonization, which we may distinguish as the Eastern and the Western. The Eastern area comprised the northern coasts of the Ægean Sea; the shores of the Propon'tis with its tributary straits, the Hellespont and the Bosphorus; the extensive coast of the Euxine or Black Sea; and also the northeastern coast of Africa. The Western area comprised the western coasts of Illyr'icum and Epirus; the coasts of southern Italy and Sicily; and the seaboard of the western Mediterranean, including southern Gaul, and extending along the shores of Spain.

II. THE EASTERN COLONIES OF HELLAS

Colonies of the Northern Ægean. — If we desired to make a journey to the various Greek colonies,¹ we should naturally set out from the island of Eubœa and coast along the northern shores of the Ægean. The most important part of this coast is Chalcid'ice, — a three-pronged peninsula jutting far out into the sea, — which took its name from Chalcis in Eubœa. On this peninsula we should find more than thirty towns settled by Chalcis and Eretria, among which are Mende,

¹ In studying the geography of the Greek colonies the student is not expected to remember the names of all these colonies, but to trace on the map (pp. 136, 137) their location. By such a map exercise he will obtain some definite idea of the various lands occupied by the different branches of the Greek people.

Olyn'thus, and Toro'ne. The only important city of Dorian origin was Potidæ'a, founded by Corinth. As we proceed farther to the east, we come to certain cities founded by the Asiatic Ionians; for example, Abde'ra, founded by Teos, and Marone'a by Chios. Beyond these are the two chief towns settled by the Æolians of Asia Minor, namely, Ænos on the Thracian Sea, and Sestos on the Hellespont. The chief sources of wealth on these northern coasts were the rich deposits of gold, silver, and copper, and the valuable timber gathered from the forests and used for shipbuilding.

Colonies on the Propontis. — As we sail through the Hellespont into the Propontis, we pass several Ionian cities — Aby'dos, Lamp'sacus, and Cyz'icus — founded by Miletus. The Ionians not only made extensive settlements on the southern coast of the Propontis; they also established stations on the northern coast, like that of Perin'thus, founded by the people of Samos. But the Ionians were not the only people who found their way into this little inland sea. The Dorian people of Megara established the city of Chalce'don on the southern shore of the Bosphorus, or the strait leading into the Euxine. The earlier colonists evidently had shut their eyes to the great advantages of the opposite shore; for the Delphic oracle is said to have advised the later colonists of Megara to "build opposite the city of the blind." The Megarians thus obtained the honor of founding the most important emporium of the East, the colony of Byzan'tium — which afterward became the city of Constantinople.

Colonies on the Euxine or Black Sea. — On passing through the Bosphorus we enter the great expanse of the Euxine, or the Black Sea. On account of its forbidding shores this sea was at first known to the Greeks as the *Axei'nos* (inhospitable); but when its coasts had become covered with Greek colonies and made attractive to the stranger, it was called the *Euxei'nos* (hospitable). It was on the shores of this sea that the Ionian city of Miletus, following in the track of Phœnician merchants, established the largest part of her colonies.

Early in the eighth century (770 B.C.) she planted her first colony at Sino'pe on a projecting headland of Asia Minor. Farther east arose the flourishing town of Trape'zus (Trebizond), which soon became an important emporium. At the eastern extremity of the sea, in the fabled land of Colchis, were established other trading posts, like Phasis and Dioscu'rias. Turning back to the Bosphorus once more, let us follow along the western and northern coasts of the Euxine, among the barbarous Thracians and Scythians. Here the colonizing movement was slower. But along these coasts the merchants of Miletus had opened ports at Apollo'nia, Odes'sus, Istrus, and other places between the Bosphorus and the Danube. Beyond the Danube to the north were erected outlying stations, like Ol'bia, Phanagori'a, and Tan'ais, the last-mentioned place being the remotest frontier of Greek civilization. The advantages gained by the Ionian city of Miletus by planting so many colonies in the Black Sea spurred her Dorian rival, the city of Megara, to make similar efforts. As a result, Megarian settlements were established in the places left vacant by Miletus — such as Mesem'bria on the western coast and Heracle'a (Pontica) on the southern coast, from which a town of the same name was settled on the opposite shore in the Chersone'sus Tau'rica (Crimea). From this great region of the Black Sea, the Greeks were supplied with many valuable commodities. Its mines, its fisheries, its cattle, its timber, its fields of grain, besides its supply of slaves, contributed to the wealth of the merchants and to the industrial development of the Greek people.

Colonies in Africa. — As we leave the shores of the Ægean and the Euxine and pass to the south, we find new evidences of commercial enterprise. The northern shores of Africa were for the most part held by Carthage and Egypt. Carthage, a colony of Tyre, was building up a commercial empire of its own. But Egypt for a long time took little interest in foreign trade; and the country was closed to the merchants of other lands. It was due to the enterprising spirit of Miletus, as well

as to the exceptionally liberal policy of the Egyptian king Psammetichus, that the Nile was opened to Greek traders. On the Delta of this river was established the commercial station Nau'cratis. This station finally grew into an extensive Greek settlement, from which Egyptian commodities, as well as Egyptian ideas, flowed into Hellas. To the west of the Nile the inhabitants of the little island of Thera formed a colony at Cyre'ne, which itself became a colonizing center, planting settlements at Barca and other places along the coast.

III. THE WESTERN COLONIES OF HELLAS

Colonies in Epirus and Illyricum. — In making a tour of the western colonies one would set sail from Corinth, pass through the Gulf of Corinth, and visit first the settlements planted by the Corinthians on the shores of Epirus and Illyricum. Here one would land at Corcy'ra, the most important island of the Ionian Sea.



COIN OF CORCYRA

Although this island was at first occupied by the Eretrians, it afterward passed into the hands of Corinth, and was regarded as properly a Corinthian colony. With this island as a starting point, the Corinthians took possession of the adjoining coasts, and settled colonies at Ambra'cia, Apollonia, and many other places. Far to the north, Coreyra planted a colony of its own at Epidam'nus on the coast of Illyricum. But the island of Coreyra was not only a colonizing center for north-western Greece; it was from very early times a sort of half-way station between Greece and Italy.

Colonies in Italy; Magna Græcia. — On crossing the Ionian Sea, we first touch the heel of Italy, the ancient country of Iapyg'ia; and here we enter into a new area of Greek colonization. When the Greeks first settled in Italy, the country

was inhabited by a barbarous people. Southern Italy thus furnished a suitable field for Greek emigrants. It became a sort of overflow for the surplus population and discontented people of the home lands. If we coast along the southern shores of Italy, we first come to the important colony of Taren'tum, founded by refugees from Sparta, and situated upon the best harbor of the peninsula. We then pass Syb'aris and Croton, settled by the overflowing population of Achaia; and Locri, whose inhabitants had left their home in Locris as the result of civil discord. In passing through the Sicilian Straits, we see to the right the important town of Rhe'gium, with its mixed population of Chalcidians from Eubœa and Messenians from the Peloponnesus. On the western coast of Italy to the north we find three important colonial centers: first, Velia (or Elea) settled by the people of Phocœa from Asia Minor; next, the celebrated city of Posido'nia (Pæstum), named from the god of the sea, and settled by an Achæan people; finally, to the north, Cumæ, whose origin is lost in antiquity, but which was probably founded by the Chalcidians, and from which sprang up the neighboring town of Neap'olis (the new city). Southern Italy thus furnished many new homes for the Greek people; and so thoroughly was it Hellenized that it received the name of Magna Græcia.

Colonies in Sicily.—Perhaps more important than the colonies in Italy were those established on the coasts of Sicily.



COIN OF THE CARTHAGINIANS IN SICILY

Like Italy this island was for the most part inhabited by barbarous people, although the Carthaginians were already encroaching upon the eastern extremity. We find in Sicily two groups of colonies: the one Ionian toward the north, and the other Dorian toward the south. The center of the Ionian group was Naxos, founded by that enter-

ward the north, and the other Dorian toward the south. The center of the Ionian group was Naxos, founded by that enter-

prising people whom we have so often met before, the Chalcidians, and who were here joined by the inhabitants of the island of Naxos in the Ægean. From Naxos in Sicily was settled the neighboring town of Cat'ana. The Chalcidians strengthened their position on the Sicilian straits by building the city of Zancle (Messa'na) on the shore opposite Rhegium. This city also became a refuge for the Messenians, who shrank from the rule of Sparta, and from whom the city derived its later name. The influence of Zancle was paramount along the northern coast, where it founded new towns, like Him'era. Turning to the south, the center of the



COIN OF SYRACUSE

Dorian group of colonies was Syr'acuse. This city was the strongest and most celebrated of all the cities of the island. It was founded by Corinth, and became an important factor in the later struggle between the Dorian and Ionian states of Greece. Under the shadow of Syracuse the Dorian people from the far-off island of Rhodes formed a settlement at Gela, which in turn sent out a colony to Agrigen'tum. The farthest outpost on the southwestern coast was Seli'nus, planted by Megara. The greater part of Sicily, like southern Italy, thus became Greek in its population, in its political institutions, and in its civilization.

Colonies in Gaul and Spain. — It remains for us to notice the outlying colonies in the western Mediterranean. The most hardy of all the Greek mariners were probably the Phocæans of Asia Minor. They braved the dangers of the deep and the hatred of the Carthaginians, and succeeded in opening a trade route to the coasts of Spain. As an intermediate station they built the city of Massil'ia (Marseilles), which became an important colonizing center. To the east and to the west trading posts were established which gave to the Phocæans the com-

mand of this region. But with the exception of Massilia these distant ports became merely trading stations, and to a limited extent only the centers of Greek culture. In Spain were a few Greek colonies, but the Hellenic influence never became strong on these distant coasts.

The effect of the establishment of these colonies was to give to the Greeks the command of the Mediterranean Sea, and to make its coasts a part of the Hellenic world.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

- Smith, Ch. 12, "History of the Greek Colonies" (10).¹
 Bury, Ch. 2, "The Expansion of Greece" (10).
 Oman, Ch. 9, "The Age of Colonization" (10).
 Cox, Ch. 8, "Hellas Sporadikê" (10).
 Finlay, Vol. I., Part II., Ch. 6, "The Hellenic Colonies" (11).
 Abbott, Vol. I., Ch. 11, "The Greek Colonies" (11).
 Holm, Vol. I., Ch. 21, "Greek Colonization" (11).
 Curtius, Vol. I., Bk. II., Ch. 3, "The Hellenes beyond the Archipelago" (11).
 Greenidge, Ch. 3, "Colonization" (20).

SPECIAL STUDY

GREEK COMMERCE AND MARINE.—Bury, pp. 100, 110 (10); Curtius, Vol. II., pp. 543-546 (11); Gull and Komer, pp. 203-204 (22); Blunnen, pp. 481-488 (22); Becker, pp. 277-282 (22); Harper's Class. Dict., "Navis" (18); Smith, Dict. Antiq., "Ships" (18).

¹ The figure in parentheses refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

CHAPTER XII

THE CULTURE OF THE EARLY GREEK STATES

I. THE RELIGIOUS CULTURE OF THE GREEKS

General Character of Greek Culture. — We have now learned something of the most important cities of Greece and of the various colonies scattered over the coasts of the Mediterranean and the Euxine. From the fact that these cities and colonies were almost entirely independent of one another, we might conclude that they had no bond of union and no common life. But this would be a mistake. There were many things which gave to the Greeks a common national life. The various cities, independent as they were, all seemed working toward a common political end—the overthrow of monarchy and the establishment of freer institutions. The colonies, also, though scattered and isolated, were inspired by a common commercial spirit. But that which more than anything else made the Greeks one people, and that which gives to them a special interest to us to-day, was their superior type of culture—a culture which distinguished them from all other peoples. Although deriving many of their ideas from the East, they gave to these ideas a new stamp, and developed a form of civilization distinctively their own. If we should try to characterize this type of culture, we might call it, for the want of a better word, *humanistic*—that is, based upon human nature and pervaded by a human spirit. The Greeks believed in the dignity of man. They sought to attain a symmetrical human development in accordance with human reason.

Religion as a Bond of Union. — In considering the early phases of Greek culture we may regard religion as the first and the most fundamental. Religion was the strongest bond of

union between the different elements of Greek society, and also between the different branches of the Greek race. We have already seen how the early family, the gens, the phratry, the tribe, and the state, were each bound together by a common worship. So, too, the Achæans, the Æolians, the Dorians, and the Ionians, wherever they might live, all worshiped the same gods. However much they might be embittered by mutual jealousies and by wars, they found in their religion a common bond of sympathy.

The Delphic Oracle. — One of the most important centers of the religious and national life of the Greeks was the oracle of Apollo at Delphi, situated in Phocis at the foot of Mt. Parnassus. The Greeks looked upon Apollo as preëminently the god of revelation, the god of light, of inspiration, and of prophecy. He had many oracles, but no others so renowned as that at Delphi. Here, according to tradition, he had killed the serpent Python. Here was his most illustrious temple, rich with costly gifts bestowed by his worshipers. Here his breath was supposed to issue from a cleft in the rock, over which stood a tripod — the seat of the Pyth'ia, or priestess, who uttered his will. The inspired words of the Pythia were taken down by the attendant priests, and delivered to the people. The oracle was consulted by private persons and by the envoys of cities from every part of Hellas. Answers were given to questions relating to religion and politics, to national disputes, to wars, and to colonization. Although these answers often had a double meaning and were difficult to interpret, still the Delphic priests were able by means of this sacred oracle to exercise a great and generally a beneficial influence upon the Greek people.

The Amphictyonic League. — The influence of the Greek religion, as a bond of union, is also seen in the associations of cities called Amphic'tyonies. They were leagues of several cities or tribes, bound together under the guardianship of some god and for the protection of his worship. The most important of these was the famous Amphictyonic League,

organized for the protection of the temple of Apollo at Delphi. It was made up of twelve states of central and northern Greece, which sent to Delphi a number of delegates forming a council. Although religious in its origin, it also had a political influence in binding the cities together under a kind of legal code. The cities were bound, not only to protect the temple of the god, but to respect one another's rights in time of war — not to cut off the running water which supplied a city, and not to destroy any Amphictyonic town. Such restrictions brought a humane element into the conduct of war, and was a step in the growth of international law.

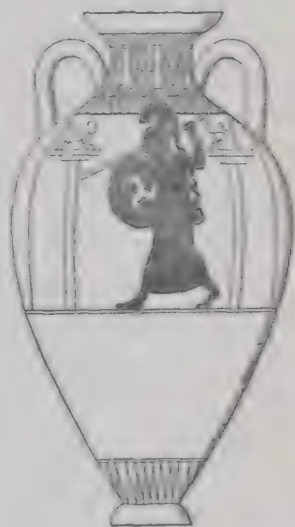
The Panhellenic Games. — The religious institutions which perhaps more than all others tended to promote a national unity and a national type of culture, were the great public games. These were celebrated in honor of the gods; and they show how closely religion was connected with all the phases of human life, — with art and literature, and even with athletic sports. Chief among these games were those held every four years at Olympia in Elis. The physical contests consisted in running, jumping, throwing the discus or quoit, casting the javelin, wrestling, boxing, and sometimes in chariot racing. These games were not barbarous sports, but were subject to strict rules, intended to promote the restraints of discipline and the sense of honor. The competitor must be a Greek of good character, well trained and unblemished by any physical or moral taint. The reward of the victor was a wreath of olive leaves. He was made the object of special honors: the Olympiad, or the succeeding period of four years, received his name, and his statue was carved by a distinguished artist and set up for public admiration. The games also furnished a field for intellectual culture. Here poets recited their verses; painters displayed their pictures; and men of science explained their discoveries. Olympia became adorned with noble buildings — especially the temple of Zeus. The multitude which gathered here from every part of Hellas carried back to their homes the feeling of a common kinship, and the love of Greek ideals.



BUILDINGS AND ENVIRONS OF OLYMPIA (Restoration)

Other, less noted, games were the Pythian, given in honor of Apollo near his shrine at Delphi; the Ne'mean, in honor of Zeus at Nemea in Argolis; and the Isthmian, in honor of Poseidon on the Isthmus of Corinth. These four Panhellenic games were among the most important features in the Greek national life. In them we see "all the Greeks united in the common practice of their religion, and in the common observance of their customs, pursuing the same aims of physical and intellectual improvement, and at peace with one another for at least a small part of the year, even though war might be raging among the various states" (Holm).

Special Religious Festivals. — Besides these general celebrations which belonged to the whole of Greece, there were special festivals which were more local in their character. These were holiday entertainments given in honor of certain deities, and for the sake of social recreation. They consisted of processions, singing, dancing, games, and other diversions in which the people took a part. There were a number of these festivals in Attica. The most important of them were: the Panathenæ'a, given in honor of Athena; the Dionys'ia, in honor of the god of wine, Dionysus; and the Eleusin'ia, in honor of the goddess Demeter. The last-named festival was of peculiar interest, especially to those who had been initiated into the secret rites of this worship. It consisted of a solemn procession in which every one might take part, from Athens by the "sacred way" to the city of Eleusis, the seat of the mysterious worship of the goddess. The secret ceremonies and doctrines attending this worship were called the "Eleusinian mysteries," of which no one was supposed to have any knowledge except the initiated.



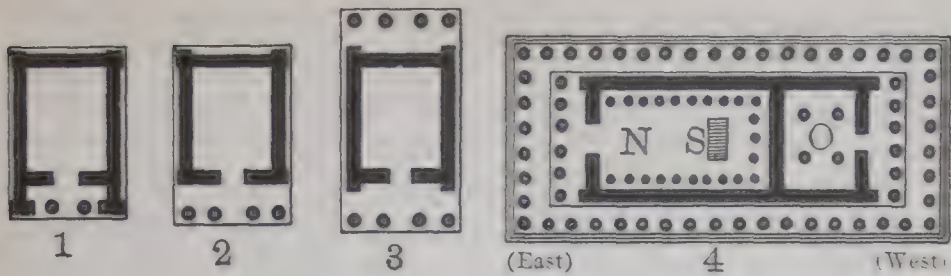
PANATHENÆIC VASE
(5th century B.C.)

II. THE BEGINNINGS OF GREEK ART

Character and Sources of Greek Art. — The art of Greece, like that of the Orient, was closely related to religion. But Greek art was as different from Oriental art as the Greek religion was different from the Oriental religion. The gods of Babylon, who dwelt among the stars, could be approached only by lofty temples, towering toward the sky. The grim religion of Egypt produced imposing structures which were gigantic and awe-inspiring. But the Greek religion appealed more strongly to human sympathy and revealed a finer sense of beauty. It produced an art which showed the marks of taste and reason, of moderation, of symmetry, and proper proportion. Some of the early features of Greek art were no doubt derived from the East; but its distinctive character was due to the refined taste of the Greeks themselves. That which we most admire in a Greek temple or a Greek statue is that combination of artistic qualities — simplicity of design, grace of form, symmetry of structure, and sincerity of expression — which we can find in no earlier people.

The Greek Temple. — For the highest expression of Greek art we must look to the temple. During the historical period we find in Greece no royal palaces, like those in Assyria or Egypt, or even like those previously built on Greek soil at Tiryns and Mycenæ. The reverence for royalty passed away with the growth of political freedom; and so the architectural skill and taste of the Greeks were devoted almost entirely to the service of the gods. In every city the temple was the most beautiful and conspicuous object.

In its design the Greek temple was a simple roof supported by columns and covering a space inclosed by four walls. It is supposed that this design grew out of the form of a dwelling house, made of wood, with a front porch. At first the building had two columns in front (*in antis*), and then four columns (*prostyle*): afterward it had also four columns in the rear (*amphiprostyle*), and finally the whole building was

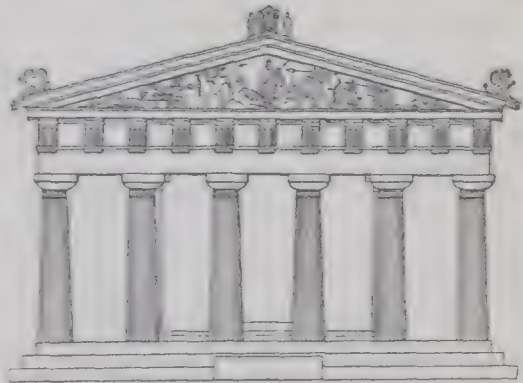


TYPES OF THE GREEK TEMPLE

1, in antis; 2, prostyle; 3, amphiprostyle; 4, peristyle (the Parthenon); N, naos; O, opisthodomus; S, statue

surrounded entirely by a colonnade (*per'istyle*). The inclosed space in the largest temples generally consisted of a principal part (*na'os* or *cella*), in which was placed the statue of the deity, and a rear part (*opisthod'omus*), which contained the treasures of the temple. The architectural style of the building was indicated chiefly by the columns and capitals which supported the roof.

The Doric Style. — The earliest Greek style of architecture was the Doric, which is supposed to have had its origin among the Dorian people of the Peloponnesus. One of the best specimens of this order was the temple of Athena on the island of Ægi'na. By looking at the parts of this building we may get an idea of the structural features of the Doric style. The building rests upon a stone foundation (*crepido'ma*), built in



WEST FRONT OF TEMPLE AT ÆGINA

the form of steps, supporting the columns. The column consists of two parts: first, the shaft, grooved with perpendicular flutings and having a perceptible swelling (*en'tasis*) in the center; and second, the capital, made up of a circular band (*echi'nus*) surmounted by a square block (*ab'acus*). Upon the column



GREEK DORIC
STYLE

1, shaft; 2, echinus;
3, abacus; 4, architrave;
5, tænia;
6, frieze; 7, cornice

was placed the entablature, which consisted of three parts: first, the architrave, presenting a plain surface of stone, above which was a slight projection (*tæ'nia*); then the frieze, made up of a succession of projecting and fluted blocks (*tri'glyphs*) with intervening spaces (*met'opes*); and, finally, the projecting cornice, upon which the roof was supported. Looking at the front, or façade, of the building, we see the triangular space, or gable, between the cornice and the roof, called the pediment; this was often filled with the finest specimens of the sculptor's art. The Doric was the simplest of the Greek styles. It gave the impression of strength and repose and was regarded by the Greeks as masculine in its character.

The Ionic Style.—The more refined and feminine style was the Ionic, which may perhaps have had its origin in Ionia. This was not used to a great extent in European Greece until the next period. The most important example during this

period was the renowned temple of Artemis (Diana) at Ephesus. We may see the distinguishing features of this order by comparing it with the Doric. The Ionic column has a distinct base with three circular bands. The shaft is more slender than the Doric. The capital is adorned with a spiral roll, or volute, which forms a marked feature of this style. The architrave is divided into three layers of stone; and the frieze is not separated into triglyphs and metopes like the Doric, but consists of a continuous sur-



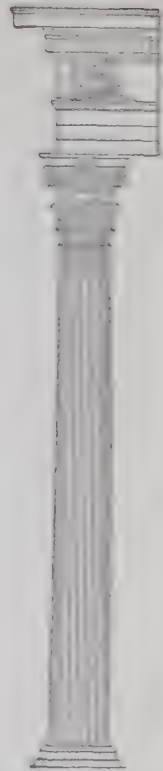
GREEK IONIC
STYLE

face, sometimes decorated with ornamental designs. The Doric and Ionic styles represent the chief phases of early Greek architecture¹ and suggest respectively the stronger and the more refined elements of the Greek character.

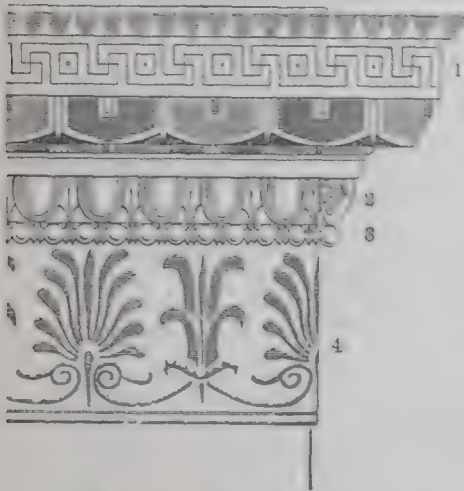
Architectural Decoration. — One of the essential features of Greek art is seen in the method used in architectural decoration. Indeed, the difference between true art and false art can be most quickly detected in the use of decorative features. The Greeks used color upon their buildings; but the color was employed not to cover up or conceal, but to emphasize the structural features. They used ornamental designs; but these were employed not to draw attention to themselves, but to make more beautiful the whole building. They also adorned their buildings with sculptured figures; these, however, were not obtrusive and

pretentious, but subordinate to the main struc-

ture, contributing to the general effect, and helping to interpret its real meaning. The Greeks employed a great variety of ornamental designs, such as the fret, the egg and dart, the bead and fillet, and the honeysuckle. The way in which these designs were employed may be seen in the accompanying illustration. Here is no pretense and no decep-



GREEK CORINTHIAN STYLE



GREEK DECORATION

1, fret; 2, egg and dart; 3, bead and fillet;
4, Honeysuckle

¹ The so-called Corinthian order, which was of later development. "Hardly deserves to be called a distinct order. Its only peculiar feature is the capital; otherwise it agrees with the Ionic order" (Tarbell).

tion. The Greeks believed that perfect art is unpretentious and does not tell a lie.

Early Greek Sculpture. — The art of sculpture did not make as rapid progress in this period as did architecture. In fact, most of the examples which are left to us are crude and archaic. We can see the first feeble efforts to break away from the stiff and conventional forms of the East, and to give to stone the features of life. The influence of religion is seen in the early attempts to represent the gods in the form of men; but these attempts are suggestive of idols rather than statues. The credit of giving to statues a more lifelike appearance is ascribed to the mythical Daedalus, who was said to be a native of Athens. Schools of sculpture grew up in the cities of Asiatic Greece, Samos, and Chios; in European Greece, at Argos, Ægina, and Athens; and in Sicily, especially at Selinus. We have preserved to us some of the sculptured reliefs from the metopes of the temple at Selinus. These consist of small groups of figures representing mythological scenes, and are carved in a very rude fashion. But they are interesting, as they show the early way in which sculpture was used for temple decoration. Among the strongest influences which led to the improvement of sculpture during this time were the encouragement given to physical training and the custom of erecting at Olympia statues to successful athletes. But it is not until the close of this period that we see the sculpture beginning to acquire some of those artistic qualities which we have noticed in the architecture.

III. THE GREEK LANGUAGE AND EARLY LITERATURE

The Greek Language. — Another strong bond which united the various branches of the Greek people was their language. This gave them a common means of communication, and like their religion it preserved among them the feeling of kinship. We may see its written form in this line of the Iliad:

Μῆνιν ᾄειδε, θεά, Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος.

Although a branch of the great Aryan or Indo-European family, the Greek early surpassed the other languages of this group as an instrument of thought and expression. Nothing, not even the Greek religion or the Greek art, reflects more strongly the characteristic features of the Greek mind—its freedom, its versatility, its refinement, its wonderful æsthetic and intellectual resources. By means of this remarkable language the Greeks produced a literature which has given them a high place among the most civilized peoples of the world. We can here take only a hasty glance at the growth of the literature during this formative period.

Decline of Epic Poetry. — At the beginning of the period the Greeks already possessed the “poems of Homer.” These epics were the richest inheritance that they had received from the prehistoric age—of greater value than all the treasures of Mycenæ. These poems pictured in matchless verse the glories of the past, and recounted the deeds of gods and heroes. The epic was thus the poetry of action, and as such the Homeric epic could not be equaled. It was feebly imitated by a class of poets called the Homer'idæ, who still sang of the legends of Troy and of mythical heroes. A new and lower kind of epic was introduced by He'siod, who is said to have been a native of Bœotia. This kind of epic was less heroic and more didactic in its character; that is, written for purposes of instruction. The “Theog'ony” of Hesiod is a sort of theological treatise containing a description of the gods and the mythology of the ancient Greeks. The “Works and Days” is a poem of common life, describing the labors of the farmer and interspersed with wholesome moral advice.

Transition to Lyric Poetry. — With the decline of the epic, or the poetry of action, there arose a new kind of poetry more closely related to human thoughts and feelings. This is shown in what are called the elegiac, the iambic, and finally the lyric verse. The elegiac and the iambic poetry, like the older epic, made their first appearance among the Ionians. The elegy was composed of alternating lines of different lengths, the one

of six feet (hexameter), the next of five feet (pentameter). It was accompanied by the music of the flute, and was serious in its character, sometimes used to express feelings of sadness, and sometimes patriotic in its appeals. The chief elegiac poets were Calli'nus of Ephesus, and Tyrtæ'us of Athens. It is said that Tyrtæus was sent to Sparta during the Messenian wars to inspire the Spartan soldiers with a heroic spirit. The iambic poetry, differing from the elegy, was the poetry of wit and satire, and devoted to raillery and invective. Its chief representative was Archil'oehus, a native of the island of Paros. These two forms of poetry—the elegiac and the iambic—prepared the way for the higher and more cultivated form of the lyric.

The Æolian Lyric Poetry.—The influence of music upon poetry may be seen in the growth of the lyre, an instrument



GREEK LYRES

which the Greeks regarded as especially their own. To the earlier four-stringed lyre, or cithara, which had formerly been used to accompany the voice, other strings were added by Terpan'der of Lesbos, giving to it the compass of the octave. This was considered

as an epoch in the history of music. It not only increased the capacity of the instrument, but gave a new inspiration to the singer. The new poetry which arose received its name from the lyre, and it made its first appearance on the Æolian island of Lesbos, the home of Terpander. The chief poets of Æolia were Alcæ'us, who sang of patriotism and war; Sappho, who sang of love; and Ana'creon, who sang of the pleasures of life. Of these Sappho is preëminent. To the Greeks she was "the poetess," as Homer was "the poet." Of the few fragments which remain to us, modern critics can hardly express their admiration. Says one, "Of all the illustrious artists of all literature, Sappho is the one whose every word has a

peculiar and unmistakable perfume, a seal of absolute perfection and inimitable grace" (Symonds).

The Dorian Lyric Poetry. — Another form of lyric poetry was cultivated by the Dorians. Their poems were not so personal as the Æolian songs, which were intended for a single voice: they were more public in their nature, and intended to be sung by a number of voices. They comprised hymns, or choruses, for the public worship of the gods, and songs to be sung at public festivals. The chorus, accompanied by dances or processional marches, was not a new thing in Greece. But it came to have a new character, and was reduced to a regular form under the influence of three poets — Alcman, Stesich'orus, and Ari'on. Alcman regulated the rhythmic movement of the persons singing the chorus. The movement of the singers from right to left before the altar, and the part of the hymn, or ode, sung during this movement, were called the "strophe"; the movement from left to right, and the corresponding part of the hymn, were called the "antis'trophe." Stesichorus added an after-part, sung after these movements were completed, by the chorus when standing still, and called the "ep'ode." Arion is said to have given a special form to the chorus in the worship of Dionysus, the wine god. The chorus of fifty singers was arranged about the altar in the form of a circle, and the hymns were accompanied with dancing, gestures, and mimetic features. This choral hymn was known as the "dith'yramb," and from it sprang the later drama.

IV. EARLY GREEK PHILOSOPHY

The Beginnings of Philosophy. — Another phase of Greek culture, quite as important, perhaps, as those already mentioned, is seen in the growth of philosophical thought. We begin to see something like philosophy in the sayings of the "Seven Wise Men," among whom were numbered Tha'les and Solon. These men put into pithy form practical maxims for the guidance of life. Some of these maxims were inscribed upon

the temple of Apollo at Delphi: for example, "Know thyself," "Do nothing in excess." Other sayings ascribed to the wise men were these: "The greatest blessing is the power to be good," "Pardon is better than punishment," "The most difficult things are to keep a secret, to forgive injuries, and to improve one's time." Besides these words of wise men, the growth of science also prepared the way for philosophy. Mathematics and astronomy were among the earliest of these sciences. When men began to learn that the movement of the heavenly bodies is controlled by certain fixed laws, and not by the whim of the gods, they began to lose faith in the old mythology, and to seek for some explanation of things more in accordance with reason. Philosophy thus tended to purify the old religion.

The Early Ionic Philosophy. — Like other forms of Greek culture, philosophy had its origin in the Ionian cities of Asia Minor. Here the Greeks came into contact with the scientific notions of the Assyrians and Egyptians, which furnished a kind of starting point for Greek philosophy. The Ionic philosophers were students of physical science, of the laws of the material world; hence their philosophy was what might be called a physical, or materialistic, philosophy. As they studied the various and changing forms of matter, they were led to believe that there must be some primitive form of matter from which all other forms are derived. There are three men who mark the progress of this kind of thinking — Thales, Anaxim'nes, and Anaximan'der.

Thales was a mathematician and astronomer. He traveled in many lands, and is said to have taught the Egyptians how to measure the height of their pyramids by means of the shadows. As he studied the world, and saw that it is everywhere encircled by the ocean, that the land arises from the abyss of the sea, that everything is tinged with moisture, that even the seeds grow only under its influence, he was led to believe that water, in some form or other, is the primitive matter from which everything else proceeds.

Anaximines, however, saw that the world, with its lands and waters alike, is surrounded by the all-embracing air; that even where there is no water there is air; that air is the breath of life, and that without it all beings cease to exist. He, therefore, concluded that *air* is the primitive substance.

But Anaximander saw that all the kinds of matter which we know anything about are continually changing in their form and qualities; that water, for example, is condensed from vapor, and that vapor must have come from something more primitive — in fact, that everything must have come from some unknown original substance different from anything which we see. This primitive chaotic matter, from which he believed everything was evolved, he called the *infinite* substance.

The Philosophy of Pythagoras. — A new school of philosophy was founded by Pythag'oras, who was a native of Samos, an Ionian city of Asia Minor. He is said to have traveled in Egypt, and perhaps in Phœnicia and in Babylon, and to have absorbed the wisdom of these countries. At any rate, he was called the most learned man of his time. He finally settled at Croton in southern Italy, where his philosophy exercised a great influence in Magna Græcia. Pythagoras was first of all a mathematician; and he looked at everything through mathematical eyes. He saw that everything possesses number, either one or many; and hence he reasoned that *number* is the principle of everything. We can not of course indicate the method of his reasoning, or the various ways in which he applied his principles. It is enough for us at present to remember that he was the mathematical philosopher. He was also a religious and moral teacher and organized a secret fraternity, the purpose of which was to cultivate the highest virtue among its members.

The Eleatic Philosophy. — Another school of philosophy arose in Elea (Velia), on the western coast of Italy, called the Eleatic school. This was also connected, like the others, with Ionia in Asia Minor; since its founder, whose name was Xenoph'anes, originally came from the Ionian city of Colophon. This

philosopher embodied his ideas in a poem "On Nature." As he looked at the world, he saw that all things are parts of one complete and harmonious whole; and hence to express his idea in a brief form he used this phrase, "The All is One." He also affirmed that the one universal principle which comprehends and controls everything else, is God. Aristotle says that "he looked up to heaven and pronounced the One to be God." This idea was entirely opposed to the old mythological idea of the gods contained in Homer and Hesiod, and shows that the philosophy of the Greeks was tending to elevate and purify the old religious ideas.

We can thus see, in the Greek art and literature and philosophy, evidences of the growing refinement, versatility, and power of the Greek mind, which was gradually expressing itself in a distinctive Hellenic culture, different from that of any other ancient people.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

- Mahaffy, Survey, Ch. 3, "First Two Centuries of Historic Development" (10).¹
 Cox, Ch. 7, "Intellectual Education of the Greeks" (10).
 Smith, Ch. 13, "History of Literature"; Ch. 13, "History of Art" (10).
 Holm, Vol. I., Ch. 24, "Growth of Greek Philosophy, Literature and Art in Asia Minor" (11).
 Curtius, Vol. II., Bk. II., Ch. 4, "The Unity of Greece" (11).
 Symonds, Greek Poets, Ch. 1, "Periods of Greek Literature" (13).
 Zeller, First Period, Part I., "The Three Earliest Schools" (24).
 Collignon, Bk. I., "Origin of Greek Art" (19).
 Tarbell, Ch. 3, "Greek Architecture" (19).

SPECIAL STUDY

THE GREEK FESTIVALS AND GAMES.—Smith, Ch. 6 (10); Cox, pp. 47-50 (10); Holm, Vol. I., Ch. 19 (11); Guhl and Koner, pp. 189-200 (22); Gulick, pp. 91-105, 306-308 (22); Blümner, Chs. 8, 11 (22); Harper's Class. Dict. (see names of different games and festivals).

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

THE ATHENIAN ASCENDENCY

PERIOD III. THE PERSIAN WARS; GROWING POWER OF ATHENS (500-479 B.C.)

CHAPTER XIII

THE ENCROACHMENTS OF THE EAST UPON THE WEST

I. THE LYDIAN CONQUEST OF ASIA MINOR

Character of the New Period. — We now approach the period which is, in many respects, the most eventful and heroic in the whole course of Greek history. The Greeks had already become an active, enterprising, and cultivated people. Their influence was beginning to be felt on nearly every shore of the Mediterranean — not only in European Greece and Asia Minor, but also on the Propontis and the Euxine, in Italy and Sicily, and even on the coasts of Africa, Gaul, and Spain. They had everywhere broken down their old monarchies, and had established freer institutions. They were also laying the foundations of a broader and more liberal culture. They had, in short, come to be the representatives of a new and higher civilization. But now came a great crisis in their history, when they were called upon to defend their very existence. Their cities, their colonies, their commerce, their free institutions, and their new culture, were all threatened with destruction

EASTERN NATIONS
Before the Lydian and Persian Conquests
Early Sixth Century B.C.

Legend:
Yellow: Eastern Nations
Pink: Grecian Territory

Scale of Miles:
0 100 200 300 400

by the great powers of the East. During this time we shall see a struggle between the East and the West which was to decide whether Greek civilization was to survive, or whether Europe was to fall under Asiatic dominion. As we follow this conflict we shall see not only the triumph of Europe over Asia, but also how Athens came to be the principal center of Greek life and influence.

Position of the Asiatic Cities.—The chief point of contact between the East and the West was the coast of Asia Minor, which was fringed with Greek cities. These cities formed the eastern frontier of the Hellenic world. They were in many respects the pioneers of Greek civilization. They had thus far taken the lead in the cultivation of poetry, art, and philosophy. But, like the cities of Greece, they were politically independent of one another. While they had a common religion and a common culture, they were not inclined to bind themselves together in a common state, and hence they were comparatively weak in the presence of their Oriental neighbors.

Lydia and the Conquest of the Greek Cities (560 B.C.).—Of the four great Oriental powers which were flourishing in the sixth century, —namely, Lydia, Media, Babylonia, and Egypt, —Lydia was in the closest proximity to the Greek cities of Asia Minor. The kings of Lydia were inspired with the Oriental passion for conquest. Under their king Gyges, the Lydians subdued Magnesia and Colophon; and under Alyat'tes they captured Smyrna and formed alliances with Ephesus and Miletus (see map, page 80). But it was their more renowned king, Cræsus, who completed the conquest of this part of the Greek world. Cræsus adopted, however, a very liberal policy toward his new subjects. While he compelled them to pay tribute, he granted them a certain amount of local freedom, and did not force them to raise troops for his army. The prosperity of the Greek cities was thus not seriously affected by the Lydian conquest; on the contrary, they found in Lydia a protector rather than an oppressor.

II. THE RISE AND CONQUESTS OF PERSIA

Rise of Persia under Cyrus (558-529 B.C.). — But a power greater than Lydia soon appeared and absorbed all the countries of western Asia. This power was Persia. It was originally a small province situated on the Persian Gulf, and subject to the Median empire. About the middle of the sixth century B.C. its prince, whom we know as Cyrus the Great, revolted from Media, and became the founder of a new world empire. Many stories are told about the birth and early life of this great man; but they are largely mythical, and need not be rehearsed. His chief significance for us is the fact that he created the most powerful empire that the world had yet seen, and established a policy which was destined to bring Asia into conflict with Europe.

Conquest of Lydia and the Asiatic Greeks. — With the overthrow of the Median empire, Cyrus proceeded to extend his kingdom to the West. This required the conquest of Babylonia west of the Tigris, and of Lydia west of the Halys River. Lydia was especially alive to the dangers of Persian aggression. Her energetic king, Crœsus, who had now under his control the Greek cities of Asia Minor, assumed the part of defender of western Asia. He is said to have consulted the oracle of Apollo at Delphi, and to have received the response that "if he crossed the Halys, he would destroy a great empire." Not thinking that this might apply to his own empire, as well as to that of Cyrus, he crossed the river, and after an indecisive battle retreated into his own territory. Without delay Cyrus invaded Lydia and captured Sardis. The Greeks then offered to surrender on condition of receiving the same privileges that they had enjoyed under Crœsus. This was refused, and they were rapidly reduced to submission. Asia Minor now became a part of the Persian empire. The Greek cities were obliged to pay tribute, to furnish ships and soldiers, and to submit to the control of a Persian governor.

Conquests in Asia and Africa. — After the conquest of Lydia and the Greek cities, Cyrus turned his attention to his next

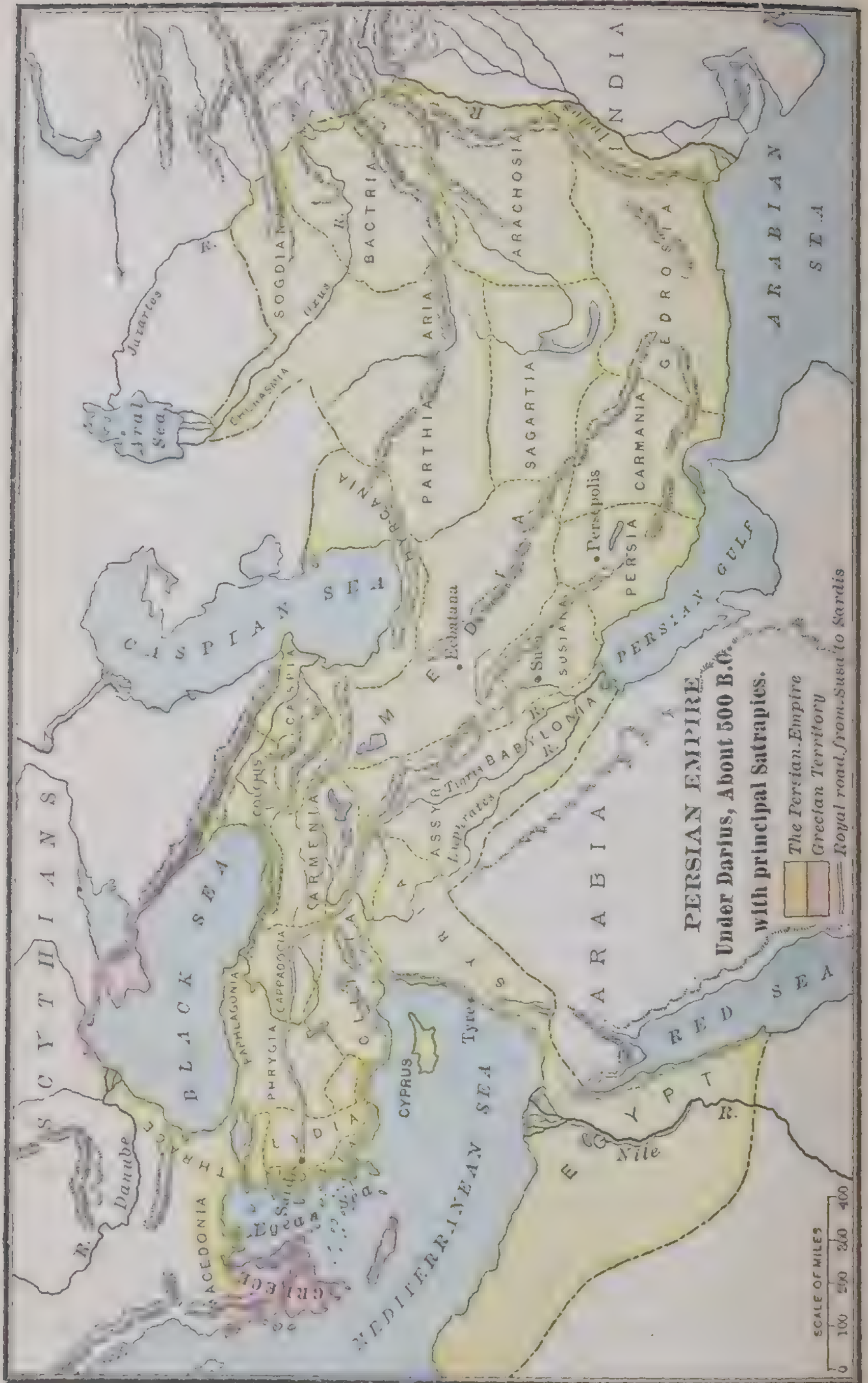
great rival, Babylonia. With the fall of Babylon (538 B.C.), this empire also became a part of his dominions. It is to the credit of Cyrus that he permitted the Jews, who had been held in captivity since the days of Nebuchadnezzar (see page 63), to return to their home in Jerusalem. After the death of Cyrus his son, Cambyses (529-522 B.C.), extended the Persian authority over Phœnicia, Cyprus, and Egypt, and even reduced the Greek colonies of Cyrene and Barca on the African coast. But an army sent into Ethiopia perished in the sands of the desert; and an expedition planned against Carthage failed, because the Phœnician sailors refused to serve against their kinsfolk. The rule of Cambyses was oppressive and often cruel, and was marked by frequent revolts in different parts of the empire.

Conquests in Europe under Darius. — The insurrections which attended the death of Cambyses were quelled by Darius, who was, next to Cyrus, the greatest king of Persia. He has a special interest for us, because he was the first to extend the Persian authority into Europe — which fact paved the way for the subsequent invasion of Greece. The purpose of Darius in entering Europe was, according to Herodotus, to send an expedition against the barbarous Scythians. So far as the Scythians were concerned, this expedition proved a failure. But on his return to Asia, Darius left in Europe an army which subdued Thrace and the Greek cities to the north of the Propontis and the Ægean as far west as the river Strymon, and even compelled Macedonia to acknowledge the supremacy of the great king. The Persian empire was thus extended into Europe to the boundary of Thessaly, the northern province of Greece.

III. THE PERSIAN EMPIRE AND ITS CIVILIZATION

Extent of the Persian Empire. — Before we consider the further attempts of Persia to encroach upon Europe, we may take a brief survey of this great empire and of the civilization which was now brought face to face with that of Greece.

PROGRESSIVE MAP No. 6.



In its geographical extent Persia surpassed all the previous empires of the East. It not only covered all the lands hitherto occupied by Assyria, Babylonia, Media, Lydia, and Egypt, but added to them other territory not included in these older empires. It extended from the Indus River to the Ægean Sea, a distance of about three thousand miles. It comprised, in fact, the whole civilized world except India and China in the Far East, and Greece and Carthage in the West.

Political Organization of the Empire. — The form of government established over this vast domain was patterned after that of the Assyrians, but strengthened and perfected by the genius of Darius. For purposes of administration the territory was divided into a number of provinces, or satrapies, each under a provincial governor, or satrap, appointed by the king. The provinces were subject to the satraps, and the satraps were subject to the king. The chief duty of the provincial subjects was to furnish men for the royal army, ships for the royal navy, and money for the royal treasury. The provinces were joined to the capital, Susa, by military roads, the most important of which was the great royal road from Susa to Sardis, fifteen hundred miles long. The person of the king was exalted above that of other men. He sat upon a throne made of gold, silver, and ivory. His garments were of richest silk. To serve him was the highest mark of nobility. To minister to his comfort, one dignitary was chosen to carry the royal parasol, another



THE PERSIAN KING

the royal fan, while other officers were appointed to perform other equally honorable duties.

The chief support of the royal authority was the army drawn from the different provinces. When called together, it was marshaled by nations, each with its own costume and subject to royal officers. The footmen were armed with the sword, the spear, and their favorite weapon, the bow, in the use of which they were expert. The cavalry was an important branch of the army, and was very effective when fighting upon an open plain. The choicest part of the Persian army were the "Ten Thousand Immortals," so called because their numbers were perpetually maintained. On the sea the Persians were able to gather from their subjects a large number of ships, mostly triremes armed with iron prows. With such an army and navy the Persians had already conquered Asia, and hoped to conquer Greece.

Persian Art and Literature. — As the Persians were chiefly a conquering and ruling people, they were not distinguished for their intellectual achievements. Whatever art they possessed was mostly a mere reproduction of that of Assyria and Babylon. Their architecture and sculpture showed no evidences of marked originality. While using an Aryan speech, the Persians adopted for writing the wedge-shaped characters of their predecessors. They made no contributions to science; and for many generations they possessed no literature worthy of notice except the "Aves'ta," which was the Persian Bible.

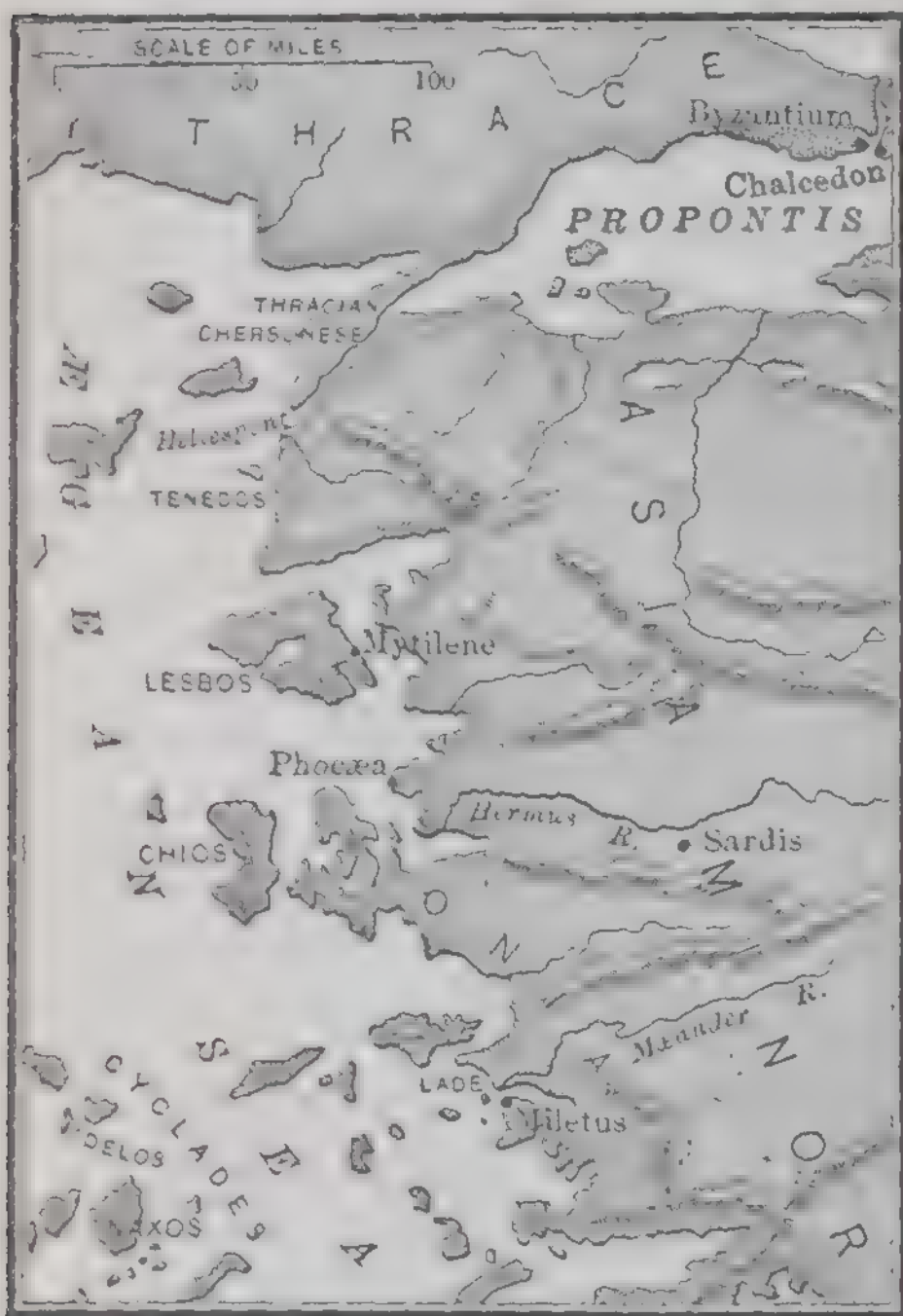
Persian Religion and Morality. — The most distinctive feature of the Persian civilization was its religion. The religion of Persia was doubtless an outgrowth of a lower polytheistic nature worship; but it seems to have reached its highest development under the influence of Zoroas'ter. This religious reformer is supposed to have lived in Bactria about the middle of the seventh century B.C. Some scholars are inclined to believe that his name stands merely for a mythical person; while others strongly assert that "we must accept the historical reality of Zoroaster" (Sayce). He considered the powers of

nature as separated into the powers of light and the powers of darkness — the one under the control of the great god of light (Ormuzd), who is the creator of all that is good; and the other under the control of the god of darkness (Ah'riman), who is the father of all that is evil. This is a system of religion which we call Dualism. The whole universe is looked upon as a struggle between light and darkness, between the good and the evil, in other words, between Ormuzd and Ah'riman. Human life in the same way is regarded as a perpetual struggle between good and evil; and the duty of man is to cleave to that which is good and to shun that which is evil. Morality was closely related to religion. The Persians believed in truthfulness as a high moral virtue, and despised lying and deceit. The higher elements of the Persian religion were corrupted under the influence of a priestly class, the Magi, who were inclined to worship the symbol of fire in place of the god of light, and to regard the performance of religious rites and ceremonies as the chief duty of life.

Persia and Greece.—We should, of course, recognize the services which Persia performed by uniting the countries of the East under a higher political system, and by resisting the barbarous Scythians of the north. But we can not fail to see the striking contrast between this civilization and that of Greece. In Greece we have seen the decline of monarchy and the establishment of free institutions; in Persia we see the culmination of monarchy in the most highly centralized form of despotism. In Greece we have seen the growth of a new culture based upon the dignity of man, the supremacy of reason, and the love of beauty; in Persia we see the decaying stages of an old culture, which had been inherited from the older monarchies of the East, which had been developed under the influence of a priestly class, and which was strongly marked by Oriental features, extravagance, luxury, and effeminacy. If we take a larger view, we may see in Persia and the East the lower stages of human progress from which arose a higher development in Greece and the West.

IV. THE REVOLT OF THE IONIAN CITIES

Causes of the Ionian Revolt. — The great conflict between the East represented by Persia, and the West represented by Greece, began with the revolt of the Greek cities in Asia Minor. The cities of Ionia were at this time under the control



SEAT OF THE IONIAN REVOLT

of the Persian satrap Artapher'nes, whose capital was at Sardis. The cities were in a continual state of discontent, being ruled by tyrants supported by the Persian governor. The open revolt against Persia began at the city of Miletus, and its leading spirit was the tyrant of that city, Aristag'oras. Having failed in an expedition against Naxos (an island of the Cyclades), and fearing that he might be deprived of his power, Aristagoras assumed the championship of the Asiatic Greeks and stirred up

a rebellion against the Persian authority. He appealed to the democratic spirit of the Greeks. He even resigned his own power as tyrant, and assumed the position of leader of the people. The people were everywhere inflamed with the desire of liberty. Their tyrants were seized; the Persian authority was defied, and a democratic form of government was set up everywhere in Ionia. In this way began that important event in Greek history known as the "Ionian Revolt" (500 B.C.).

Athens and the Ionian Cities. — It is important to notice the relation of Athens to this revolt, on account of the prominent

position which she afterward assumed in resisting the Persian encroachments. When Aristagoras had roused the Greeks of Asia Minor, he crossed over to Greece and first sought the aid of Sparta, as the most powerful of the Greek states. Meeting with a rebuff here, he turned to Athens, as the second city of Greece. Athens looked upon the people of Ionia as her kinsfolk. She was also indignant because Persia had espoused the cause of her former tyrant, Hippias, whom she had banished some time before (see page 131). Persia thus seemed to Athens to be the supporter of tyranny, while her own kinsmen were struggling for liberty. The Athenians accordingly voted that a squadron of twenty ships be sent to the aid of the Ionian cities. To this squadron were added five ships from Eretria in Eubœa; and this small fleet formed the first hostile expedition sent by the European Greeks against Persia.

The Burning of Sardis (499 B.C.). — Before the satrap Artaphernes could gather a sufficient force to defend his capital, the Greeks "made themselves masters of the whole city, except the citadel. One of the buildings being set on fire by a soldier, the flames spread from house to house until the whole city was consumed. . . . In the burning of Sardis the temple of Cybèle, the tutelar goddess of the country, was totally destroyed, which was afterward made a pretense by the Persians for burning the temples of the Greeks" (Herodotus, Bk. V., Chs. 101, 102). The Greeks in their retreat from the city were followed by the Persian army and suffered a severe defeat. This so disheartened the Athenians that they returned to Greece. The burning of Sardis, with its sacred temple, aroused the wrath of Darius against the Athenians. Herodotus tells the story that the king, on learning of this disaster, called on Zeus for vengeance, and commanded a slave to remind him thrice every day of the Athenians who had dared to interfere in the affairs of Asia.

Suppression of the Revolt. — The Ionians continued their resistance; but on account of their lack of union and effective organization, they were unable to cope with the forces of

the king. Off the little island of La'de, near Miletus, they were severely defeated by the Persian navy. The city of Miletus, the center of the revolt, was stormed, captured, and burned; and its inhabitants who escaped the sword were reduced to slavery. The remaining cities of Asia Minor were reduced in rapid succession. The neighboring islands which had taken part in the revolt — Chios, Lesbos, and Ten'edos — were obliged to succumb. The Persian fleet reduced the rebellious towns on the Hellespont and the Propontis. The people of Chalcedon and Byzantium fled at the Persians' approach, and their cities were destroyed. The able Greek commander, Milti'ades, who was ruler of the Thracian Cher'sonese, and who had favored the cause of the Ionian cities, escaped and took refuge in Athens. After a war of nearly seven years (500—493 B.C.), the revolt was entirely suppressed, and the Persian authority was reëstablished in Asia Minor with greater severity than ever before.

We see in the course of the Ionian revolt one of the chief elements of weakness that marked the Greek race: namely, the lack of union and the incapacity for effective organization. "At no time was there anything which could be called solidarity among the Asiatic Greeks: even the members of the same tribe had nothing to bind them together, except the worship of a common deity" (Abbott). By loving liberty more than union, they lost their independence.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

- Allcroft, Vol. II., Ch. 1, "Introductory" (10).¹
 Smith, Ch. 15, "Rise of the Persian Empire" (10).
 Oman, Ch. 13, "Greeks of Asia and the Lydian Monarchy" (10).
 Bury, Ch. 6, "Advance of Persia to the Ægean" (10).
 Timayenis, Vol. I., Part III., Ch. 1, "Persia" (11).
 Cox, General History, Bk. II., Chs. 1, 2, "The Persian Empire" (10);
 Greek Statesmen, "Aristagoras" (26).

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

Abbott, Vol. I., Ch. 16, "The Greeks in the East" (11).

Curtius, Vol. II., Bk. II., Ch. 5, "Conflicts with the Barbarians" (11).

Holm, Vol. I., Ch. 23, "The Greeks of Asia Minor in Conflict with Lydia and Persia" (11).

Grote, Part II., Chs. 32, 33, "Rise and Growth of the Persian Empire" (11).

Herodotus, Bk. III., "Thalia" (Extension of the Persian Empire) (13).

SPECIAL STUDY

THE IONIAN REVOLT. — Smith, Ch. 16 (10); Cox, Bk. II., Ch. 3 (10); Oman, Ch. 15 (10); Timayenis, Vol. I., pp. 131-135 (11); Bury, Ch. 6, § 6 (10); Abbott, Vol. II., pp. 39-56 (11); Curtius, Vol. II., pp. 193-204 (11); Holm, Vol. II., Ch. 1 (11); Herodotus, Bk. V., Chs. 28-38, 49-54, 97-126 (13).

CHAPTER XIV

THE INVASIONS OF GREECE BY DARIUS AND XERXES

I. THE FIRST INVASION, UNDER DARIUS

The Plans of Darius against Greece.—By the suppression of the Ionian revolt, the Persian king was left free to pursue his policy of conquest. He was now determined to punish Athens and Eretria for interfering in the affairs of Asia, and especially for the part they had taken in the burning of Sardis. Darius accordingly laid his plans to insure the successful invasion of Greece. In the first place, it was necessary to secure the loyalty of the Ionian cities, so that another expedition into Europe might not be endangered by another revolt in Asia. In the next place, it was necessary to reconquer the people of Thrace and Macedonia, who had practically recovered their independence during the Ionian revolt. For the execution of these plans, the king appointed his young son-in-law, Mardonius. The duties laid upon Mardonius were, therefore: (1) to conciliate the Ionian cities; (2) to restore the Persian supremacy in Thrace and Macedonia; and (3) to invade Greece and destroy the cities of Eretria and Athens.

Failure of the Expedition under Mardonius (492 B.C.). — Having collected an army and fleet in Cilicia (*si-lish'i-a*), Mardonius proceeded to execute the designs of the king. He first pacified the Asiatic Greeks. He did this, not as Artaphernes had tried to do, by supporting their hated tyrants, but by expelling these despotic officers and restoring the Grecian democracies. He thus took away from the cities one of the chief causes of their discontent. He then entered Europe by way of the Hellespont. His fleet reduced the island of Thasos. His land forces pursued their way through Thrace into Macedonia, and in spite of a temporary defeat brought these territories once more under the Persian power. The first and second parts of his programme were thus successfully carried out. But Eretria and Athens did not receive the punishment intended for them; for the entire fleet of Mardonius was wrecked as it attempted to round the rocky point of Mt. Athos (see map, page 72). This first expedition thus failed to accomplish its ultimate purpose; but this failure did not quench the wrath of the Persian king.

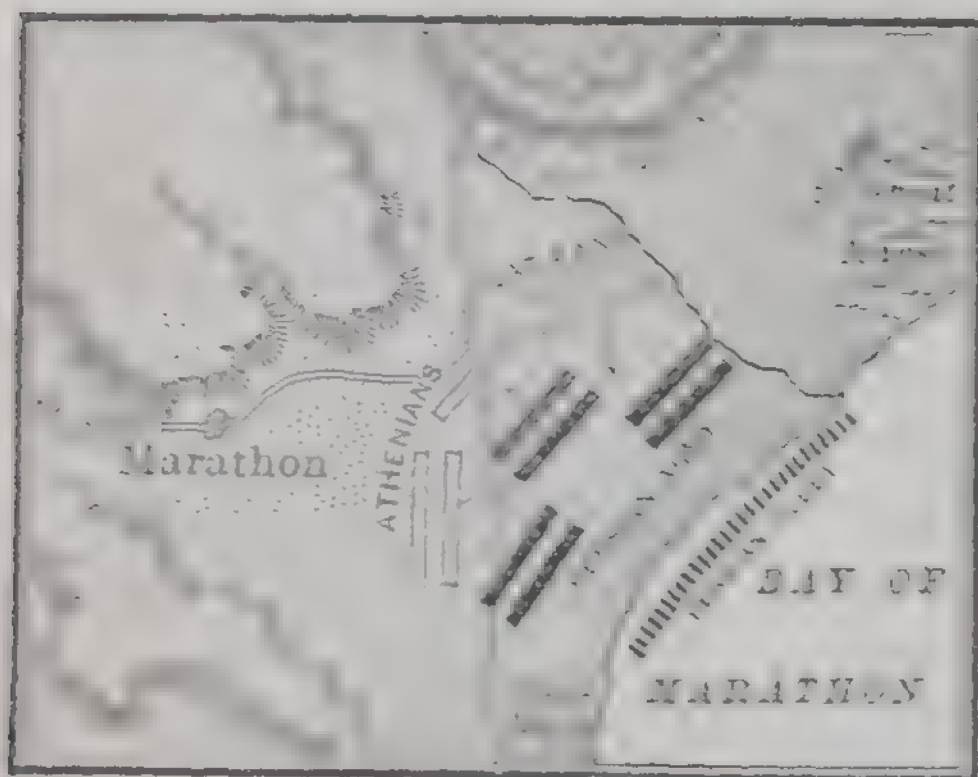
Relations of Athens and Sparta. — It soon became clear that if Greece was to be saved from the vengeance of Persia, it could be done only by the united efforts of Athens and Sparta, the two leading states of Hellas. If Darius had intended simply to punish Athens, Sparta might have been inclined to hold aloof. But when the king sent his heralds to all the cities of Greece, demanding from them "earth and water" as a token of submission, it was evident that Athens and Sparta must stand or fall together. To this demand of the king most of the island states, including Ægina, yielded. Many of the continental states hesitated; but Athens and Sparta stood firm, and even treated with indignity the royal heralds. Though Athens was the special object of the king's hatred, she was willing to recognize the headship of Sparta in the coming conflict.

Expedition under Datis and Artaphernes (490 B.C.). — Darius placed his new expedition in the hands of a Median general, Datis, and his own nephew, Artaphernes, son of the Persian

satrap whom we have before noticed. Instead of following the previous course of Mardonius and risking another disaster at Mt. Athos, the new generals proceeded directly across the sea. Their fleet consisted, it is said, of six hundred triremes. On their way they captured Naxos and reduced its inhabitants to slavery. But they spared Delos, the seat of the shrine of Apollo. They soon landed on the island of Eubœa, and attacked the city of Eretria. After a gallant defense, the city fell by the treachery of two of its citizens. It was burned and its people were enslaved. The Persians now crossed over to Attica to mete out a similar punishment to Athens. By the advice of Hippias, the banished Athenian tyrant now in the service of the enemy, the Persians landed on the shore of Attica near the plain of Marathon.

Miltiades and the Battle of Marathon (490 B.C.). — Upon Athens now rested the chief duty of defending Greece. She collected an army and sent it to meet the invaders. It was led by the ten strategi, or generals, who usually commanded the army each in his own turn. One of the generals was Miltiades, who had previously met the Persians and was acquainted with their tactics. To Miltiades it seemed necessary to attack the Persians on the plain of Marathon. The other generals were divided in their opinions, but finally decided to yield to the advice of Miltiades and to give to him the chief command. A swift runner, Philip'pides, was dispatched to Sparta for aid. This aid was promised; but it was delayed on account of a Spartan superstition that an army should not be sent away before the time of the full moon. The only assistance which the Athenians received was from the friendly city of Plataæ'a, which sent its entire army, a thousand fighting men, raising the total force to ten or eleven thousand. The Greeks were drawn up in front of the town of Marathon. Opposite them the Persians were stationed nearer the sea and supported by their fleet. The battle line of the Greeks was equal in length to that of the Persians; but the center was made weak in order to strengthen the wings. At a given signal, the

Greeks, heedless of superior numbers and the terrible shower of arrows, rushed upon the enemy. The battle was long and obstinate. The Persians broke the weak center of the Athenians and pressed forward in the intervening space. But the strong wings of the Greek army closed upon the enemy and



BATTLE OF MARATHON, B.C. 490

routed them with great slaughter. The Persians were pursued to their ships, and with great difficulty embarked and sought refuge upon the open sea. Not entirely discouraged, the Persians sailed directly to Athens, hoping to find the city unguarded. But Miltiades made a forced march to Athens; and the Per-

sians, when they arrived, found the city protected by the victorious army of Miltiades. Foiled at every point, Datis and Artaphernes sailed with their defeated forces back to Asia. When the full moon was passed, the Spartan army arrived to find that Marathon had been won.

The Athenians were entitled to look upon Marathon as their own battlefield. The Spartans paid the highest tribute to their valor. The poets of Greece vied with one another in singing the praises of the dead heroes. A monumental mound was thrown up in their honor, which remains to the present day. Two statues were erected to Miltiades, one at Athens and the other at Delphi. While the battle of Marathon did not end the struggle between the East and the West, it marked an important step toward the ascendancy of Athens in Greece, and of Greece in the civilization of the world.

Fall of Miltiades. — By the victory at Marathon, Miltiades became the great hero of the hour; but from his exalted position he was destined soon to fall. He had proved himself

to be the greatest soldier that Greece had yet produced. Flushed with honor, he promised the Athenians other victories if they would intrust him with a sufficient force. Herodotus tells the story that he prevailed upon the Athenians to grant him seventy ships for a foreign expedition on the assurance that he would enrich them with an abundance of gold; that he proceeded against the island of Paros, which had sided with Persia during the war, and failing in his expedition returned to Athens; that he was charged by his enemies with deceiving his countrymen and was sentenced to pay a fine of fifty talents; that he died soon after from a wound received during the expedition, and that his fine was paid by his son Cimon (Herodotus, VI., 132-136). This pitiful story need not affect our judgment of Miltiades as the first great soldier of Greece. If he was inconsiderate in making a foolish request of the Athenians, the Athenians were quite as inconsiderate in granting such a request. The world will think of Miltiades, not as the man who failed in an expedition against Paros, but as the heroic warrior who won the battle of Marathon.



MILTIADES (So-called)

II. INTERVAL BETWEEN THE FIRST AND SECOND INVASIONS (490-480 B.C.)

Position of Athens in Greece. — During the ten years which elapsed between the battle of Marathon and the next Persian invasion, Athens was gradually rising into greater prominence.

The great victory she had won placed her upon a level with Sparta as a military power. She looked upon her success as the result of the free institutions established by Clisthenes. Every citizen had now a share in her government, and took a pride in the glory she had achieved. The democratic spirit was growing stronger. The friends of Hippias, the banished tyrant, were ostracized; and the popular party held the reins of government. The political questions which now arose in Athens were questions relating not so much to the form of government as to the best mode of maintaining and strengthening the Athenian democracy.

Aristides and Themistocles. — The leaders of the Athenian democracy during this time were Aristi'des and Themis'tocles. Aristides, who was called "the Just," was a friend of liberty and a true patriot. He had supported the democratic reforms



THEMISTOCLES (So-called)

of Clisthenes, and had commanded the Greek center at Marathon. No one was held in higher esteem as a man of personal and political integrity. He believed in preserving the institutions and the policy which had made Athens the strong and successful defender of the liberties of Greece. Themistocles was no less a lover of freedom and no less a patriot. But he looked to the future as well as to the present. The success which Athens had already attained should not, he thought, blind

her eyes to the need of other achievements. He looked to what Athens might do, as well as to what she had done. Without attempting to compare or to contrast the personal characters of these two leaders, we may simply look upon one

as the conservative, and the other as the progressive statesman of Athens — both, however, the friends of democratic government.

The Naval Programme of Themistocles. — With a far-sighted vision Themistocles saw that the battle of Marathon had not ended the struggle with Persia. He also saw that in the coming conflict Athens, the chief object of Persia's hatred, must again bear the chief brunt of Persia's attack. Persia was both a great military and a great naval power. In any future conflict, if Sparta was to be recognized as the chief military power of Greece, Athens should be recognized as its chief maritime power. There was also another consideration in favor of the policy of Themistocles. Athens was now embroiled in a war with Ægina, the neighboring island state which had shown a sympathy with Persia. Ægina had already a strong fleet. The only hope of winning in this war was by meeting ships with ships. With arguments such as these Themistocles enforced upon the people the need of a strong navy.

Ostracism of Aristides. — This progressive scheme naturally excited the opposition of the conservative men of Athens. They argued that if Persia attempted to invade Greece by way of Thrace and Macedonia, it would be necessary to meet her with a land force. If she came again by the sea, she could again be defeated as she had been defeated at Marathon — by a land force. Upon the well-armed hoplites Greece might depend in the future as she had done in the past. Aristides was in sympathy with these views. But the people yielded to the influence of Themistocles. That the new naval project might be carried through without hindrance, Aristides was ostracized. Themistocles thus became the leader at Athens without a rival.

Athens becomes a Maritime Power. — It was through the influence and patriotism of Themistocles that Athens became the greatest naval power in Greece. This was brought about by the building of a strong fleet and the construction of an adequate harbor. The fleet was built with the aid of the silver mines

recently opened at Laurium in the south of Attica. It was at first proposed that the product of these mines, which belonged to the state, should be divided among the citizens. But Themistocles appealed to the patriotism of the people and induced them to devote the proceeds of the mines to the building of war ships. In a short time Athens possessed a fleet of two hundred triremes, numbering more than that of Ægina and Corinth combined. About this time — perhaps earlier — Themistocles also transferred the harbor of Athens from the bay of Phale'rum, which was exposed alike to storms and to enemies, to the Piræ'us, which was far better adapted for a naval station. This new port was surrounded by natural defenses, but was now further strengthened by fortifications. On account of these works Themistocles may properly be regarded as the founder of the maritime greatness of Athens. It was by his foresight and genius that Athens, and Greece as well, was made ready for the next great war with Persia.

III. THE SECOND PERSIAN INVASION, UNDER XERXES

The Preparations of Persia. — The first invasion of Greece had ended in a humiliating defeat. Herodotus tells us that Darius, who had been already exasperated with the Athenians, was still more incensed when he heard of the defeat at Marathon (Herodotus, VII., 1). The king therefore began the greatest preparations for a new attack. But these were interrupted by a revolt in Egypt, and were finally cut short by the death of the king himself. Darius was succeeded by his son Xerxes, a man of far greater pretensions and of far less ability than his father. Prompted to take up the task left unfinished by Darius, he called together his nobles and announced his purpose. "As Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius," he said, "have each enlarged the empire, I wish to do the same. I propose to bridge the Hellespont and march through Europe, and fire Athens for burning Sardis and opposing Datis and Artaphernes. By reducing Attica and Greece, the sky will

be the only boundary of Persia" (Herodotus, VII., 8). Four years he spent in preparing for his great expedition. Infantry, cavalry, horse transports, provisions, long ships for bridges, and war ships for battles were collected from various Asiatic nations. Three years were spent in cutting a channel through the isthmus at Athos, to evade the promontory near which the fleet of Mardonius had been wrecked. Xerxes ordered two bridges of ships to be thrown across the Hellespont, over which his enormous army might pass into Europe.

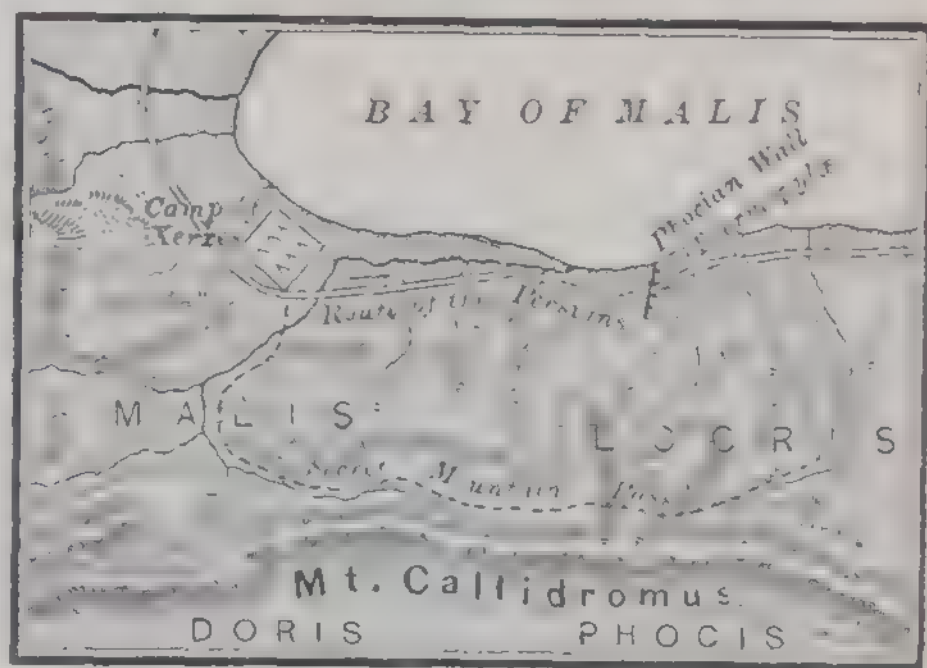
The Congress at Corinth (481 B.C.). — In view of these immense preparations, the Greeks were convinced more than ever before that upon their union depended their strength and safety. To no one else was this more clear than to Themistocles, the great Athenian, who was in this crisis the soul of Greece. In fact at no time did Hellas come so near being one nation as it did under the influence of Themistocles. At his suggestion, a congress of the Greek states was called at Corinth to consider the means of defense. The Greeks there assembled decided to lay aside all internal strifes and to act together against the common foe. They sent envoys to the states not represented, with the request to furnish aid for the defense of their common country. By this means they were able to know who was for them and who was against them. Argos replied that she would yield to the request if she were granted an equal share in the command with Sparta. Gelo, the tyrant of Syracuse, agreed to send a large force provided he was made commander in chief, or at least commander of the combined fleet. These conditional offers were rejected. Corcyra, with more apparent grace, agreed to furnish sixty ships — but the ships never came. It was evident that dependence could be placed only upon the states represented in the congress, which states now formed a united Hellas. To Sparta, which was already the head of the Peloponnesian league, was given the nominal headship of this new Greek confederation.

The Greek Lines of Defense. — The question now arose as to the best mode of defending the Grecian territory. The answer

of the coast. Here the great king reviewed his immense armament, gathered, it is said, from forty-six different nations. Here were Persians clad in corselets and armed with great bows and short javelins. Here were Ethiopians covered with the skins of beasts and having arrows tipped with sharp stones. Here were the savages from central Asia, and the more civilized warriors from Assyria and Media. According to Herodotus the whole army amounted to some millions of men. The fleet consisted of more than twelve hundred ships collected from Phœnicia, Egypt, Ionia, Cyprus, and other maritime states. With this prodigious armament Xerxes hoped to appal and overwhelm the little armies and fleets of Greece. He advanced by way of Thrace and Macedonia to the pass at Tempe, and was surprised to find this point abandoned. He then pushed through Thessaly and approached the pass of Thermopylæ.

Thermopylæ and Artemisium (480 B.C.). — The first conflict between the Greeks and the Persians comprised both a land

and a naval battle. The army, under one of the Spartan kings, Leonidas, was intrusted with the defense of Thermopylæ, a narrow pass between the mountains and the sea. The Grecian fleet, also under the command of a Spartan, — but having Themistocles in charge of the Athenian



PASS OF THERMOPYLÆ

division, — had been dispatched to Artemisium to prevent the approach of the Persians by the sea. Leonidas had with him about four thousand men, including three hundred Spartans, whom he stationed behind an old wall once built by the Phocians. That the whole Spartan army was not hurried to the defense of this most important position, was due to a superstition similar to that which had before delayed the arrival of

the Spartan troops at Marathon. But with his small force Leonidas determined to hold the pass. For two days Xerxes hurled against him as large detachments of his army as he was able — but in vain. Even the “Ten Thousand Immortals” were repulsed. Then a citizen of Malis, who has been branded as the “Judas of Greece,” Ephialtes by name, revealed to Xerxes a secret path over the mountains, by which a force could be thrown in the rear of the Spartan position. By this act of treachery Thermopylæ was lost. Leonidas and his Spartan band preferred death to dishonor, and perished — examples for all time of courage and patriotic devotion.

At Artemisium the Grecian fleet was held to its duty by the inspiring influence of Themistocles. The fleet comprised nearly three hundred vessels, about half of which were furnished by Athens. By persuasion, and even by bribery. Themistocles induced the Spartan commander to hold his position. For three successive days the Greeks fought the Persian navy. Although these battles were indecisive, they prevented the Persians from approaching Thermopylæ by the sea. But when the news came that Thermopylæ was lost, it was useless to hold this position longer; and the fleet retired southward to the island of Salamis. All central Greece was now open to the invader.

Themistocles and the Battle of Salamis (480 B.C.). — The army of Xerxes pushed through central Greece into Attica, burned Athens, and destroyed the temples on the Acropolis. The inhabitants fled to the neighboring towns. The Persian fleet meanwhile followed the Greeks to Salamis. It was here that Themistocles by his influence and adroitness brought on the decisive battle of the war. The Peloponnesian army had retreated behind the wall thrown across the Isthmus of Corinth, and its leaders insisted that the fleet should retire to the same place. But Themistocles saw the great advantage of fighting in the narrow strait between Salamis and the Attic shore, where only a part of the Persian fleet could be brought into action. The council of Greek admirals, however, decided

to retire toward Corinth, where they could act with the land forces, and also have a way of retreat if defeated. Themistocles showed to the Spartan commander that to retire from their present position would cause the abandonment of the allied states of Salamis, Megara, and Ægina, and would offer the fleet a temptation to disperse for the defense of the various cities. A new council was called, and in the heat of debate Themistocles was charged with being a "man without a country," now that Athens was lost. But he replied that with a hundred and eighty war ships at his command he could found a city anywhere. He threatened to withdraw his vessels and sail to Italy if the allies saw fit to abandon their Athenian comrades. By this threat the allies were persuaded to stand firm and fight in the strait. But to prevent any further indecision, Themistocles sent a messenger to Xerxes, giving the advice, as coming from a friend, that the Greeks must be attacked immediately to prevent their escape. Xerxes accordingly ordered up his fleet, and sent the Egyptian squadron to the strait opposite Megaris, to prevent any escape west of Salamis. At this juncture Aristides arrived from his retirement in Ægina, and pleaded with his old rival that they should now be rivals only in the cause of Greece. He announced that the battle must take place at Salamis, as all means of escape were cut off. This showed Themistocles that his plans had been successful.

The Greek fleet now held the strait east of Salamis. The Persian squadron gathered on its front. The Phœnicians moved in heavy columns on the right and the Ionians on the left. The great king sat upon a throne

erected on the slope of Mt. Æga'leos to watch the conflict. The details of this battle are uncertain; but the victory of the Greeks was decisive. The Phœnician squadron, upon which



BATTLE OF SALAMIS, B.C. 480

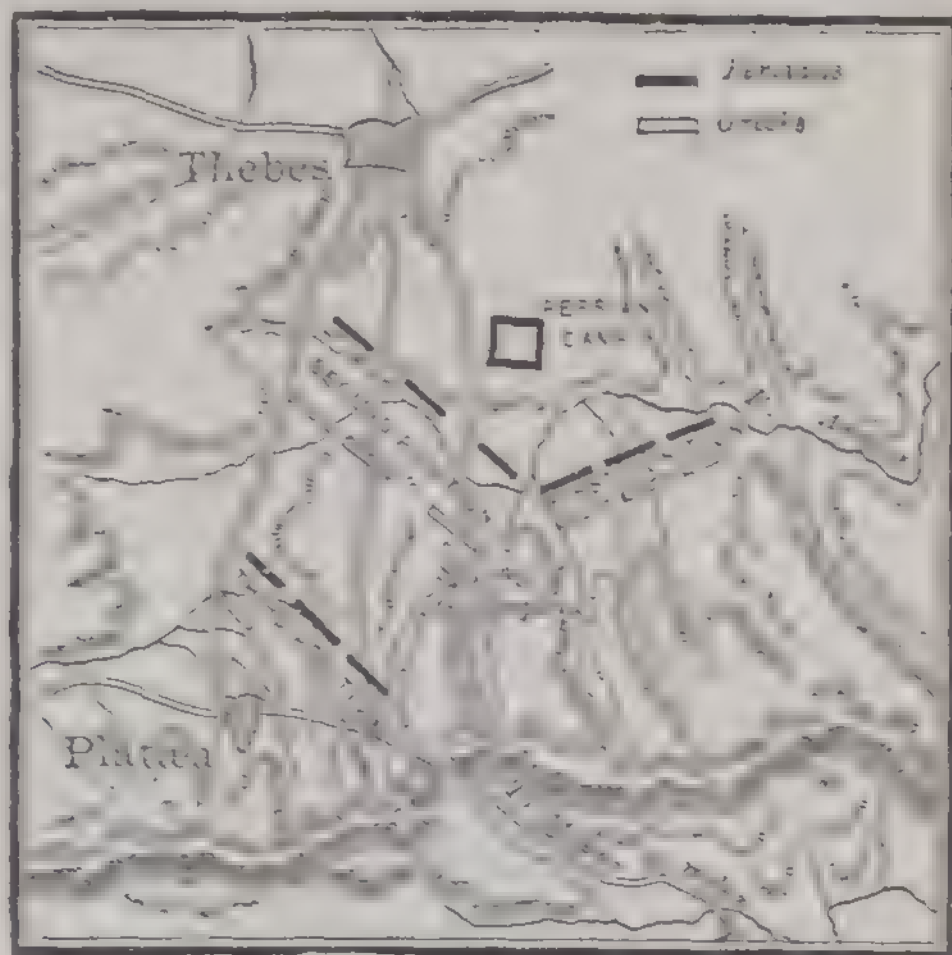
the king chiefly relied, was shattered. Nearly half of the Persian fleet was destroyed; and a new glory crowned the loyal states of Greece.

Continuance of the War by Mardonius.—The victory at Salamis had broken the naval power of Persia; but the land forces were still intact. Xerxes, however, seemed to regard the cause of Persia as lost, and ordered a general retreat of the army. He directed the remnants of his fleet to hasten to the Hellespont to guard the bridges by which he might recross into Asia, and which were now threatened by the Greeks. But there was one man who still seemed to believe that the conquest of Greece might be completed by the army alone. This man was Mardonias. He it was who had failed in the first expedition under Darius, and who had encouraged Xerxes to undertake the present invasion. Intrusted with three hundred thousand men, Mardonius was permitted to remain in Greece to retrieve the disaster at Salamis. Before beginning his campaign the following year, Mardonius sought the alliance of Athens against the rest of Greece. He promised to aid the Athenians to rebuild their city and to give them all the neighboring territory that they desired. But the Athenians sent back the word that "so long as the sun keeps its course, we will never join the cause of Xerxes" (Herodotus, VIII., 143). Attica was once more invaded, and the Athenians were again obliged to flee for safety. Again Greece was called upon to resist the invaders. Athens again called upon Sparta for aid, which was furnished after the usual delay. While the Grecian army was being collected, Mardonius retreated into Bœotia, near Platæa, to await the final contest.

Platæa and Mycale (479 B.C.).—Against the army of Mardonius the Greeks brought a force of about a hundred thousand men under the command of the Spartan Pausanias. The Athenian division was led by Aristides. The Spartan commander was evidently convinced of the superiority of the Athenian division, for he insisted that it should hold the place of honor and danger against the strongest wing of the Persian

army. After fighting and maneuvering in three different positions, the battle was finally decided near the walls of Plataea. Although the generalship of Pausanias was faulty in many particulars, the day was won by the sturdy valor of the Spartans and the brave soldiers of Athens and Plataea.

The Persian army was nearly annihilated. Mar-donius was killed. The surviving Persians fled to Thebes and then to Thessaly, and afterward made their way back to Asia. Another decisive victory was thus added to those of Salamis and Marathon. In commemoration of this victory the assembled allies made an offering of thanksgiving to Zeus Eleuthe'rios (the



BATTLE OF PLÁTĒA, B.C. 479

Deliverer), and instituted a public festival, called the Eleuthe'ria, to be celebrated once in every four years. The defensive alliance against Persia was also renewed; this is known as the "league of Plataea."

On the same day, it is said, on which the battle of Plataea was fought, the Grecian fleet, having set out from Delos, gained a signal victory over the Persian navy on the Asiatic coast near the promontory of Myc'ale (map, page 80). This gave the Ionian Greeks fresh hope that the day of their deliverance was near.

The Carthaginian Attack: Battle of Himera. — While the Persians were trying to conquer Greece, the Grecian colonies of Sicily were called upon to resist an attack by Carthage. (For the chief centers of Greek colonization in Sicily, see pp. 146, 147.) Carthage, like Persia, represented the civilization of the East; and the struggle in Sicily, as well as in

Greece, was a conflict between Orientalism and the new culture of Hellas. Carthage was now attempting to establish her supremacy over the cities of the West. She was led to do this on account of the growing power of Syracuse, which had become the leading city of Sicily under the energetic rule of the tyrant Gelo (or Gelon). Carthage and Persia were thus united in the effort to destroy the liberties of Greece. The decisive battle in Sicily was fought at Himera (480 B.C. ; map, p. 136), on the same day, it is said, as the battle of Salamis. Here the Carthaginians suffered a severe defeat at the hands of Gelo.

By their victories over Persia and Carthage, the Greeks were freed from Oriental domination. They thus obtained a period of comparative peace in which they were permitted to develop still further their own institutions and culture.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Smith, Chs. 17-20, Battles of Marathon, Thermopylae, Artemisium, Salamis, Plataea, Mycale (10).¹

Allcroft, Vol. II., Ch. 3, "Themistocles and the Naval Programme" (10).

Oman, Chs. 19, 20, "The Invasion of Xerxes" (10).

Bury, Ch. 7, "The Perils of Greece" (10).

Abbott, Vol. II., Ch. 3, "The Great Invasion" (11).

Curtius, Vol. II., Bk. III., Ch. 1, "The War of Liberation" (11).

Holm, Vol. II., Ch. 4, "The Year 480" (11).

Cox, Greek Statesmen, "Miltiades," "Aristides," "Themistocles" (26).

Plutarch, "Aristides," "Themistocles" (13).

Herodotus, Bk. VIII., "Urania" (Artemisium and Salamis) (13).

Æschylus, Drama of "The Persians" (13).

SPECIAL STUDY

CARTHAGINIAN INVASION OF SICILY. — Oman, Ch. 21 (10) ; Bury, pp. 300-304 (10) ; Allcroft, Vol. II., Ch. 14 (10) ; Holm, Vol. II., Ch. 6 (11) ; Abbott, Vol. II., Ch. 12 (11).

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

CHAPTER XV

EFFECTS OF THE PERSIAN WARS UPON GREEK CULTURE

I. THE NEW SPIRIT IN LITERATURE

Transitional Period in Greek Culture. — The Persian wars mark an epoch not only in the political but in the intellectual life of Greece. They not only assured the independence of Greece from foreign dominion, but they aroused a spirit of intellectual freedom, and gave a new vigor and earnestness to the Greek mind. The people had formerly been accustomed to look back to the time of Homer as their "heroic age." They were now inclined to look upon their own heroes as equal to the heroes of the Trojan war. "The idea was afloat in the air that the Trojan war was an earlier act in the same drama — that the warriors of Salamis and Plataea were fighting in the same cause as the heroes who had striven with Hector on the plains of Troy" (Bury). The poems of Homer now became more popular; and the new heroic spirit put a new life into poetry and art. This is seen in the higher honor which was now given to military courage — in the pæans sung to fallen heroes, and in the sculptures carved to represent warriors and warlike scenes. The culture of this time may not form a well-defined "period"; but it marks a clear transition from the simple and archaic culture which preceded it in the formative period to the more highly developed culture of the age which followed it.

Lyric Poetry: Simonides. — We may see the influence of this new spirit in the more vigorous and lofty tone given to lyric poetry. The poet who more than any other expressed the patriotic feeling awakened by the Persian wars, was Simonides. Born in Ceos, an island near Attica, he spent most of his life in Athens. He was a man of the world, and breathed the spirit

of his age. He was also a philosophical thinker, whom Plato called "the wise and the divine." He was the first to use lyric measures in funeral dirges and monumental inscriptions. He wrote many noble epitaphs in honor of those who fell in the battles of the Persian wars, for example:—

"In dark Thermopylæ they lie ;
Oh, death of glory thus to die !
Their tomb an altar is, their name
A mighty heritage of fame."

The Poetry of Pindar. — The lyric poetry of Greece reached its highest development in Pindar. This great poet was a native of Bœotia. He received his education at Athens; and he was honored by all the free states of Hellas. He was hence a truly national poet. While he did not despise military courage, he believed that there were more enduring virtues than those displayed in war. Hostility to Persia had tended to unite Greece in war; but something else was needed to preserve her greatness in peace. And so Pindar, with a genius far superior to that of Simonides, glorified the national institutions of Greece — the festivals, the games, the shrines of the gods, and the higher religious beliefs of the people. The poetry of Pindar was lofty in its spirit, profuse in its imagery, and sonorous in its rhythm. His triumphal odes comprise the chief part of his works that have come down to us. In these he expressed his admiration for physical and moral virtue, and for religious ideals, as well as his belief in future rewards and punishments. And so he sings:—

"The deeds that stubborn mortals do
In this disordered nook of Jove's domain
All find their meed; and there's a judge below
Whose hateful doom inflicts th' inevitable pain."

Rise of Dramatic Poetry. — Another way in which the spirit of the new age showed itself is seen in the rise of dramatic poetry. The drama grew out of one form of the lyric. We have already seen how the early lyric poetry acquired two dis-

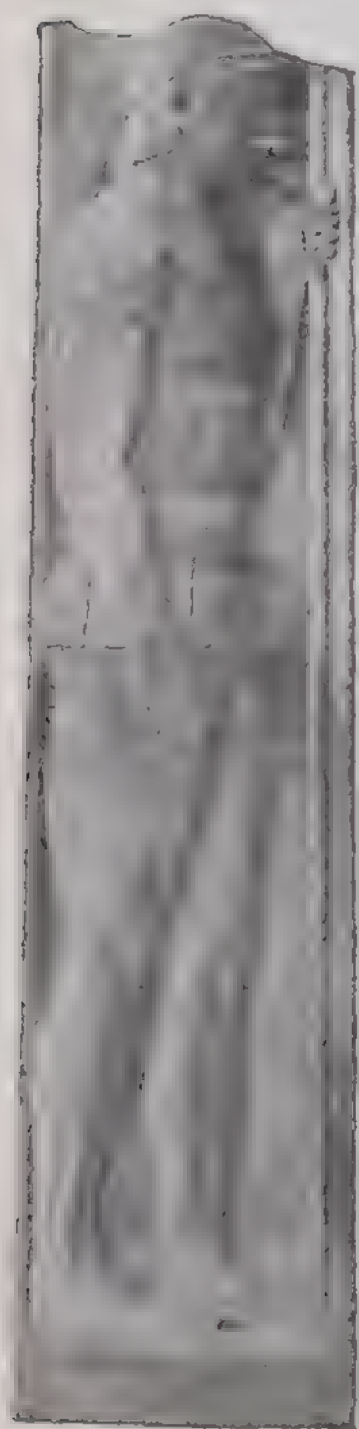
tinct forms, the Æolian and the Dorian — the one expressed in the ode to be sung or recited by a single person; the other expressed in the choral hymn to be sung by a number of voices (see page 161). The personal ode reached its perfection in Pindar. But the choral hymn, which had been used by Arion for the worship of Dionysus, and which was known as the dithyramb, became transformed into the drama. Heretofore the chorus had been accompanied by dancing and gesticulations and had expressed in a rude and wild way the emotions supposed to be appropriate to the worship of Dionysus, the wine god. But Thespis, a lyric poet of Attica, introduced an actor who assumed different characters and carried on a sort of dialogue with the leader of the chorus; and this served to explain the motive of the choral hymn. This form of the drama, with a single actor, was cultivated by Phryn'ichus, who took for his subject events in the Persian wars. His tragedy on the "Capture of Miletus" melted his audience into tears; but as it seemed to reproach the Athenians for not aiding their kin beyond the sea, a fine was imposed upon him and the play was proscribed. In a later tragedy, however, he stirred the patriotic feeling of his audience by depicting the effect which the news of the battle of Salamis had upon the Persian court.

The Tragedies of Æschylus. — But the greatest dramatist and literary genius of the period of the Persian wars was Æs'chylus, who lifted tragedy into the domain of genuine art. He was present at the battles of Marathon, Artemisium, Salamis, and Plataea. He surpassed Simonides in his patriotic fervor, Pindar in his lofty spirit, and Phrynichus in his pathetic power. He improved the form of the drama by introducing a second actor; so that the dialogue became the principal feature, while the chorus echoed the emotions produced by the play. By combining the dialogue and the chorus he depicted some great event, either historical or mythical, so as to reveal the workings of human passion under the control of the divine will. In his earliest tragedy, "The Persians," he followed Phrynichus in picturing the effects of the news of Salamis

upon the court of Persia. The subjects of his later tragedies were taken from the heroic myths, but infused with deep human feeling and religious sentiment. His greatest work was probably the "Prometheus Bound," in which a god, chained to a rock by command of Zeus, is made to suffer for the good deeds done to men.

II. IMPROVEMENT IN ART; SCULPTURE

Transitional Period in Greek Sculpture.—As the literature of this period shows the influence of more vigorous thought and a more elevated spirit, so the art—especially sculpture—shows a similar influence. The crude and stiff forms of the archaic period were giving way to more careful workmanship and to a greater freedom of design. We begin to see the figures in stone and bronze expressing a greater degree of life and action. The patriotic feeling of the age is expressed in bronze and marble; and the warlike virtues are exalted in the sculptured groups which adorn the temples. We can here perceive a distinct movement in the direction of that higher art which was to follow in the age of Pericles.

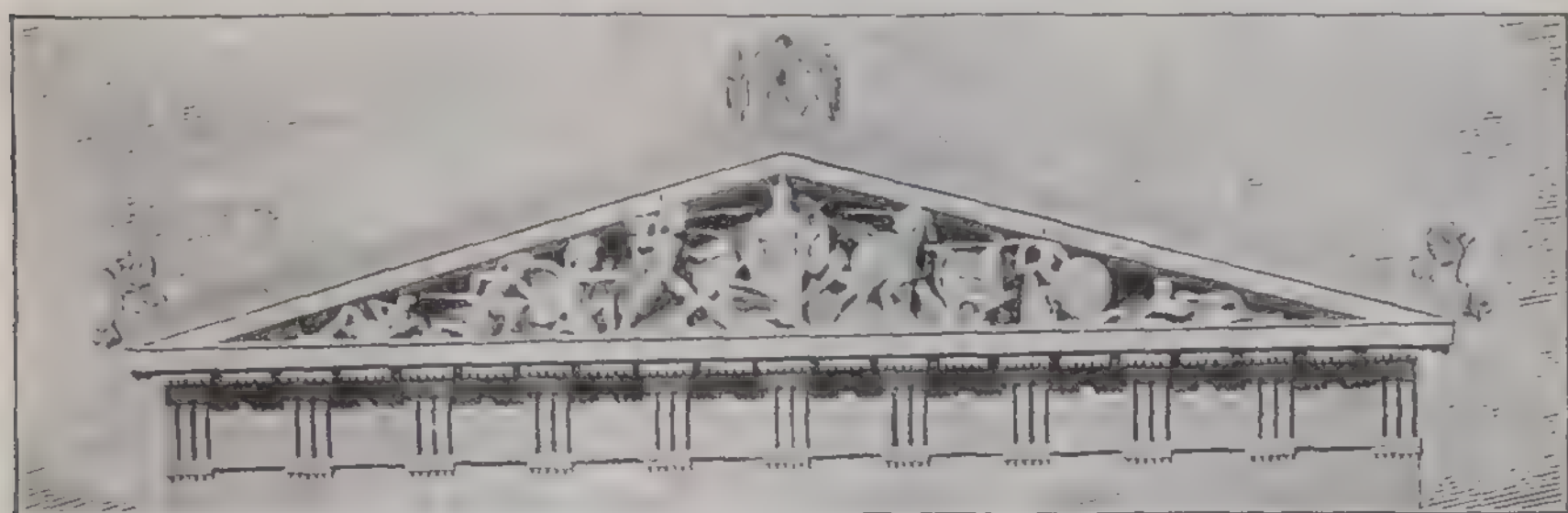


"SOLDIER OF
MARATHON"

Grave Monuments; Aristion.—One of the earliest evidences of this change is seen in the care bestowed upon monumental designs, especially those intended to commemorate the heroes of the Persian wars. The art of the sculptor was employed to honor military virtue. An example of this is the noted gravestone, or stele, of Aristion, commonly called the "soldier of Marathon." Here is a panoplied warrior holding his upright spear, and giving the impression of calm courage. Although there are some features of the archaic

style still remaining, there is yet a certain dignity and life-likeness which shows some advance upon the older art.

Temple Decoration; Marbles of Ægina. — More striking examples of the vigorous spirit of the time are seen in the decoration of the temples. Hitherto, the metopes in the frieze had been filled with small reliefs, representing some mythological

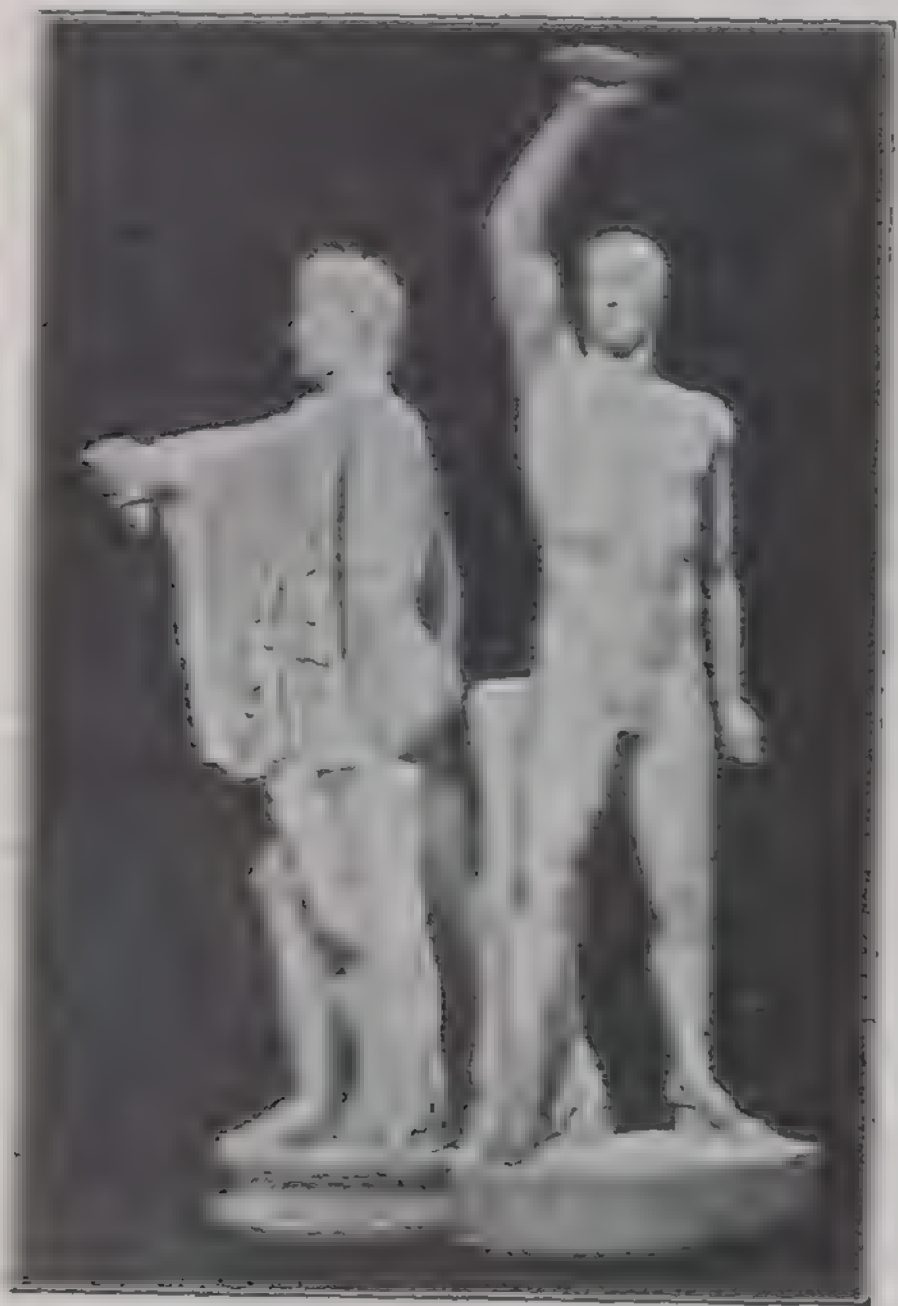


PEDIMENT OF THE TEMPLE AT ÆGINA (Restored)

person or event. Now the whole pediment, between the architrave and the roof, was filled with groups of statuary, revealing a high degree of life and action. These are often battle scenes suggested by the Trojan war, commemorating Grecian valor and the protecting care of the gods. The most noted of the pedimental groups of this period are the marbles of Ægina. The group in the western pediment is supposed to illustrate the struggle of the Greeks and the Trojans over the body of Patro'clus, and the intervention of the goddess Athena. In the center stands the calm figure of the goddess. On her right are the Grecian warriors, on her left the Trojans — both groups carved in the attitude of combat.

Attic Statuary; the Tyrannicides. — The progress made in the direction of independent statuary is seen in the two bronze figures of the tyrannicides at Athens, the work of Ante'nor. These statues, although separate, were intended to stand together representing a single action. They were intended to honor the men who struck the fatal blow against Athenian tyranny, and who were regarded as the liberators of the city — Harmodius and Aristogiton (see page 131). These bronze

figures personify the spirit of liberty, and express in their vigorous attitude the idea of physical and moral bravery. The original statues were carried away from Athens by Xerxes,



THE TYRANNICIDES (Copies)

and another group was set up in their place. When Alexander the Great afterward conquered Persia, he restored to Athens the original bronzes, and the two groups were placed side by side on a terrace overlooking the market place.

The Works of Myron. — But the statuary of this transitional period reached its highest stage in the works of Myron, who approached most nearly the great sculptors of the age of Pericles. His works exhibit not only the freedom and action which generally marked the period, but an

exceptional degree of anatomical correctness. In them we see the beneficial effects of the national games upon Greek statuary. One of the most famous of the statues of Myron is the *Discobolus* (the disc-thrower), who is represented in the momentary act of summoning all his strength to hurl the discus. Every limb, every muscle is tense and contributes to the main action of the body, and the beholder waits expectantly to see the feat accomplished. Myron executed many other works, such as a colossal group, on one pedestal, of Zeus, Athena, and Hercules; and statues of Apollo and of Dionysus, as well as a noted figure of a satyr (*Mar'syas*).

These works of Myron, as well as those previously mentioned, grew out of the intellectual activity and the more vig-

orous life which attended the Persian wars, and which prepared the way for the higher and more refined art of the coming age.

III. STATE OF PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE

The Period Unfavorable to Philosophy. — While the energetic spirit of this period gave a new inspiration to literature and art, it was not so favorable to philosophical and scientific thought. The Greek mind was stirred with intense feelings, which could find an appropriate expression in the verses of Simonides or the marbles of Ægina. But the times were not conducive to calm reflection and the construction of philo-

sophical systems. Indeed, the most influential philosophy of the time was perhaps embodied in the exalted words of wisdom scattered through the verses of the poets — Simonides, Pindar, and Æschylus. The only professed philosophers whose names properly belong to this period are Heracli'tus of Ephesus and Parmen'ides of Elea, two men who lived at the opposite extremes of the Hellenic world, — the one under the dark shadow of the Persian power, the other on the brighter and more peaceful soil of Italy.

Heraclitus of Ephesus. — Asia Minor had been



"DISCOBOLUS" OF MYRON

the original home of Greek philosophy. Here at Miletus had flourished Thales, Anaximander, and Anaximines. But the Persian wars had blighted the culture of the Ionian cities. The last representative of the Ionian school was Heraclitus. A native of Ephesus, he had seen his land ravaged by war and finally deprived of its liberty. In despair he took refuge in the neighboring mountains, and in his hermit retreat he deplored the miseries of the world. He was aptly called the "weeping philosopher." The whole world seemed to him to be a world of conflict and of change. To him everything appeared to be in a state of agitation; and hence he laid down the principle that "strife is the father of all things." There is nothing stable and enduring; and so he reasoned that "all things are in a state of flow." Everything is continually coming and going, and nothing is fixed. If there is any primary element in the universe, it must be something like fire, which never retains a definite and permanent form. The philosophy of Heraclitus embodied the natural reflections of a man who lived in that part of the Greek world which had once been free and prosperous, but which had now lost its faith and hope.

Parmenides of Elea. — If the Persian war quenched the philosophical spirit in Ionia, where it had once flourished, it could not be expected to encourage philosophy in Greece, where it had not yet been cultivated to any extent. Even Sicily had suffered from a war between Syracuse and Carthage. The only spot in the Hellenic world which seemed to afford an opportunity for calm reflection and high philosophical thought was southern Italy. And here at Elea still flourished the school established by Xenophanes, the philosopher who believed that the universe at its foundation is One, and that that One is God (see page 164). The philosopher who now arose at Elea and who was doubtless the greatest thinker of this age, was Parmenides. If Heraclitus believed that everything is in a state of change, it was because he simply looked on the surface of things by the means of the senses. If by the aid of reason we look below the surface, we shall find an ultimate principle

which does not change — the absolute Being, ever the same, yesterday, to-day, and forever. And so Parmenides distinguished between the world of sense, which is only appearance, and the world of reason, which is reality. With such a faith in an eternal principle, he lived a noble life; and it became a sort of proverb among the Greeks to speak of a "life like that of Parmenides."

In conclusion we may say that the Persian wars aroused a sentiment of patriotism and encouraged active and vigorous feelings, which were expressed in poetry and art. But they discouraged the cultivation of calm thought, and so philosophy declined in Asia Minor, and flourished only in Italy, which was in the least degree affected by the wars of the period. But we shall see that the Persian wars indirectly contributed to the growth of the Athenian empire and the higher culture of the age of Pericles.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Smith, Ch. 21, "History of Literature" (10).¹

Mahaffy, Survey, Ch. 4, "Passage from Sporadic to Systematic Culture" (10).

Holm, Vol. II., Ch. 12, "Literature, Science, and Art" (11).

Pater, p. 266 *et seq.*, "The Marbles of Ægina" (12).

Tarbell, Ch. 7, "Transitional Period of Greek Sculpture" (19).

Collignon, p. 127 *et seq.*, "The Æginetan School" (19).

Perry, Second Period, "From 500 B.C. to the Beginning of the Career of Pericles" (19).

Symonds, pp. 144-152, "Simonides"; Ch. 6, "Pindar" (23).

Zeller, § 20, "Parmenides"; § 22, "Heracleitus" (24).

SPECIAL STUDY

GREEK MUSIC AND LYRIC POETRY. — Blümner, pp. 111-113 (22); Gulick, pp. 82-84 (22); Guhl and Koner, pp. 199-212 (22); Harper's Class. Dict., "Musica" (18); Smith, Dict. Antiq., "Music, Greek" (18); Allcroft, Vol. II., pp. 185-188 (10); Jebb, Greek Poetry, Ch. 4 (23).

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

PERIOD IV. THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE; AGE OF PERICLES
(479-431 B.C.)

CHAPTER XVI

THE GROWTH OF THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE

I. THEMISTOCLES AND THE RECOVERY OF ATHENS

The Supremacy of Athens. — We have now reached the period in which Athens becomes the center of the Greek world. We have already seen this remarkable city gradually coming to the front. Her superiority has been evident in many things — in the development of her free institutions; in the growth of her maritime power; in the influence of her great statesmen; in the part which she took in the defense of Hellas. During the coming half century we shall see her rising into still greater prominence, until she becomes the leader of Greek politics and of Greek civilization. We shall see her under Themistocles recovering from the disasters of the Persian wars. We shall see her under Aristides becoming the center of a new confederacy. We shall see her under Cimon establishing her supremacy over the maritime states of Greece. Finally, under Pericles, we shall see her completing her empire and reaching the highest point of culture attained by the ancient world.

The Policy of Themistocles. — For a brief time after the retreat of the Persians, Themistocles continued to shape the destiny of Athens. The city had twice been occupied by the enemy, and it was now a heap of ruins. The people returned

from their places of refuge in Salamis and Ægina, and began to rebuild their fallen houses. But Themistocles saw that a defense for the city was quite as important as a shelter for the citizens. Without strong walls their homes would still be insecure. But he looked beyond the mere matter of temporary safety; he still clung to his policy of making Athens the strongest state in Greece. He saw not only the possibility of another invasion from a foreign enemy, but what was more likely, the possibility of a war with jealous neighbors. At any rate Athens should be fortified. Her walls should be so strong and extensive as to afford a safe retreat for all her citizens. Yielding to the influence of their leader, the people set to work in earnest to encircle the city with new walls.

The Building of the City Walls. — The policy of Themistocles to strengthen Athens excited the jealousy of the neighboring states. Ægina and Corinth appealed to Sparta to put a stop to this work. An embassy was therefore sent to Athens to remonstrate against the scheme of fortifying the city. As Themistocles believed that Sparta was prompted by a secret enmity, he adopted the deceitful arts usually employed against an enemy. He ordered the work on the wall to be stopped before the eyes of the Spartan envoys. He then suggested that a special embassy of three persons, of which he would be one, be sent to Sparta to make negotiations regarding the matter. He then hastened to Sparta, but instructed his two colleagues — one of whom was Aristides — to delay as long as possible, and to push forward with all speed the work of building the walls. While he was dallying with the Spartan ephors, and complaining of the delay of his colleagues, the whole population of Attica — men, women, and children — were toiling day and night to complete the walls, using in their extremity even tombstones and the débris of ruined temples. At last, when the walls were of sufficient height to protect the city, Themistocles boldly declared the truth, and assured the Spartans that the fortifications had been built, not only for the security of Athens, but for the safety of all Greece.

The Fortification of the Piræus. — Now that the walls of the city were completed, Themistocles turned his attention to the new harbor which he had designed before the last Persian invasion (p. 184). This port, the Piræus, was about four and a half miles from Athens, and could not well be inclosed within the same walls. A new and stronger line of works was now thrown about the Piræus; and to an impregnable city was added an impregnable harbor. At this port grew up a commercial population — merchants, sailors, resident foreigners



THE PIRÆUS, THE PORT OF ATHENS (Restoration)

who carried on trade. The Piræus thus became a suburb of Athens, and an important commercial center.

Completion of the Work of Themistocles. — The elevation of Athens to a position in which she might become the independent ruler of the sea, was the last great work of Themistocles. This was entirely in line with the policy that marked his whole career — the policy of a wise patriot, a military genius, and a far-seeing statesman. By means of a commanding influence, which excited the admiration of his countrymen, and also by means of craft and cunning which laid him open to the condemnation of his enemies, he constantly labored for the greatness of Athens. To him more than to any other man did

Greece owe her deliverance from the domination of Persia; and upon the foundations which he laid was built the Athenian empire.

When in a few years his common enemies at Athens and Sparta gained the upper hand, he was driven into exile; he was hunted from the land he had saved; and at last he was obliged to find a refuge among his enemies in Persia. In spite of the many stories told about his acts of bribery and his apparent sympathy with the Persian king and his acceptance of Persian honors, there is no evidence to show that he ever, even in his exile, raised his hand against the cause of Greece.

II. ARISTIDES AND THE CONFEDERACY OF DELOS

Liberation of the Ægean Cities. — The further growth of Athens is seen in the freeing of the Ægean cities from the Persian authority, and their union into a maritime confederacy. During the Persian wars, most of the cities of the Ægean — those upon the islands as well as those upon the Asiatic coast — had lost their independence, and were now struggling to regain their freedom. To Sparta it seemed best not to continue the war against Persia, but to invite the oppressed people to forsake their homes and come to Greece, where they could find new settlements. But Athens desired to complete the war of liberation, and to lend a helping hand to the Greeks of the Ægean. Sparta reluctantly acceded to this policy. As Sparta was still the nominal head of Greece, the fleet was placed under the command of Pausanias, the victor at Plataea. The Athenian division was commanded by Aristides, with whom was associated Cimon, the son of Miltiades. The fleet first sailed south to the island of Cyprus, the most important stronghold of Persia in the Mediterranean, and many of the cities there were set free. Turning to the north, Pausanias besieged Byzantium, which was soon reduced. The work of liberation, so well begun, was interrupted by the treacherous conduct of the Spartan commander.

Treachery of Pausanias. — With the spoils of Byzantium in his hands, Pausanias showed that he was at heart more of a Persian than a Greek. He threw aside the restraints of Spartan discipline, and assumed the dress and manners of a Persian satrap. Oriental luxury seemed to him more attractive than Greek simplicity. He even offered to ally himself with the Persian king, and to betray into his hands the states of Greece. The victor of Plataea thus became a traitor to his country. Despised by his fleet, he was recalled to Sparta. After a time, when the evidence of his guilt became clear and he was about to be arrested, he sought refuge in the temple of Athena. But this did not protect him from the vengeance of the people. The doors of the temple were closed by a wall, and the traitor was starved to death.

Aristides the Commander of the Fleet. — The treason of Pausanias led to a new step in the growth of Athenian supremacy. When the officers of the Grecian fleet at Byzantium compared the treacherous and brutal conduct of Pausanias with the upright character of Aristides they with one accord offered the command to the Athenian admiral. Sparta, in a short time, sent a new commander; but he was not recognized, and he returned with his vessels to Greece. By obtaining the chief command of the Grecian fleet, Athens acquired the supreme control of the sea. Sparta withdrew from the leadership which she had nominally held since the Congress of Corinth (see page 185); and she relapsed into her former position as simply the head of the Peloponnesian league.

Formation of the Delian Confederacy. — The time was now ripe for the formation of a new confederacy under the leadership of Athens. The chief duty of organizing the new league fell to Aristides, the commander of the fleet. He formed alliances with the cities, not only on the islands, but also on the Asiatic coasts, for the purpose of forming a union to resist the Persian power. All members of the confederacy were to be equal; they were to send delegates to a common congress; and they were to furnish ships or money for the common cause. The

confederacy was to be a perpetual union; and no member could withdraw without the consent of the others. The island of Delos, the seat of the shrine of Apollo, was selected as the place where the common meetings were to be held, and where the common treasury was to be established. The assessments for the treasury were intrusted to Aristides, in whose justice all had confidence. The confederacy of Delos was essentially an Ionian league, under the leadership of Athens; and it was an offset to the Dorian league of the Peloponnesus under the leadership of Sparta. Henceforth the interests of Athens and of Sparta became more and more opposed to each other; and they came to be recognized as the two rival powers of Hellas.

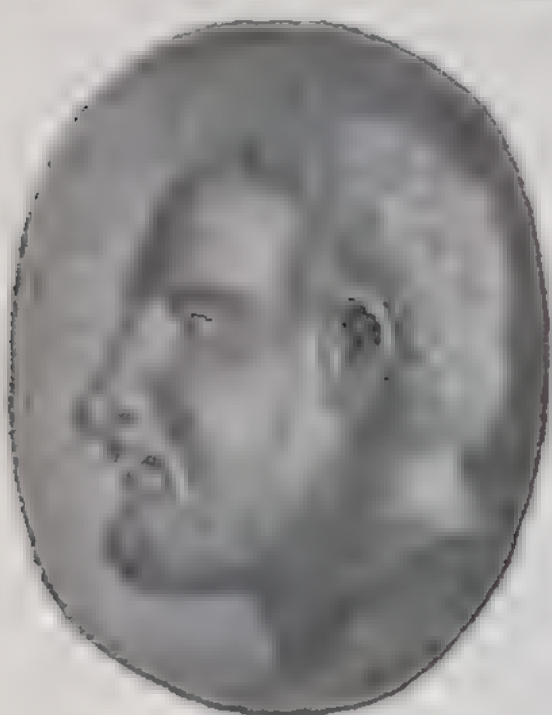
The Character of Aristides. — The formation of the Delian confederacy was preëminently the work of Aristides. It is a question whether any other statesman of Greece could have brought about this result. To no one else were the allies so willing to intrust their cause. He won the respect of all his contemporaries, and received the title of "the Just." It is a mistake to suppose that he was in sympathy with the aristocracy. While he was a conservative, he was a friend of the people, and no one was more thoroughly a patriot. He moved forward when the interests of Greece required it. He may not have had the great genius and adroit skill of Themistocles; but he was a man whose character is a shining light in the ancient world.

III. CIMON AND THE GROWTH OF IMPERIALISM

The Leadership of Cimon. — The man who now came to the front in Athens was Cimon, the son of Miltiades. He had not only shared with Aristides the command of the allied fleet; he had also shared with him the confidence of the allied states. He was well qualified to take the lead in the further development of Athenian power. He was a soldier of the first rank; and he used his ability to enlarge and make strong the newly formed confederacy. The policy of Athens under Cimon is

seen in the steps by which the confederacy of Delos was gradually changed into an empire — by which the allies, instead of being the equal members of a league, became the subjects of an imperial city.

Extension of the Confederacy. — The first great ambition of Cimon was to bring all the cities of the Ægean within the



CIMON (So-called)
From a gem

Delian league. He proceeded to Thrace and freed many cities on that coast. He reduced the rocky island of Scyros, where a nest of pirates threatened the commerce of Athens; and he planted upon it a colony of Athenian citizens. But his greatest military achievement was the defeat of the land and naval forces of Persia near the mouth of the river Eurym'edon in southern Asia Minor (466 B.C.; map, page 137). This double victory

insured the freedom of the cities of Caria and Lycia, on the Asiatic coast, and thus added to the strength of the confederacy.

The Policy of Coercion. — But while Athens was thus liberating those cities which wished her protection, she was also drawn into the policy of coercing those cities which did not wish her protection. For example, the island of Naxos, which had voluntarily joined the league, desired to be independent, and seceded from the confederacy (466 B.C.). But it was compelled by force of arms to return to its allegiance. Another example may be seen in the case of Thasos, also a member of the league. The Thasians complained that Athens was encroaching upon their commercial interests, and revolted; and they even called upon Sparta for assistance. But the allied fleet under Cimon reduced the island to submission (463 B.C.). The tendency of this policy of coercion was to change the allied cities into subjects, and to make Athens not merely the leader of a confederacy, but the sovereign of an empire.

Enmity between Sparta and Athens. — During the Thasian revolt we can see the bitter feeling which was growing up between the two rival powers of Greece. The Spartans, although at peace with Athens, secretly prepared an expedition to send into Attica, as a diversion in favor of the Thasians. This hostile and treacherous design was not executed, on account of a terrible earthquake at Sparta and a general revolt of the Spartan helots. The Spartan army was thus compelled to remain at home to crush this dangerous revolt, which at last became so formidable that the Spartans were forced to call upon Athens for help. Whether Athens should give aid to Sparta, was now the burning question before the Athenian assembly. The new leaders of the democracy, Ephialtes and Pericles, were utterly opposed to helping a city which had already proved itself faithless. But Cimon espoused the cause of Sparta, and through his influence an army was sent to aid in putting down the revolt. That Cimon was wrong and his opponents were right became evident when the Spartans, jealous and suspicious, dismissed the Athenian army with the curt remark that its services were no longer needed. This piece of effrontery served to widen the breach between these rival states.

The party of Cimon, which had favored the cause of Sparta, lost its influence; and Cimon himself was ostracized (461 B.C.). In the same year in which Cimon was exiled, the chief leader of the democratic party, Ephialtes, was assassinated. By the removal of these two party chiefs, Pericles became the leading man in Athens.

IV. PERICLES AND THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE

Pericles and his Policy. — Under Pericles Athens reached its highest power and glory. In his character this great man united many of the best qualities of his predecessors, — the skillful statesmanship of Themistocles, the patriotic spirit and democratic sympathies of Aristides, the military accom-

plishments and imperial ambition of Cimon. But he added to these the power of persuasive eloquence, which gave him control



PERICLES

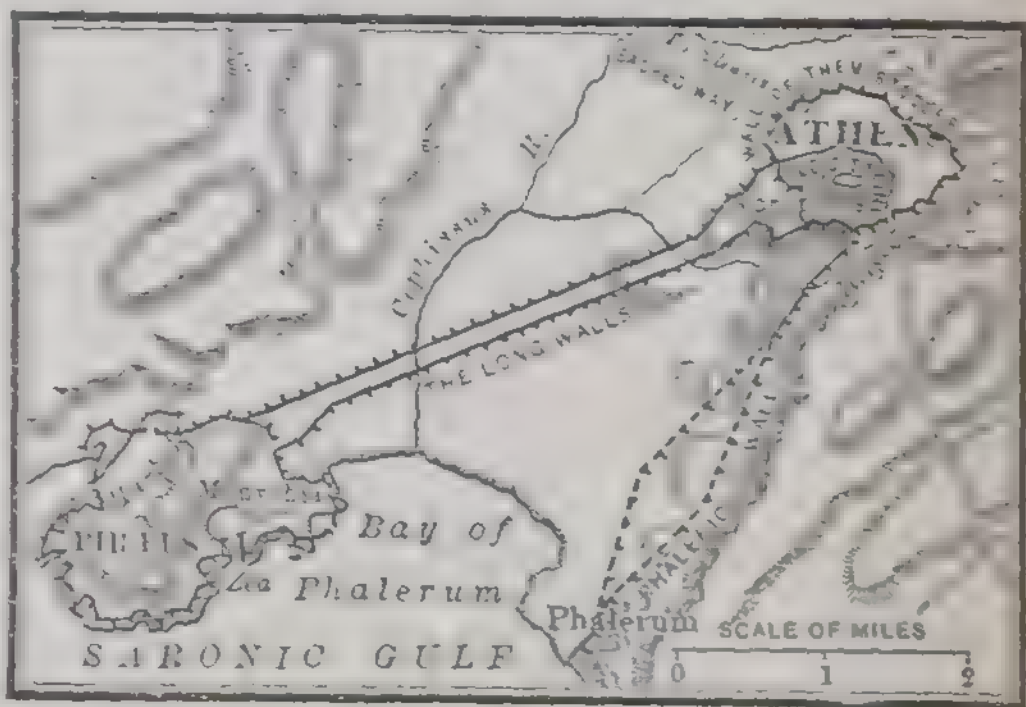
over the Athenian assembly. His political policy was to extend the imperial power of Athens, and to resist Persia, not only by protecting the Ægean cities, but also by aiding the Persian insurgents, especially in Egypt and Cyprus.

The Building of the Long Walls. — Pericles followed the policy of Themistocles in seeking first of all to make Athens an impregnable city. The fortifications erected by Themistocles about Athens and about the Piræus had created two

separate centers of defense. Pericles desired to unite these two places by one system of defensive works, and thus to prevent Athens from being cut off from her harbor and from the rest of the world. This defensive system may have been

begun by Cimon; but it was completed by Pericles. One of the new walls, the southern, ran from the city to the Bay of Phalerum; and another, the northern, ran to the harbor of the Piræus. In a few years a third and middle wall was erected near and parallel to the northern one, the two together being known as the

“Long Walls.” These formed a wide and secure avenue from



THE WALLS OF ATHENS

the city to the Piræus. Athens and the Piræus were thus united in a single fortified area, which formed a military and naval base of operations for the whole empire.

Extension of the Athenian Power.—It was a part of the policy of Pericles to extend the influence of Athens upon the land as well as upon the sea, and thus to make Athens the head of a continental as well as a maritime league. The first step in this direction was taken as the result of an alliance which had already been formed by Athens with Argos and Megara. This alliance excited the jealousy of the neighboring Dorian states, Corinth and Ægina; a war followed, and Ægina was reduced to the condition of a tributary state. The next step was the result of an attempt made by Sparta to settle a dispute between Phocis and Doris. This brought on a war between Athens, on the one side, and Sparta and Bœotia, on the other. After two engagements—at Tan'agra (457 B.C.) and at Cænoph'yta (456 B.C.; map, page 214)—Phocis and Locris became the willing allies of Athens, and Doris and Bœotia (except Thebes) were compelled to join the new continental league. By these two movements the Athenian power was extended over the most of central Greece.

Culmination of the Athenian Empire.—At the same time that Athens was gaining new allies on the land, she was also obtaining greater power over her allies upon the sea. The members of the Delian confederacy were at first expected simply to furnish ships and sufficient money to maintain the fleet. Soon they were inclined to make their contributions entirely in money, while retaining their independence. Afterward the contributions were regarded as tribute due to Athens, which Athens had a right to collect. Again, it was at first expected that the affairs of the confederacy were to be managed by a congress of delegates, meeting at Delos; but the allies soon regarded these meetings as irksome, and the political control of the confederacy gradually passed into the hands of Athens. Finally, the common treasury was transferred from Delos to Athens (about 454 B.C.). By these

steps the political and financial administration of the league became centralized in Athens; and the Delian confederacy became transformed into an Athenian empire. Of all members of the original confederacy, only three — Chios, Lesbos, and Samos — were allowed to retain their position as equal and independent allies.

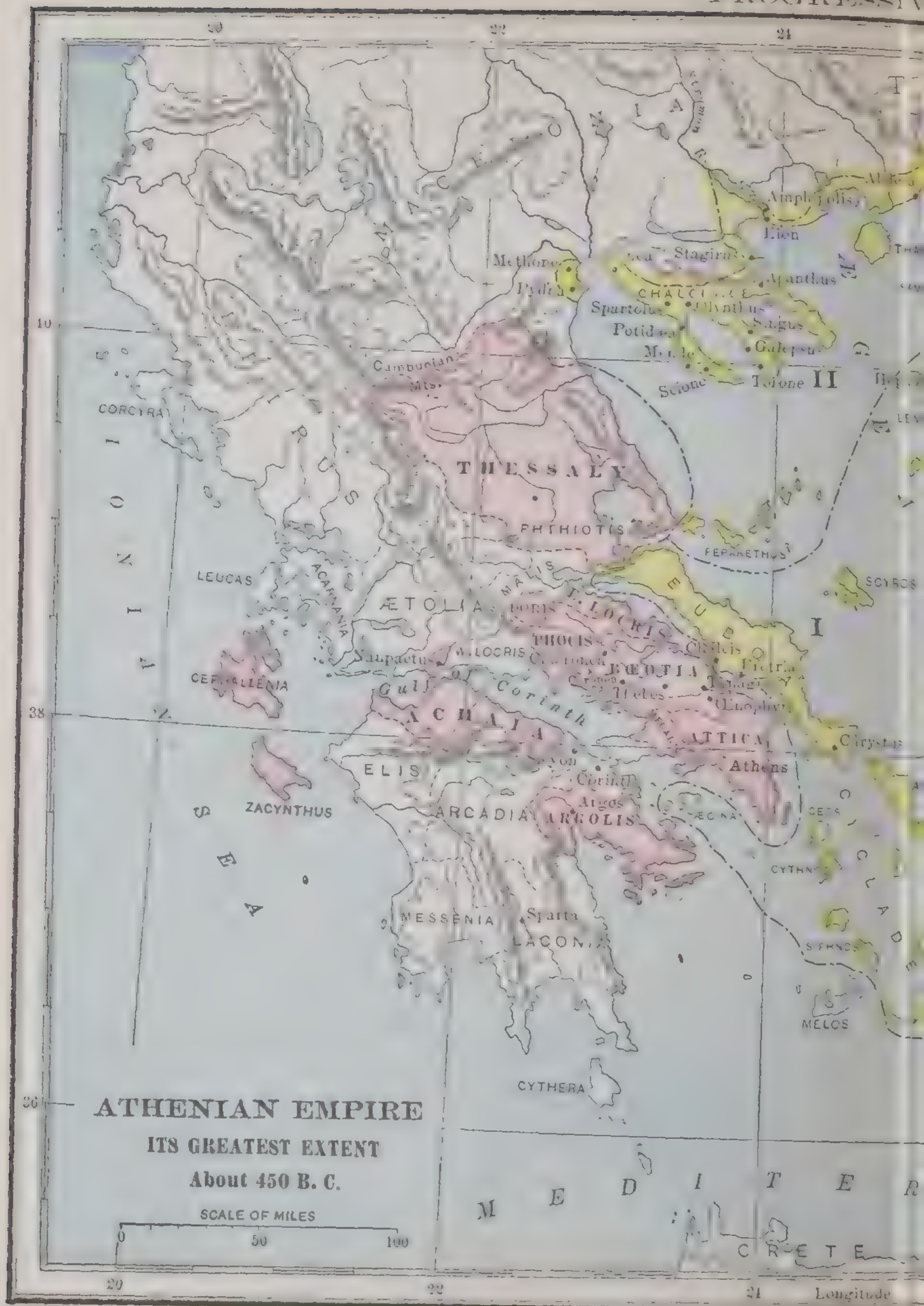
Restoration and Death of Cimon. — After the empire was finally established, Cimon, who had been recalled from his banishment, recovered for a brief time his influence over the Athenian assembly; and his policy again found favor with the people. His policy involved peace with Sparta and war with Persia. A Five Years' Truce was accordingly formed between Athens and Sparta (450 B.C.), by which each party agreed to respect the rights and possessions of the other. Cimon then set out on a new expedition against Cyprus, in which island Persia was now attempting to reëstablish her authority. This expedition resulted in a decisive victory over the Persians, and also in the death of Cimon (449 B.C.). It is said that Cimon concluded a treaty of peace with Persia; but concerning this there is much doubt. With the death of Cimon, Pericles regained his previous position as the ruling spirit of Athens.

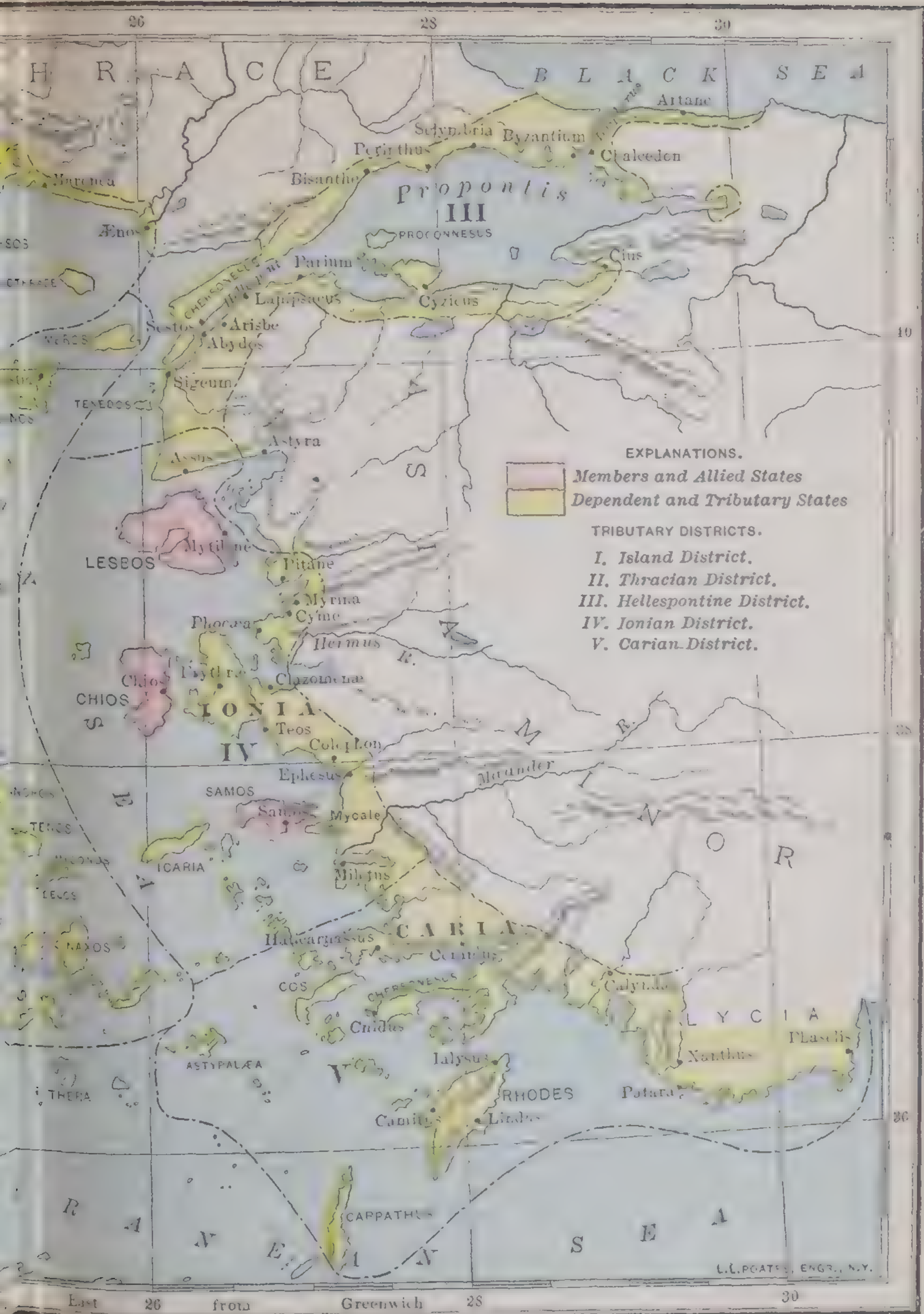
Survey of the Athenian Empire. — This point of time marks the limit reached by Athens in the development of her imperial policy. Her whole dominion comprised an empire upon the land and an empire upon the sea. (1) The land empire comprised the most important states of European Greece outside of the Peloponnesian league, including Megaris, Boeotia, Phocis, Doris, East Locris, Thessaly, Naupac'tus in West Locris, and some of the cities of Argolis and Achaia, — to which should be added the islands Zacynthus and Cephalenia in the Ionian Sea. (2) The maritime empire comprised all the important islands of the Ægean Sea, as well as the Greek cities on the coasts of Asia Minor and Thrace, which had been recovered from Persia.

For administrative purposes all the maritime cities — except those of Lesbos, Chios, and Samos — were grouped in five

great tributary districts; the *first* comprising the islands of the central and western Ægean from Imbros to the Cyclades, including Ægina and Eubœa; the *second*, the cities on the Thracian coast, including also the island of Thasos; the *third*, the cities surrounding the Propontis; the *fourth*, those along the Ionian coast; and the *fifth*, those along the shores of Caria and Lycia. In these five districts were more than two hundred and sixty cities that paid tribute to Athens. The population of the whole empire has been estimated at about two millions (Holm, II., 223); but the data upon which this estimate is made are very uncertain.

Failure of the Imperial Policy of Athens. — The wonderful energy which Athens displayed at this time is evident when we consider that, within a period of thirty years, she had recovered all the Ægean cities lost during the Persian wars, and had established her authority over a large part of European Greece. But her ambitious policy to maintain an empire upon the land proved a failure. She was soon beset with difficulties and afflicted with reverses, which weakened her influence among her continental allies. News had already come that a fleet of two hundred vessels, sent some time before to free Egypt from Persia, had been annihilated (454 B.C.). Sparta still claimed the right to interfere in the affairs of central Greece. Boeotia opposed the effort to establish democratic governments within her borders, and defeated the Athenians in a battle at Corone'a (447 B.C.). The spirit of revolt extended to other cities; and one after another the Athenian land allies renounced their allegiance. Under these depressing circumstances Pericles concluded a Thirty Years' Truce with Sparta (445 B.C.), by which Athens gave up her claims to the Peloponnesian cities, and each party was restricted to its present possessions. Although obliged to give up her land empire, Athens still maintained her supremacy upon the sea, and still retained her position as the foremost leader of Greek democracy and the highest representative of Greek culture.





TRIBUTARY STATES OF THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE

The following table gives a list of the tributary states that paid annually more than one talent,¹ arranged by tributary districts : —

- I. Island District. — Ægina, Ceos, Cythnos, Siphnos, Paros, Naxos, Tenos, Andros, Carystus and Chalcis in Eubœa, and Hephæstia in Lemnos.
- II. Thracian District. — Peparethus, Methone, Ænea, Potidæa, Mende, Scione, Spartolus, Olynthus, Galepsus, Torone, Singus, Acanthus, Abdera, Maronea, Ænos, Thasos, Samothrace.
- III. Hellespontine District. — Perinthus, Selymbria, Byzantium, Chalcedon, Cyzicus, Proconnesus, Lampsacus, Arisbe, Abydos, Tenedos.
- IV. Ionian District. — Myrina, Cyme, Phocæa, Clazomenæ, Erythræ, Teos, Colophon, Ephesus, Miletus.
- V. Carian District. — Halicarnassus, Ceramus, Cnidus, Chersonesus in Caria, Calynda, Phaselis, Cos, Astypalæa ; also Camirus, Ialysus, and Lindus in the island of Rhodes.

The following is a list of the above tributary states arranged according to the amount of their annual tribute : 30 talents, Ægina, Thasos ; 16½ talents, Paros ; 15 talents, Abdera, Byzantium ; 12 talents, Lampsacus ; 10 talents, Ænos, Chalcis, Perinthus ; 9 talents, Chalcedon, Cyme, Cyzicus ; 7 talents, Erythræ ; 6½ talents, Naxos ; 6 talents, Andros, Ephesus, Ialysus, Camirus, Lindus, Potidæa, Samothrace, Scione, Teos, Torone ; 5 talents, Carystus, Cos, Mende, Miletus, Selymbria ; 4 talents, Abydos, Ceos ; 3 talents, Ænea, Acanthus, Chersonesus in Caria, Hephæstia, Cnidus, Cythnos, Methone, Peparethus, Phaselis, Proconnesus, Siphnos, Tenedos, Tenos ; 2 talents, Arisbe, Olynthus, Phocæa, Singus, Spartolus ; 1½ talents, Halicarnassus ; 1½ talents, Astypalæa, Galepsus, Calynda, Ceramus, Clazomenæ, Colophon, Maronea, Myrina. (Cf. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, Ed. 1893, I., 402.)

The whole number of tributary states was as follows : Island District, 41 ; Thracian District, 68 ; Hellespontine District, 50 ; Ionian District, 42 ; Carian District, 62 ; undetermined, 4 ; total, 267. (Cf. Boeckh, *Staatshaushaltung der Athener*, Ed. 1886, II., 362–369.)

¹ It is difficult to determine the exact value of the Attic talent in terms of our money : it has been variously estimated at from about 1000 to about 1250 dollars.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

- Cox, Ch. 8, "Growth of the Athenian Empire" (10).¹
 Timayenis, Vol. I., Part IV., "The Athenian Ascendency" (11).
 Oman, Ch. 23, "Building up of the Athenian Empire"; Ch. 24, "Athens at the Height of her Power" (10).
 Smith, Ch. 23, "Rise and Growth of the Athenian Empire" (10).
 Allcroft, Vol. II., Ch. 8, "Rise of Athens"; Ch. 9, "Athens a Territorial Power"; Ch. 10, "Athens under Pericles" (10).
 Curtius, Vol. II., Bk. III., Ch. 2, "Growth and Power of Athens"; Ch. 3, "The Years of Pericles" (11).
 Holm, Vol. II., Ch. 14, "Pericles to the Thirty Years' Truce" (11).
 Plutarch, "Cimon," "Pericles" (13).
 Aristotle, Athenian Constitution, Chs. 23-27 (Ephialtes and Pericles) (13).

SPECIAL STUDY

THE CONFEDERACY OF DELOS. — Oman, pp. 241, 242 (10); Smith, Ch. 22, § 6 (10); Cox, Ch. 7 (10); Abbott, Vol. II., Ch. 8 (11); Bury, Ch. 8, § 2 (10); Allcroft, Vol. II., pp. 91-104, 139-151 (10); Curtius, Vol. II., pp. 376-385, 430-432 (11); Holm, Vol. II., Ch. 17 (11); Greenidge, pp. 189-204 (20); Gilbert, pp. 416-434 (20).

CHAPTER XVII

THE ATHENIAN CONSTITUTION UNDER PERICLES

I. THE POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Character of the Athenian Democracy. — As the civilization of Athens reached its highest development during the age of Pericles, we should review its principal features before we consider the causes which led to its decline. First of all, we may look at the constitution of the state as it existed at this time. We have already seen the gradual tendency of

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

Athens toward popular government — in the decline of the monarchy, in the growth of the archonship, in the extension of the franchise by Solon, and in the radical reforms of Clisthenes. And this popular tendency had continued since the time of Clisthenes. Ephialtes had restricted the ancient privileges of the Areopagus; and Pericles had induced the people to take an active part in the exercise of their political duties, by introducing a system of payment for public service.

By the term "democracy," the Athenians understood a state in which all the powers of government are exercised directly by the citizens, and in which all citizens are equal before the law. The Athenian idea of democracy differed from the modern idea chiefly in two ways: first, in that the Athenians had very little notion of the modern idea of representation; and second, in that the number of citizens formed a comparatively small part of the whole population.

Classes of the Population. — We may get an idea of the limited nature of the Athenian democracy by looking at the different classes of persons residing in Attica, which formed the territory of the Athenian city state. These persons comprised the slaves, the resident foreigners or "metics," and the citizens.

1. The slaves of Attica have been estimated at about 100,000 (Gilbert, p. 170). They included captives taken in war and persons imported from the slave markets on the Thracian and Scythian coasts. Their lot was not especially wretched. They were employed in domestic and agricultural labor, and were even allowed to work for themselves on consideration of paying their master a yearly sum. The state sometimes employed slaves as policemen and clerks. The slave, however, had no political or civil rights, although he might be protected from the cruelty of his master, and in grave emergencies might serve in the army and the fleet.

2. The resident foreigners, or "metics," numbered perhaps 10,000. These persons were engaged mostly in trade, and formed a valuable part of the population. But they had no

share in the government. They could not hold land in Attica. They were obliged to pay a yearly tax and sometimes to serve in the army and navy; for example, as shield-bearers or rowers. Every resident foreigner was bound to choose a citizen to represent and protect his interests.

3. The class of citizens formed the rest of the population of Attica. The early policy of admitting foreigners to citizenship was changed by Pericles, who restricted citizenship to those who were born of an Athenian father and an Athenian mother. The whole number of Athenian citizens, including men, women, and children, was at the time of Pericles in the neighborhood of 120,000. Of this population the number of voters is generally estimated as about 30,000. This comparatively small body of persons, scattered through the local districts — that is, the tribes and demes — of Attica, formed the democracy.

The Athenian Assembly, or Ecclesia. — The most important political body in the state was the ecclesia, or general assembly of the people. It consisted of the whole body of male citizens above eighteen years of age. It met forty times each year on the Pnyx — a sloping hill backed by a perpendicular rock, where was located the *bema*, the stone platform upon which the orators stood to address the people. The assembly was the ultimate source of political authority. Here any citizen could speak and vote upon questions properly submitted by the council; but proposals thus submitted could be passed, rejected, or amended by vote of the assembly. Any citizen could propose a measure by first submitting it to the council. But it was a peculiar feature of the constitution that the mover of a resolution was held responsible for the measure which he proposed — a provision painfully illustrated in the case of Miltiades (see page 181). The vote in the assembly was generally taken by a show of hands; although the ballot was used when the welfare of an individual was at stake. The assembly was often brought under the power of some influential man, whose character and oratorical ability enabled him to sway the multitude and to become the "leader of the people," or, as Aris-



THE BEMA ON THE PNYX

- toph'anes puts it, "the master of the stone on the Pnyx." And so Thucyd'ides describes Athens at the time of Pericles as "a democracy ruled by its ablest citizen."

The Athenian Council, or Boule. — Since the decline of the Areopagus, the most important political body after the assembly was the Council of Five Hundred. This consisted of fifty members, at least thirty years of age, chosen annually by lot from each of the ten local tribes. In other words, the council was composed of ten sections, each one being made up of fifty members from a single tribe. The business of the council was to preside over the affairs of the state. But for convenience, each tribal section of fifty was authorized to preside in turn during a tenth part of the year, the order of their turns being decided by lot. The members of the presiding section were called *pryt'anes*; the period for which they served, the *pryt'any*; and the public building in which they lived, the *Prytane'um*. The presiding section chose each day by lot one of their number as president, who was chairman, not only of the council, but also

of the assembly. The council exercised the highest administrative and executive powers in the state. It prepared the measures to be submitted to the assembly. It could itself pass ordinances, provided they did not conflict with the existing laws. It had charge of the public buildings, festivals, and religious ceremonies. It had control of the public finances. It saw that the laws of the state were carried into execution; and in certain exceptional cases it exercised judicial functions.

The Athenian Magistrates: the Generals. — As the decline of the Areopagus was followed by the growing importance of the council, so the decline of the archonship was attended by the growth of the "generalship" as an executive office. The ten strategi, or generals, came to be the most important magistrates in the government. They were at first probably elected one from each tribe; but afterward they were all elected by the whole assembly without regard to tribes. On account of the fact that they required a special kind of ability, they were elected, not by lot, but by the vote of the citizens. The first duty of the generals was to command the army, but to this were added other functions. They had charge of the means for defending the state — the maintenance of the fortifications, the army, and the navy. They also had charge of foreign affairs, the negotiation of treaties, and the receiving of ambassadors. They furthermore had the power to call extra sessions of the assembly, if in their judgment the public interests required it.

Besides the generals there were a large number of subordinate magistrates, civil and military, that need not be named here.¹

The Athenian Courts: the Dicasteries. — One of the most peculiar features of the Athenian constitution was the organization of the courts. The old council of the Areopagus retained a certain jurisdiction over some grave offenses, like murder and arson. But the great majority of judicial cases were tried by jurors drawn from the body of citizens, and from

¹ For the Athenian magistrates, see Gilbert, *Constitutional Antiquities*, pp. 214-265.

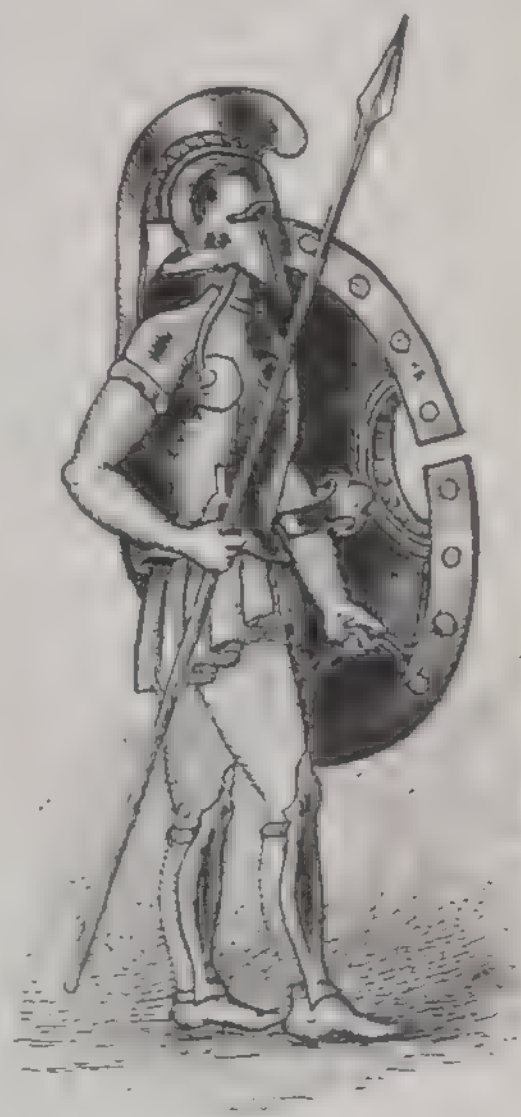
these courts there was no appeal. The whole jury list (*helicea*) was made up of six thousand citizens, at least thirty years of age, who each year voluntarily presented themselves before the archon and took an oath to perform their duties faithfully. This whole judicial body was divided into ten sections, or dicasteries of five hundred members each — leaving a thousand supernumeraries who could be drawn upon when necessary. The jurors serving on a single case were drawn from these sections, and might number two hundred or more for a single case. From the time of Pericles the jurors received a small pay for their services. The business of the courts was prepared by the three senior archons; while the six junior archons (*thesmothetæ*) formed a sort of board of revision by which the harmony of the laws was preserved. The popular character of the Athenian courts shows the extreme democratic principles which controlled the state, since an opportunity was given to every citizen at some time to share in the administration of justice.

Political Parties at Athens. — The growth of the Athenian democracy, like that of every popular government, was marked by the development of parties and of factional strife. We have already seen, from very early times, political divisions between different portions of the people, — for example, the Eupatrids and the common people; and the men of the Hill, the Plain, and the Shore. But from the time of Clisthenes, there had come to be two quite well-defined political parties, the democratic and the oligarchical. The democratic party was in favor of the new constitution, with the popular changes brought about by Clisthenes, Ephialtes, and Pericles; it was eminently the patriotic party of Athens, opposed to foreign influences, whether Spartan or Persian. The oligarchical party, on the other hand, was opposed to the constitution, which had deprived its members of their old exclusive privileges; it was in sympathy with the aristocratic ideas of Sparta, and did not hesitate sometimes to take the part of Persia. Between these two extreme parties, there was what may be called a moderate

party, less defined than the others, which did not oppose the democratic constitution so much as it did the policy of the democratic leaders. The strife between these parties was allayed for a time by the overpowering influence of Pericles, only to break out again, as we shall see, during and after the Peloponnesian war.

II. THE MILITARY ORGANIZATION

Composition of the Army.—The defense of the Athenian state against its foreign enemies required an efficient military organization. The army, like the government, was based upon democratic principles. Every young man at the age of eighteen was enrolled, and took his oath of allegiance as a citizen and a soldier. For two years he was engaged in military training—when it was not customary for him to attend the assembly. From twenty to fifty, he was liable to be called upon to serve in the field, wherever and whenever the state required it. After fifty until sixty, he was called upon to serve only in Attica and for the defense of Athens. The army when called into the field consisted of the heavy-armed, the light-armed, and the cavalry. The heavy-armed troops, or hoplites, which formed the main body of the army, were drawn from the three upper census classes (see page 127), and were armed with the shield, helmet, breastplate, greaves, sword, and spear. The light-armed troops were drawn from the fourth or lowest class, and did not have the complete defensive armor of the hoplites, and sometimes fought with bows and arrows. The cavalry consisted of the wealthier citizens who could furnish a horse; but this branch



GREEK HOPLITE

of the service, though highly respected, was never very efficient in Greece, on account of the mountainous character of the country. The Greeks sometimes used war chariots, but not to the same extent as the Eastern nations.

The Greek Phalanx. — When a levy was to be made for a military expedition, the ten local tribes would be called upon to furnish their respective quotas. The men thus called into the field would be organized into “phalanxes.” The phalanx was a military body quite peculiar to the Greeks. It consisted of from two thousand to four thousand men, drawn up in a solid body, eight ranks deep, under its own commander. It was organized into a number of divisions and subdivisions, each under its own officers. The phalanx was the basis of all tactics, or military evolutions. It was usually arranged in the form of a rectangle — sometimes, however, in the form of a crescent, and sometimes in the form of a wedge. The Greeks possessed great skill in maneuvering — in wheeling to the right, to the left, and to the rear, and in changing from the order of march to the order of battle. The Greek phalanx was afterward used by the Macedonians, and was the most effective of ancient military organizations before the time of the Romans.

The Athenian Fleet. — As Athens was preëminently a sea power, her main strength lay in her fleet. At the time of Pericles the fleet consisted of three hundred vessels, always ready for the sea, and about one hundred select ships held in reserve to defend the Piræus. The war vessel of this period was a ship of three banks of oars, called the trireme. Each vessel was commanded by a trierarch, and carried about two hundred men. Besides the officers there were ten heavy-armed marines, sixty-two men who worked the uppermost bank of oars, fifty-four the middle bank, and fifty-four the lowest bank. The success of the naval battle depended largely upon the skill of the oarsmen; the effort was made to run down and disable the opposing vessels rather than to board them. In the exceptional case of boarding, the marines were called into action. By its efficient organization the Athenian navy in the

time of Pericles commanded the eastern Mediterranean and was the great bulwark of the empire.

III. THE FINANCIAL SYSTEM

The Athenian Money. — To manage the revenues and expenditures of the state, as well as to facilitate the trade between the people, it was necessary to adopt some kind of financial system. And this system in turn required some kind of money by which values could be measured. The Athenian money consisted chiefly of silver — although gold and copper were used to some extent. The chief coin was the silver drachma, which contained about



ATTIC DRACHMA

sixty-seven grains of silver. The other coins were the obol, one sixth the value of the drachma; the mina, one hundred times more valuable; and the talent, which was sixty times as valuable as the mina. The following table shows the relation of these coins to one another, giving also a rough estimate of their values in terms of our money¹: —

6 obols = 1 drachma (nearly 20 cents).
100 drachmas = 1 mina (nearly 20 dollars).
60 minas = 1 talent (nearly 1200 dollars).

The Expenses of the State. — The administration of the public finances was placed in the hands of the council. Although a regular annual estimate of the public expenses was not made, we may distinguish the following chief items of expenditure: (1) Religion, which included the cost of public sacrifices and

¹ The purchasing power of money was much greater in ancient than in modern times. Boeckh estimates that the annual expenses — including food, clothing, and habitation — of an average family of four persons would amount to about four hundred drachmas (about \$80), or that of one person to about one hundred drachmas (about \$20). (Public Economy of Athens, p. 109.)

festivals. (2) Civil service, that is, the pay given to the dicasts (one or two obols a day), to the members of the council (about a drachma a day), to the citizens attending the ecclesia (one obol a day, afterward raised to nine obols), and to the public magistrates. (3) Army and navy, which were maintained in times of peace, and which required extraordinary outlays in time of war. (4) Public buildings, which required a specified sum for annual repairs, and extraordinary sums of money for the erection and decoration of new structures. (5) Public bounties, including the *theor'icon* paid to poorer citizens for attending public entertainments, and pensions paid to the orphans of deceased soldiers, to destitute invalids and cripples, and sometimes to poor citizens in the form of gratuitous distribution of grain.

Ordinary Revenues. — The expenses of the state were met by what we may distinguish as ordinary and extraordinary revenues. The ordinary revenues were derived chiefly from the following sources: (1) The tribute, which was raised from the members of the confederacy, and which varied in total amount from 460 talents, the earliest assessment, to 1200 talents, the assessment during the early years of the Peloponnesian War. (2) Rent from state property, especially from the silver mines of Laurium. (3) Duties on goods exported and imported at the Piræus. (4) Taxes laid upon goods sold in the market, and also upon every resident foreigner for the protection given him by the state.

Extraordinary Revenues. — There were also certain extraordinary sources of revenue, which may be arranged as follows: (1) Voluntary contributions, which were invited by a decree of the assembly to meet the unusual expenses of war. (2) Income tax, imposed in times of war, and graded according to the wealth of the citizens. (3) Ship money, which was imposed upon certain private individuals, each one of whom was obliged to equip a trireme, with the privilege of commanding it; in later times this obligation might be divided between two or more citizens.

With such a financial system Athens was able to maintain its government, to provide for the common defense, and also to adorn the city so that it became the art center of Greece, and in fact of the world.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

- Allcroft, Vol. II., Ch. 11, "Constitutional Development in Athens" (10).¹
 Bury, Ch. 9, § 1, "Completion of the Athenian Democracy" (10).
 Curtius, Vol. II., pp. 486-501, "Pericles and the Democracy" (11).
 Holm, Vol. II., Ch. 16, "Athens under Pericles; the Government of the City" (11).
 Grote, Part II., Ch. 46, "Constitutional and Judicial Changes under Pericles" (11).
 Greenidge, Ch. 6, "Democracy" (20).
 Abbott, Pericles, Ch. 16, "The Athens of Pericles; the Government" (27).
 Whibley, Political Parties, Ch. 1, "Athenian Constitution and Empire" (20).
 Gilbert, pp. 214-310, "Organs of Administration" (20).
 Freeman, pp. 107 *et seq.*, "The Athenian Democracy" (12).

SPECIAL STUDY

THE ATHENIAN DICASTERIES. — Allcroft, Vol. II., pp. 134-136 (10); Abbott, Vol. II., pp. 400-404 (11); Holm, Vol. II., p. 198 (11); Curtius, Vol. II., pp. 495-498 (11); Greenidge, pp. 174-178 (20); Gilbert, pp. 391-416 (20); Smith, Dict. Antiq., "Dicastes" (18); Schömann, Antiquities, pp. 465-493 (20); Aristotle, Ch. 63 (13).

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

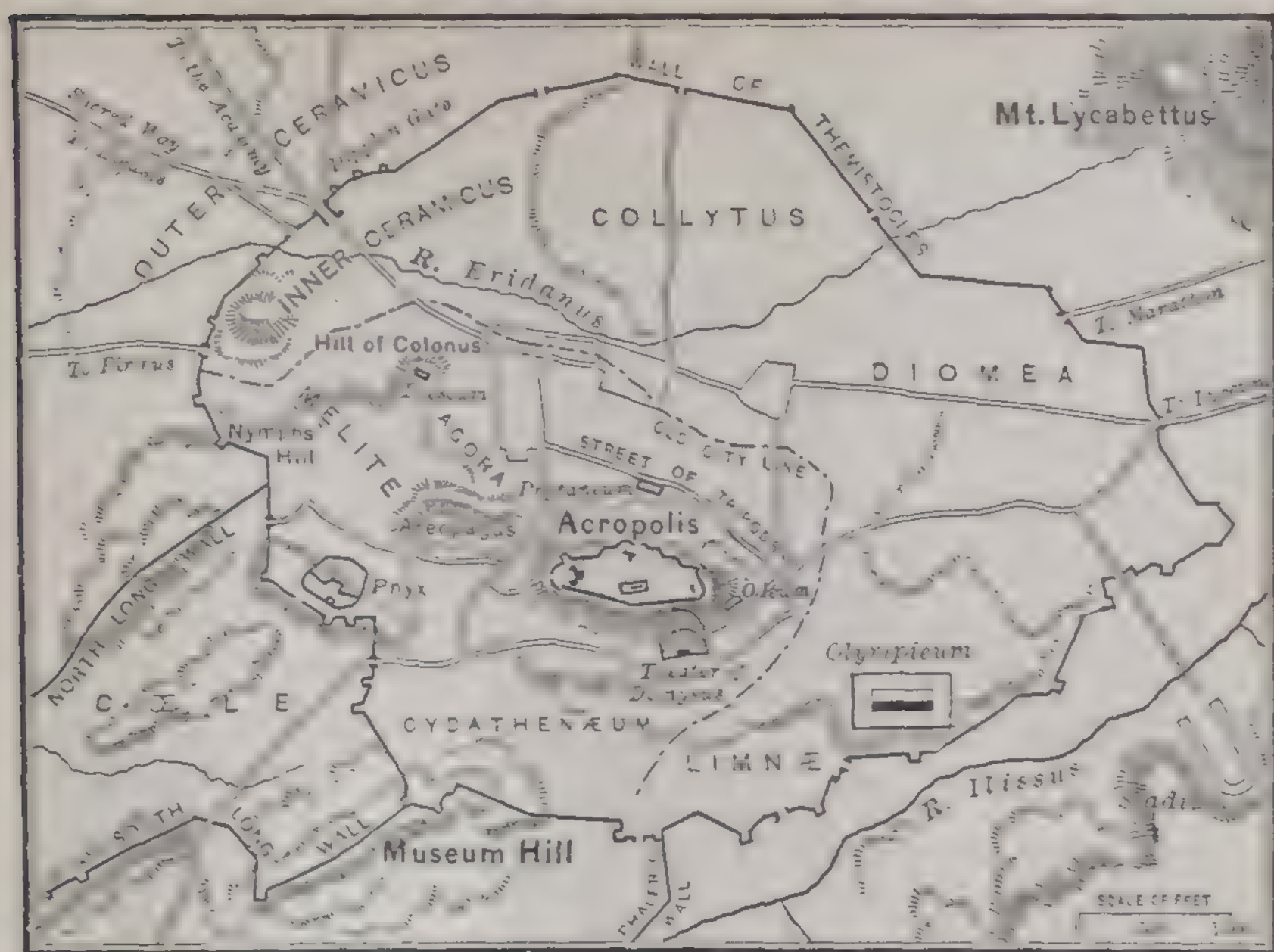
CHAPTER XVIII

ATHENS AND ATHENIAN ART UNDER PERICLES

I. THE TOPOGRAPHY OF ATHENS

Athens as a Center of Art. — The greatest interest which we have to-day in Athens is due not to the fact that she became the ruler of an empire, or even to the fact that she was the promoter of democratic institutions. As an imperial ruler she was far outstripped by Rome; and her democratic institutions have been greatly improved upon by modern states. But in the domain of art she has been without a peer. Her temples, though in ruins, and her statues, though mutilated, reveal to us a sense of beauty and an æsthetic taste to which we can find no parallel in any other people. And the highest point of this kind of culture she reached during the time and under the influence of Pericles. It is, therefore, to Athens as the center of art that we must look if we would find one of the most important sources of her influence upon the world.

Limits and Divisions of the City. — Before considering some of the principal works of Athenian art, we may glance for a moment at the city itself, which these works were intended to adorn and beautify. With the Acropolis as its center, the limits of the city had been gradually widening from the earliest times. At the time of the Persian wars, the "old line" of the city had been reached. With the building of the new wall of Themistocles, the circumference of the city was enlarged to five or six miles. During the times of Cimon and Pericles the city was still further extended by the erection of the Long Walls so as to take in the Piræus. To make the entire circuit of the city walls at this time would require a journey of perhaps twenty miles. The population of Athens at



PLAN OF ATHENS, TIME OF PERICLES

the time of Pericles is variously estimated at from 120,000 to 190,000, four fifths of whom were slaves. In the city proper we find certain districts or wards, which correspond to the demes of Attica. To the northwest, within the Dipylon Gate, the chief entrance to the city, was the section called the Inner Cerami'cus, and thus distinguished from the neighboring outlying district called the Outer Ceramicus. Other districts of the city were Mel'ite to the west, Cydathenæ'um and Limnæ to the south, Diome'a and Col'lytus to the east and north—each marked by its own peculiar topographical features.

The Hills of Athens. — In taking a general view of Athens, the hills first attract our attention. The most important of these is, of course, the Acropolis. This is a pinnacle of solid limestone rock, rising abruptly to the height of two hundred feet, with a length of about a thousand feet. It was in more than one sense the highest part of Athens: it was not only the most elevated spot of land, but it was the seat of the highest

religious and æsthetic life of the city. Passing by, for the present, the buildings of the Acropolis, we notice the next important hill to the west, the Areopagus. This was the place where the celebrated council of the same name held its sessions — the name being derived from the tradition that Ares, who had murdered the son of Poseidon, was tried on this spot. Still farther to the west and south is the Pnyx, the hill upon which the Athenian assembly, or ecclesia, held its meetings (see page 219). To the north of the Areopagus is the hill of Colonus, upon which is located the so-called These'um, said to be to-day the best-preserved temple in Greece. This was formerly supposed to have been built by Cimon to receive the bones of Theseus, which were brought from the island of Scyros. But this opinion has been shown to be groundless; it is now thought to have been dedicated either to Heracles or to

Hephæstus. These four hills were the most important in Athens, although there were others, like the hill of the Nymphs and the Museum hill, which were inclosed within the city walls.

The Agora and its Porticoes. — Closely connected with the hill of Colonus and the Areopagus — adjoining them to the east and extending toward the Acropolis — was the Ag'ora, the great public square, or market place,



SKETCH OF THE AGORA

and the busiest spot in Athens. This was the center of the political and commercial life of the city. The square was shaded by the foliage of plane trees and lined with beautiful buildings — porticoes or porches, inclosed by columns and form-

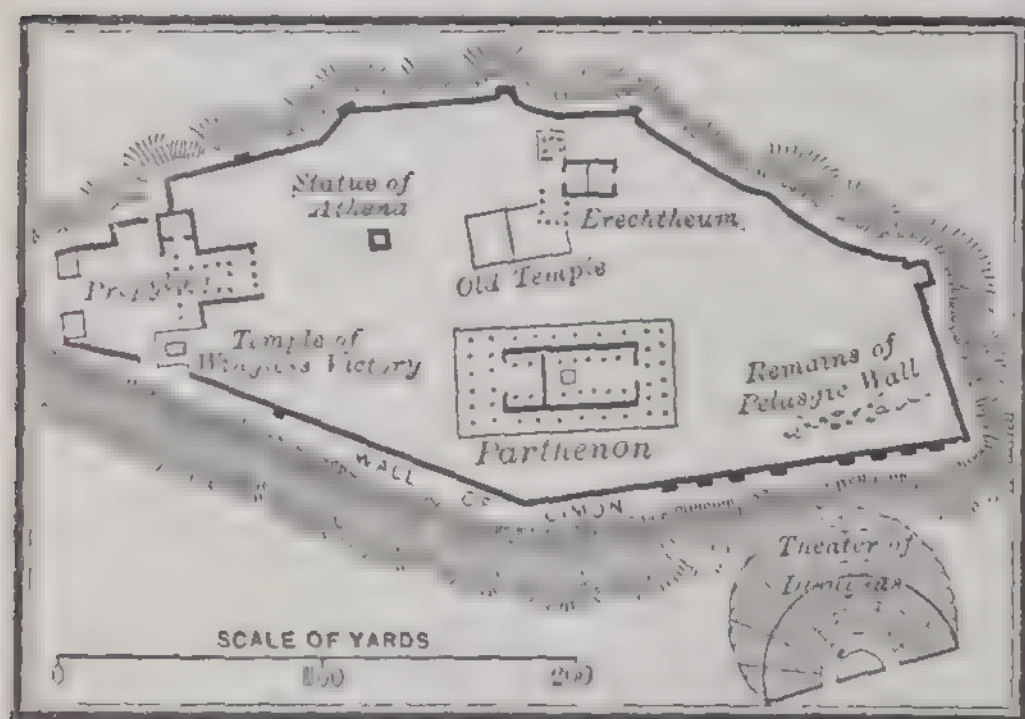
ing a succession of colonnades. Among these buildings were the Painted Porch (*Sto'a Pæc'ile*) adorned with the paintings of Polygno'tus; the Royal Porch (*Stoa Basil'eos*), occupied by the king archon; the porch dedicated to Zeus the Deliverer (*Stoa Eleuthe'rios*); the shrine of the Mother (*Metro'um*), where the laws and archives were kept; and the Council Hall (*Buleute'rium*), where the boule held its meetings. There were many other buildings in the vicinity of the Agora during the time of Pericles, and still others added afterward.¹ Overlooking the Agora, perhaps from the south, stood the statues of the tyrannicides, Harmodius and Aristogiton, reminding the people of their deliverance from the oppressive rule of the Pisistratidæ (see pages 197, 198).

Other Buildings of the Lower City. — If we leave the Agora and proceed around the base of the Acropolis on the north, we come to the Prytaneum, the chief center of the official life of Athens. Passing along the Street of the Tripods, to the east of the Acropolis we see the Ode'um, or the Music Hall of Pericles, erected, it is said, in imitation of the tent of Xerxes, and used for musical contests. Farther to the south we may see the great theater of Dionysus, which we shall have occasion to notice again. At some distance from the Acropolis to the southeast, we may see the unfinished remains of the Olympie'um, the great temple dedicated by Pisistratus to the Olympian Zeus, but not completed until centuries afterward by the Roman Emperor Hadrian. The abandonment of this temple immediately after the overthrow of the hated Pisistratidæ shows the influence which the political prejudices of the people often exercised upon the growth of art. We shall see other evidences of the way in which architecture was affected by the conservative and the progressive ideas of the time, when we study the buildings on the Acropolis.

¹ It is impossible to give an accurate restoration of the buildings in the Agora. For attempts in this direction see maps in the following works: Harrison, *Monuments of Athens*, p. 5; Butler's *Story of Athens*, p. 313; Gardner, *Ancient Athens*, opp. p. 538.

II. THE ACROPOLIS AND ITS BUILDINGS

The Acropolis before Pericles. — The art of Athens reached its highest perfection in the buildings which crowned the Acropolis. The most important of these were the Par'the-non, the Propylæ'a, and the Erechthe'um. By looking at the



PLAN OF THE ACROPOLIS

circumstances which attended the erection of these buildings, we may obtain a new illustration of the progressive policy of Pericles. Before his time there had already been an ancient temple on the summit of the Acropolis, which was destroyed during

the Persian wars. This old temple was built on the fabled spot where the goddess Athena and the god Poseidon had contended for the possession of Athens. Here was the sacred olive tree which Athena had caused to rise from the earth; and here was the salt spring which Poseidon opened by a stroke of his trident. Here, also, rested the honored bones of Erech'theus, the hero king of Athens, whose name was joined to that of Poseidon. Over this spot, therefore, had been erected two shrines, the one to Athena, and the other to Poseidon-Erechtheus. These shrines were covered by a single roof, so that the "old temple" was in fact a double temple. When this temple was destroyed by the Persians, a new one was planned to take its place, not however upon the ruins of the old building, but upon a fresh spot farther to the south. This was also intended, it is believed, to be a double temple like its predecessor, dedicated to the worship of both Athena and Erechtheus. The foundation of this new temple is generally ascribed to Cimon; but it was more likely the work

of Themistocles, whose fall caused it to be temporarily abandoned.

Building of the Parthenon. — When Pericles came into power, he desired to carry out the policy of his great predecessor, Themistocles. The conservative party, however, was opposed to erecting a temple, or setting up the ancient olive wood image of Athena, in any other place than upon the old sacred spot. But



WEST FRONT OF THE PARTHENON (Restoration)

Pericles, like Themistocles, was not bound to the past: he believed that the gods would be most highly honored by giving them the best that the state could afford. He therefore determined to build a splendid temple on the foundations laid by his predecessor, and to erect within it a new and magnificent statue of Athena. On the advice of the gifted architect Icti'nus, the original plan of the temple was somewhat changed, but its double character was preserved. The eastern part was dedicated to Athena; and in it her new statue was to be erected. The conservative party insisted that the worship of Erechtheus, at least, might remain in the old place. Pericles acceded to their

desire; and so the western part of the new building became, not a shrine to Erechtheus as originally intended, but a second chamber of the goddess, where her robe was woven by Athenian maidens (*parthenoi*). The word Parthenon was originally applied to this chamber; but it was soon extended to the whole building, which was called the temple of Athena Parthenos,¹ or the Virgin Goddess. The building was constructed of Pentelic marble, in the Doric style refined by Attic taste, of the most exquisite proportion and symmetry, and ever since admired by artists and critics as the finest example of classic architecture. (For plan of Parthenon, see page 155.)

Construction of the Propylæa. — The next great architectural work of Pericles was the construction of the Propylæa, the magnificent entrance to the Acropolis. Before this time Cimon, who had built the south wall of the Acropolis, had provided for an entrance; but this seemed to Pericles entirely unworthy of the sacred citadel. With the aid of the architect Mnesicles, the whole western end of the Acropolis was changed into an immense portico, constructed like the front of a temple with columns and pediment. In the Propylæa we find the Doric and Ionic styles united for the first time, the front and rear parts being supported by Doric columns, and the central passageway by Ionic columns. The whole effect of this great portal was beautiful and imposing.

South of the Propylæa was a little temple dedicated to Athena Ni'ke, popularly called Ni'ke Ap'teros, or the Wingless Victory. This is said to have been built by Cimon to celebrate his victory over the Persians at the river Eurymedon (see page 208). Although it encroached upon the architect's plan of reconstructing the whole front of the Acropolis, it was permitted to remain at the urgent request of its priestly guardians.

The Erechtheum. — The respect which Pericles was willing to pay to the conservative feeling of the time is shown not only

¹ On this subject of the construction of the Parthenon, see Furtwängler, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, Appendix; also Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, Ch. 5, "Phidias and the Parthenon."

in the preservation of the temple to Nike, but also in the construction of the Erechtheum on the site of the "old temple." There were many who still had a reverence for the sacred spots near this ruined building. Some of these spots were beyond the area of the old building. To bring these places



PORCH OF THE MAIDENS (CARYATIDES)

under a single roof required a unique plan, the most irregular of all the temples of Greece. Notwithstanding its lack of symmetry, the whole structure was one of great beauty and richness of detail. The western end is flanked by two porches, the one facing to the north and supported by Ionic columns, the other facing to the south and supported by uniquely

carved female figures (Caryat'ides) and called the "Porch of the Maidens." This building was probably not completed until after the time of Pericles.

In these buildings — the Parthenon, the Propylæa, and the Erechtheum — the Acropolis not only showed the civilizing policy of Pericles and the artistic skill of Greek architects, but also expressed the highest religious aspirations of the Athenian people. It showed how closely art was joined to religion, and that the city was adorned for the glory of the gods as well as for the honor of the state. (See frontispiece.)



ATHENA PARTHENOS

III. ATHENIAN SCULPTURE AND PAINTING

The Statues of the Acropolis. — The sculpture of Athens, like its architecture, was seen in its perfection on the Acropolis. In the development of this kind of art, we see everywhere the influence of Phid'ias, the most renowned of Greek artists. The works which he did not execute himself were generally made under his direction. We may first notice his three great statues of Athena. (1) The first of these was the bronze colossal statue of Athena Prom'achus, or the Protector, which stood between the Propylæa and the Parthenon, towering so high that the top of the gilded spear could be seen by mariners from the sea.

This statue, which is described by ancient authors as grand and imposing, has never been successfully restored. (2) Next was the ivory and gold statue of Athena Parthenos, the Virgin Goddess, which stood in the great hall of the Parthenon. It was about forty-seven feet high including the pedestal. Two

small copies of this statue have been preserved. (3) The third was the bronze statue of the Lemnian Athena — so called because it was a gift from the people of Lemnos. It is described by ancient authors as the most beautiful of the works of Phidias. Although the original has been lost, the figure has been restored by means of marble copies of the head and the body, which have been adjusted to each other.



THE "THREE FATES" FROM THE PARTHENON PEDIMENT

The Parthenon Pediments. — The eastern and western pediments of the Parthenon were filled with two remarkable groups, the former representing the birth of Athena, and the latter the contest of Athena and Poseidon for the soil of Attica. Nothing but fragments of these figures remain; but even in their ruin they have been called "the sublimest creations of Greek art that have escaped annihilation" (Tarbell). They are wonderful reproductions of the human form in action and in repose, and show surpassing skill in the management of drapery.

The Parthenon Frieze. — Scarcely less remarkable were the extensive array of reliefs which decorated the inner frieze surrounding the Parthenon. These represented the Panathenaic procession, which on the birthday of Athena con-

veyed the *peplos*, or robe of the goddess, from the outer Ceramicus through the streets of Athens to her temple on the Acropolis. This frieze contained a vast variety of figures — prancing horses held in check by the steady hand of their riders, elderly men bearing olive branches and preceded by flute players, chariots occupied by armed warriors, beautiful



PART OF THE PARTHENON FRIEZE

maidens and dignified magistrates, a group of Olympian divinities, and many other subjects. The total length of this frieze was more than five hundred feet, and it was elevated about forty feet from the pavement of the temple. Lord Elgin, by permission of the Turkish government, removed about half of these reliefs, with other sculptures from the Parthenon, to the British Museum, where they are now deposited under the name of the "Elgin Marbles."

Other Specimens of Relief. — The metopes of the outer Parthenon frieze were filled with small groups in high relief, representing many mythological subjects. These were in harmony with the idea of decoration which had been employed in the earlier Doric temples. But there was another interest-

ing form of relief carving existing at this time which we should notice; namely, that placed upon the gravestones in the cemetery outside the Dipylon Gate. Here, even in the presence of death, we may see the same calmness of mind that formed one of the distinguishing features of the highest Athenian art. Upon these marbles we see depicted no violent expressions of grief, but peace mingled with sadness—repose in the midst of sorrow.



GRAVE RELIEF

Athenian Painting. — It is impossible for us to form a very clear idea of the progress made in painting during this time; because this art is less durable than that of sculpture. But we know from the works of classic authors that painting had made considerable progress. The colors, however, were still put on in flat tints, without shading. The great painter of this period was Polygnotus. He was born in the island of Thasos, but came to Athens and is said to have been made an Athenian citizen. His most famous works were placed upon temples, stoas, and other public buildings, especially the Painted Porch (Stoa Poecile) and the Propylæa. His subjects were mostly mythological and historical scenes.

IV. INFLUENCE OF ATHENIAN ART

Art in Other Parts of Greece. — Although Athens was the highest center of Greek art, there were other cities not far behind her in art culture. This was due both to the direct

influence of Athenian artists, and also to the spirit of rivalry which existed in other places. Phidias assisted in the adornment of the famous temple of Zeus at Olympia. His statue of the Olympian Zeus was regarded by many as his masterpiece and as one of the wonders of the world. The statue represented the father of the gods seated upon a throne, and ruling the world in calm majesty. It was forty feet high and wrought, like the Athena of the Parthenon, in ivory and gold. This sublime work of art has been lost, and not even

an adequate copy of it remains, although attempts have been made to reproduce it from the description of ancient writers.



WOUNDED AMAZON
(Style of Polyclitus)

Art in Argos. — Another center of Greek art was Argos, which was the seat of a school which nearly equaled that of Athens. The great master of this school, and hence the chief rival of Phidias, was Polyclitus. Like Phidias he wrought statues in ivory and gold, and though they lacked the majesty of the great works of Phidias, they were unsurpassed in their artistic beauty. He was especially successful in molding the human form, and in giving to his figures the appearance of natural grace and repose. The Wounded Amazon is often referred to as an example of his style, although it can not be absolutely identified as his work.

Art in Thrace. — The influence of Grecian art may be seen even in the remote city of Mende in Thrace. Here flourished the sculptor Pheidias. From the little information we have, we should judge that his works were almost equal to those of the more renowned artists of Athens and Argos. His chief work, which has been found at Olympia, represents a

Winged Victory floating in the air with her drapery blown by the breeze — a figure bold in design and beautiful in execution, and combining in a remarkable degree the qualities of movement and repose.

These examples must suffice to illustrate the great superiority of Greek art in its highest form, as contrasted with the more ancient art of the East, which it superseded. In place of the grotesque, the monstrous, the realistic, and often repulsive figures of the Orient, we here see forms of symmetry, of proportion, and of ideal beauty, which, whether expressed in architecture or in sculpture, have furnished to the world the highest models of taste.



VICTORY OF PEONIUS (Restored)

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Allcroft, Vol. II., Ch. 13, "The Imperial City" (10).¹

Abbott, Pericles, Ch. 17, "The Athens of Pericles" (27).

Holm, Vol. II., Ch. 20, "Athens under Pericles" (11).

Mahaffy, Rambles, Ch. 4, "The Acropolis of Athens" (21).

Smith, Ch. 34, "Athens, and Athenian Art during the Period of Her Empire" (10).

Bury, Ch. 9, § 6, "The Restoration of the Temples" (10).

Curtius, Vol. II., pp. 592-641, "Athens the Center of Intellectual Life" (11).

Dyer, Ch. 5, "Athens from the Time of Themistocles" (19).

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

Butler, Chs. 7, 8, "The Golden Age" (19).

Tarbell, Ch. 8, "The Great Age of Greek Sculpture" (19).

Gardner, Handbook, Ch. 3, "The Fifth Century" (19).

SPECIAL STUDY

THE PARTHENON. — Smith, pp. 394-395 (10); Tarbell, pp. 190-199 (19); Gardner, Ancient Athens, Ch. 7 (19); Butler, pp. 209-223 (19); Harrison and Verrall, § 18 (19); Furtwängler, Appendix, pp. 423-442, 451-468 (19); Stuart and Revett, pp. 47-56 (19).

CHAPTER XIX

INTELLECTUAL CULTURE IN THE AGE OF PERICLES

I. THE THEATER AS A MEANS OF CULTURE

The Theater of Dionysus. — The greatness of Athens during the time of Pericles is seen not only in the splendid works of art which adorned the city, but also in the high grade of intellectual culture which distinguished the Athenian people. One of the chief centers of intellectual life was the theater. This was a place not simply for amusement, but for instruction, and for moral and religious inspiration. Athens had but one place where dramatic performances were placed upon the stage — the theater of Dionysus. It was situated on the southeastern slope of the Acropolis, and was, it is said, capable of seating thirty thousand people, or the whole voting population of Attica. The performances took place in the open air during the festivals of Dionysus, the wine god, and consisted of tragedies, comedies, satyric dramas, and choral hymns, the most important of these being the works of the great tragedians. We may get a general view of the theater by looking at its different parts — the stage, the orchestra, and the auditorium.

The Stage and the Actors. — The stage was erected in what appeared to be a separate building, presenting an architectural



THE THEATER OF DIONYSUS (Restoration)

front to the audience. It consisted of (1) an elevated platform (*logium*), upon which the actors played their parts, and (2) of a rear wall (*scena*), which furnished the background of the play, representing the locality where the action was supposed to take place. The number of professional actors in a play was limited to three; but this did not limit the number of characters, as the same actor might take more than one part. Typical characters were represented by masks, which covered not only the face, but the head as well. To increase the apparent size of the actor a thick-soled boot (*cothurnus*) was worn. The



MASKS USED IN TRAGEDY

costumes were similar to the ordinary Greek dress, but more elaborate in style and color. The actor was paid by the state, and his profession came to be an honorable one.

The Orchestra and Chorus. — In front of the stage was a semi-circular, level area, called the *orchestra*, set apart for the chorus. Its central position suggests to us the time when the chorus was the most important part of the drama; but it had now come to be subordinate to the dialogue. The size of the chorus was now reduced from the original number of fifty to twelve or fifteen. It was composed of men or boys, hired to perform this subordinate part of the play. The words of the chorus were delivered by singing or by recitation, accompanied by dancing and gesticulations, — all of which was intended to interpret the thought and emotions of the play.

The Auditorium and the Audience. — Encircling the orchestra was the auditorium, or the rising tiers of seats occupied by



SEAT OF THE PRIEST OF DIONYSUS

the spectators. The seats were without backs except the reserved front row, set apart for distinguished persons, the most honored seat being that of the priest of Dionysus. The price of admission to the main body of seats was the same to all — two obols for each day's performance. That the poorest citizen might not be excluded, Pericles provided that the admission

fee should be paid by the state to any person applying for it. The Athenian audience was lively, intelligent, and discriminating, and has been pronounced to be "superior to any [other] audience of the same size which has ever been brought together" (Haigh).

II. THE DRAMA AND THE GREAT TRAGEDIANS

The Elevation of the Drama. — There were several causes which tended to elevate the character of the Greek drama at this time. The high artistic taste which was shown in the other arts had a beneficial effect upon the art of dramatic composition. Again, the fact that dramatic performances took the form of contests, in which a number of competitors — usually three — strove for the approval of the audience and for the prizes awarded by official judges, tended to stimulate the efforts of dramatic writers. Moreover, the drama was that form of literature which appealed to the sympathies of the people; and, in the form of tragedy, it responded to their higher moral and religious instincts. Finally, it was encouraged by Pericles himself, who looked upon it as a means of public education and culture.

From Æschylus to Sophocles. — We have already noticed the origin of the Greek tragedy and the heroic character that it acquired in the hands of Æschylus (see page 195). Although Æschylus continued to write during the early part of this period, he yet represented the older spirit born of the Persian wars. The newer spirit was embodied in Sophocles, who at the age of twenty-eight wrested the prize from Æschylus, and from that time expressed the highest dramatic genius of the Greeks. He introduced the third actor upon the stage; and this gave greater freedom and scope to dramatic composition. He also gave less prominence to the chorus, which he used chiefly to accompany the dialogue and to give a moral background to the play. Moreover, he introduced less of the heroic and superhuman element, and brought his characters into closer relation to human life.

The Tragedies of Sophocles. — Sophocles is said to have composed more than a hundred dramas, of which only seven have come down to us. It is impossible to characterize in a few words these great works of literature. They are wonderful delineations of human suffering under the stress of adverse

circumstances. In the "Antigone" we see a pure and noble woman struggling to obey the divine will, against the commands of an earthly power; in the "Electra," a lofty nature bowed



SOPHOCLES

down with an overwhelming sense of duty; in the "King Œdipus," the remorse of one who had been led, against his own will, to commit a horrible crime; in the "Œdipus at Colonus," the pitiful suffering of an old man deprived of the blessings of life. The plots of these plays one must study in the works themselves, to understand the poet's view of human life in its relation to that higher destiny which controls all.

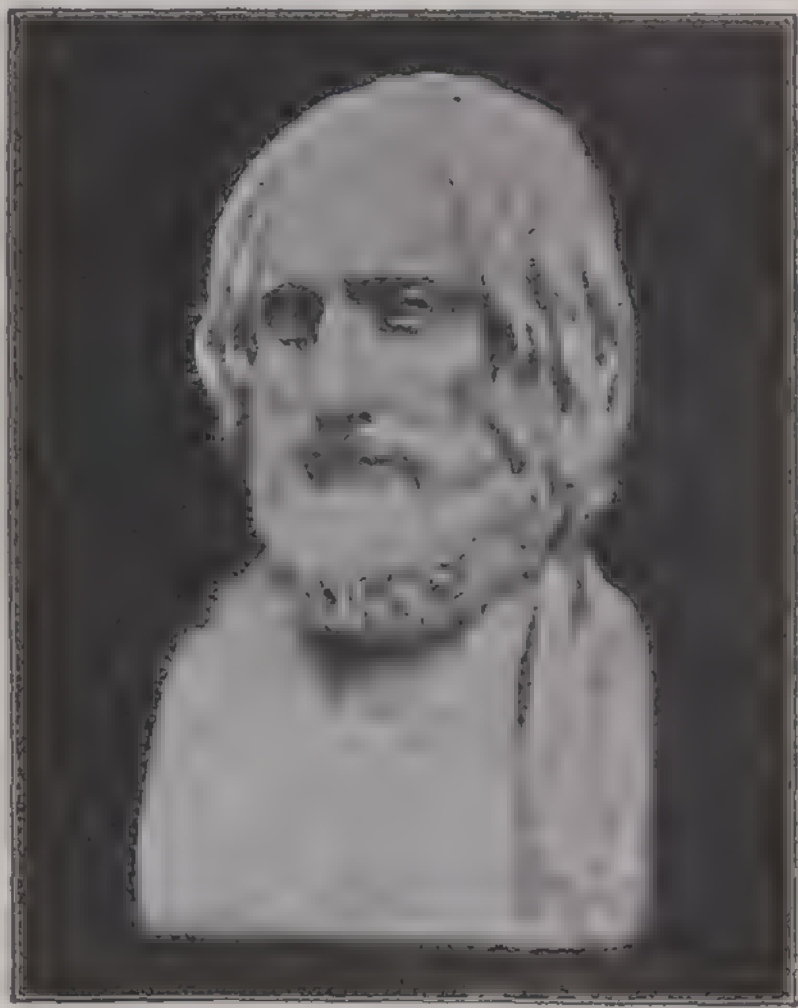
Sophocles as a Literary Artist.—In estimating the significance of Sophocles we should look at him not simply as a tragedian but as an artist—as truly an artist as was Phidias or Polyclitus. His works, like theirs, are distinguished by proportion and symmetry, by extraordinary

grace and beauty of form. In his dramas, as in the buildings and sculpture of the Acropolis, we see the distinctive features of the best Hellenic taste. It has been well said that the tragedies of Sophocles "exhibit the same union of power

with purity of taste, the same self-restraint, the same instinct for beauty, which can still be admired in the remains of the temple. In the poetry, as in the marble, the Athenian spirit showed the fineness to which it could be tempered by the concurrence of those influences and conditions which the age of Pericles had brought together" (Jebb).

The Works of Euripides. — The last of the great tragedians was Eurip'ides, who composed his earlier plays during the period of Pericles — but continued to write during the following period. He thus represents

to a certain degree the changing spirit of the age. While less of an artist than Sophocles, he appealed quite as strongly to the sympathies of the people. Aristotle called him the "most tragic of poets." Eighteen of his plays are still extant; and from these we can judge of his style and method of treating his subjects. In his hands the chorus became less connected with the action of the play, and his characters were brought



EURIPIDES

into closer relation to common life. The ancient legends, which Æschylus had clothed with a sublime pathos, and Sophocles had invested with a dignified charm, Euripides often reduced to the level of ordinary events. The lack of reverence which he showed for the old mythology was due no doubt to the philosophical drift of the times, with which he sympathized more than did his predecessors. This gave to his writings what appeared to many as a taint of skepticism. This undercurrent of Greek philosophical thought, which tended to dilute the old religious beliefs, we can better understand by looking at the opinions of the philosophers themselves.

III. THE PROGRESS OF PHILOSOPHY AND EDUCATION

The New Philosophy; Anaxagoras. — It was not until the time of Pericles that any special encouragement was given to philosophy at Athens. Hitherto, as we have seen, philosophy had been cultivated chiefly in Asia Minor and southern Italy. From this time, however, Athens gradually became the philosophical center of Greece. The first thinker who belonged to what we might call the Athenian school was Anaxag'oras. Although born at Clazomenæ in Asia Minor, he early came to Athens, where he spent the most of his life, and numbered among his friends Pericles and Euripides. His name marks an epoch in the development of the Greek mind; because he seems to have been the first to declare that the world was brought into shape and is governed by a supreme Intelligence. This doctrine was opposed to the old mythology; and as the people were jealous of their ancient beliefs, Anaxagoras was charged with atheism and banished from the city.

The Sophists as Teachers and Philosophers. — At this time there also appeared a class of men called sophists. They were primarily teachers who gave lectures upon science, grammar, rhetoric, and the art of reasoning. They professed to represent the entire culture of the time, and to prepare young men for the practical duties of life. Their pretense of learning was often mistaken for the possession of wisdom; and their training in the art of reasoning often degenerated into mere quibbling, or the attempt "to make the worse appear the better reason." On this account the sophists were sometimes led to overlook the distinction between truth and error. Their philosophical ideas had therefore no firm foundation. To them one opinion seemed as good as another; or to put it in their own words, "Man is the measure of all things."

Athenian Education. — Whatever criticism we may pass upon the philosophical ideas of the sophists, we must not forget the service which they rendered to education. From the

time of Solon, the Greeks had been thoroughly impressed with the importance of training the young, in order to develop the body, the mind, and the emotions. The most elementary education consisted of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Their reading and writing included the committing to memory of the sayings of the wise men and passages from the old poets; these were also copied upon waxed tablets by means of the stylus. Their arithmetical computations were made with the aid of the abacus, or counting board. To this was added music, for the cultivation of the feelings; while gymnastic exercises gave to the youths sound, symmetrical bodies. To this elementary discipline given in the schools and gymnasia was now added a more advanced kind of



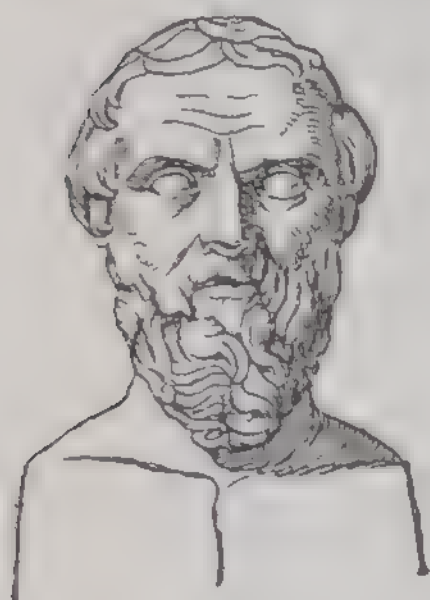
A LESSON IN THE POETS

education given by the sophists, in the form of conversations and lectures. Such instruction was given in the frequented places of Athens—in the streets and in the porches of the Agora, and afterward in the “Academy” and “Lyceum.” It included all branches of practical and theoretical knowledge; and was intended to give what we should call a “liberal education”—to make broad-minded men and enlightened citizens.

IV. BEGINNINGS OF PROSE LITERATURE

The History of Herodotus.—We should not leave this subject without a few words regarding that form of culture which is expressed in prose literature. In Greece, as elsewhere, poetry preceded prose in the order of development. The epic, the elegy, the lyric, the drama, had been cultivated before any noteworthy works in prose were written. Even philosophy was at first written in the form of poetry. The first really

great work of prose literature in the Greek language was the history written by Herodotus, a native of Halicarnassus. Herodotus was born during the period of the Persian wars. This great conflict between the Greeks and the Persians was



HERODOTUS

to him the greatest of all events. It became the subject of his history, and furnishes to us our chief knowledge of that struggle. He traveled extensively, and became acquainted with the manners, institutions, and legends of many countries. He came to Athens when the culture of that city was at its height; and he became a close friend of Sophocles and an ardent admirer of Pericles. Under these influences his history became imbued with an Athenian spirit, and

acquired the character of an artistic literary composition. Into his work are skillfully woven the narrative of historical events and the description of foreign countries, facts which he himself observed as well as stories and myths told him by others. The critical accuracy of Herodotus has often been questioned; but the charming qualities of his simple, direct, and graphic style have always been admired.

The Oratory of Pericles. — Another form of prose literature was beginning to show itself in oratory. This was to a great extent the product of the democratic institutions of Athens. It was also influenced by the professional teachers of rhetoric, who instructed citizens how to plead in the courts and how to address the assembly. The earliest extant orations are those of An'tiphon, who composed speeches as examples of forensic debate. But so far as we know, the greatest orator of the age of Pericles was Pericles himself. His position as leader of the people was due, not only to his character as a man and his ability as a statesman, but also to his power of eloquence, by which he was able to control the Athenian assembly. When we remember that the Athenian state was ruled by the assembly, and that for twenty years the assembly was controlled by the

words of Pericles, we must regard him not simply as "the most accomplished of orators," as Plato calls him, but as an orator who, for effective eloquence, has had few equals in the world's history.

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- Allcroft, Vol. II., Ch. 15, "Literature" (10).¹
 Jebb, Classical Poetry, pp. 157-221, "The Attic Drama" (23).
 Gow, § 31, "The Greek Drama" (18).
 Butcher, pp. 85-132, Sophocles (12).
 Holm, Vol. II., Ch. 29, "Art and Literature" (11).
 Curtius, Vol. II., pp. 546-558, "Intellectual Life at Athens" (11).
 Symonds, Ch. 7, "Greek Tragedy and Euripides" (23).
 Zeller, pp. 83-88, "Anaxagoras"; pp. 88-101, "The Sophists" (24).
 Bury, Ch. 9, § 11, "Higher Education and the Sophists" (10).
 Blümner, Ch. 3, "Education" (22).

SPECIAL STUDY

THE GREEK THEATER. — Blümner. Ch. 12 (22); Gow, pp. 259-286 (18); Guhl and Koner, pp. 121-133, 275-281 (22); Becker, pp. 403-412 (22); Grant, pp. 310-316 (16); Haigh, especially Ch. 3 (23); Harper's Class. Dict., "Theatrum" (18); Donaldson, Bk. II. (23).

CHAPTER XX

SOCIAL CULTURE, LIFE AND MANNERS

I. INDUSTRIAL LIFE IN ATHENS

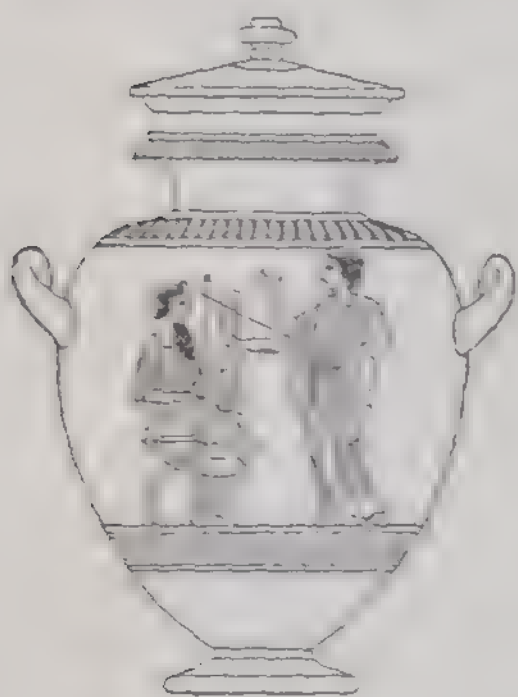
Occupations of the People. — From these higher planes of culture we may descend to the more ordinary phases of Athenian life — the social customs and manners of the people. Let us first look at the industrial society. How did the Athenians get their living? Many of them received some compensation by serving the state. The higher officials, it is true, received

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

no reward except the honor which attended the position. But pay was given to the members of the council, to the "dicasts" when serving as jurors, to all citizens attending the assembly, and to those who served in the army and the fleet. But the mass of citizens obtained their living at Athens, as in other communities, by engaging in some agricultural, manufacturing, commercial, or professional pursuit.

Agriculture and Agricultural Products. — From the earliest times agriculture was regarded as an honorable occupation. No one but a free citizen could own land in Attica. Although the land was not very fertile, and was generally worked by slaves, it yielded a fair income to its owner. The soil was adapted not so well to the raising of cereals as to the cultivation of olives, figs, and grapes. With the cutting down of the forests, the land was also used for grazing. On the hills of Attica bees were kept, and the honey of Hymettus was famous. The farmers furnished most of the food required for the people, except grain and some of the luxuries of the epicure, which were obtained from other lands.

Manufactures and Industrial Arts. — Although a certain amount of industry was carried on in the household, — such as spinning, weaving, and embroidery, — there grew up in Athens a great variety of trades in which separate classes of artisans were employed. There were millers and bakers; makers of cloth; fullers and dyers; workers in wood, like furniture, cabinet, and wagon makers; workers in iron, like blacksmiths and makers of arms and armor; artisans in clay, glass, silver, and gold. "In consequence of the flourishing condition of the Attic trades, the articles were sought

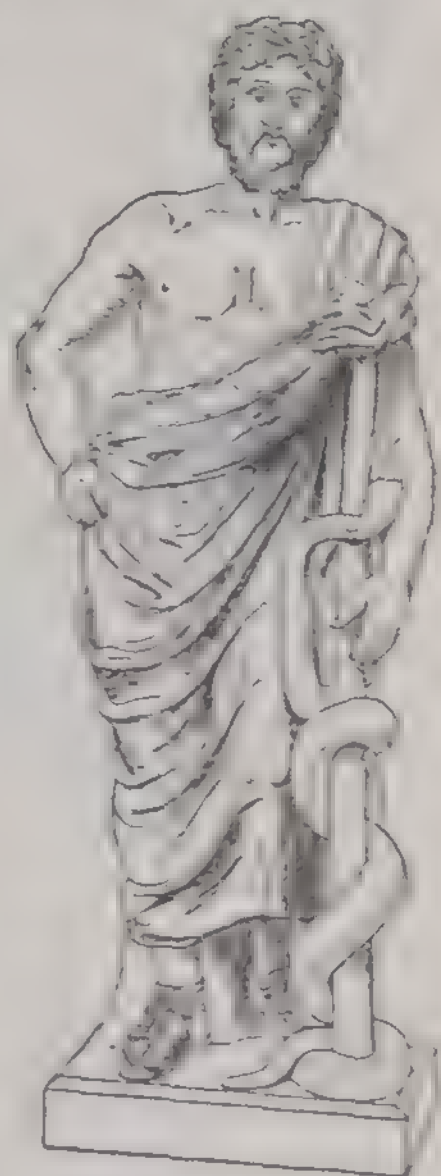


GREEK VASE

everywhere, as, for example, the Attic metal and leather wares, lamps, utensils of all kinds, especially of earthenware" (Curtius).

Commerce and Trade. — Like many other cities of Greece, Athens became an important commercial center, especially after the building of her famous seaport, the Piræus. But as a large part of the commercial business was carried on by resident foreigners, this occupation was not in so high repute as those of the farmer or the manufacturer. The exports were mostly manufactured articles, including oil and wine. The imports included grain from Pontus, Syria, and Egypt, and wood, iron, and copper from Macedonia and Thrace. An important mercantile occupation was that of the banker, whose business was to change, borrow, and lend money, and also to assist people in making investments.

Professional Pursuits. — Certain people gained their living by pursuits which we should call "professional." For example, the physician, who was supposed to derive his knowledge from the god Asclepius (Æsculapius), was held in great esteem; he received fees for his services, and sometimes had a fixed salary paid by the state. Although the ordinary schoolmaster was regarded as hardly better than a servant, the higher teachers, like the sophists, were honored and received considerable pay for their instruction. The common sculptor was looked upon merely as a stonecutter; but there were artists, architects, and painters, like Phidias, Ictinus, and Polygnotus, whose position ranked as a profession, accompanied with honor and large remuneration. A similar difference existed between the lower and the better class of actors and musicians. In the matter of law, every man was expected to plead his own cause; but in the course of time men assumed the part of counselors, to give advice to litigants and to prepare speeches to be delivered by them in the courts of justice, and this became a lucrative profession.



ASCLEPIUS

Greek Slavery. — In Athens, as well as in the other parts of Greece, and in fact in all the nations of antiquity, a large part of the industry, especially that of a menial character, was performed by slaves. Generally the slave received no compensation for his work except his support; but occasionally he might be intrusted with a certain amount of money and allowed a percentage on what he made from it, and with his profits he might even purchase his freedom. The worst effect of slavery was to throw a kind of reproach upon almost all forms of manual labor, and thus to degrade the poor class of freemen who were obliged to work for a living.

II. DOMESTIC LIFE IN ATHENS

The Athenian Home. — After looking at the way in which the Athenian obtained his living, we may look at the way in which he lived, especially at his own home. As he spent a large part of his time at the Agora and other public resorts, we might suppose that his home life would be a matter of minor importance. While this is true to a certain extent, still he was not unmindful of his family. In his own house he was the supreme master, and the law did not interfere with his authority. Absorbed in public life, the Athenian, however, looked upon his home chiefly as the place where he could eat, sleep, offer his daily prayers, entertain his friends, and store his goods: while he left its management almost entirely to the housewife and her retinue of servants.

The House and its Furniture. — The ordinary dwelling house was an unpretentious structure, as compared with the magnificent public buildings on which the Athenians lavished their wealth. As we approach the house we see nothing but a plain wall facing the street, and entered by a single door, upon which is hung a metal knocker. In its plan the house was simply a series of rooms surrounding a court, which was open to the sky. The court itself was usually surrounded by a series of columns, which in the finer houses produced a dignified and artistic



INTERIOR OF A GREEK HOUSE (Restoration)

effect. Sometimes there might be a second court in the rear, surrounded by the women's apartments; and often the house might be constructed with a second story. The roof was flat and covered with clay tiles. The decoration and furniture of the house corresponded, of course, to the wealth of the occupant. The Greeks generally preferred comfort to luxury. But the furnishings, however simple they might be, showed a refined taste. The chairs, stools, and couches were made of ornamental woodwork. The lamps, made of metal or terracotta, were especially artistic. In different places around the court we might see bronze or marble statuettes and vases of precious metal and of elegant workmanship.

Dress and Ornaments. — The Greeks also showed their simple taste in their dress, which was in strong contrast to the elaborate and gaudy apparel of the Oriental people. The dress of the men and women was quite similar, although that of the latter was more full and flowing. It consisted usually of two garments; first, a tunic called *chiton*, held in place by clasps

upon the shoulder, and a belt or girdle about the waist; and second, a broad cloak called *himation*, thrown in loose folds

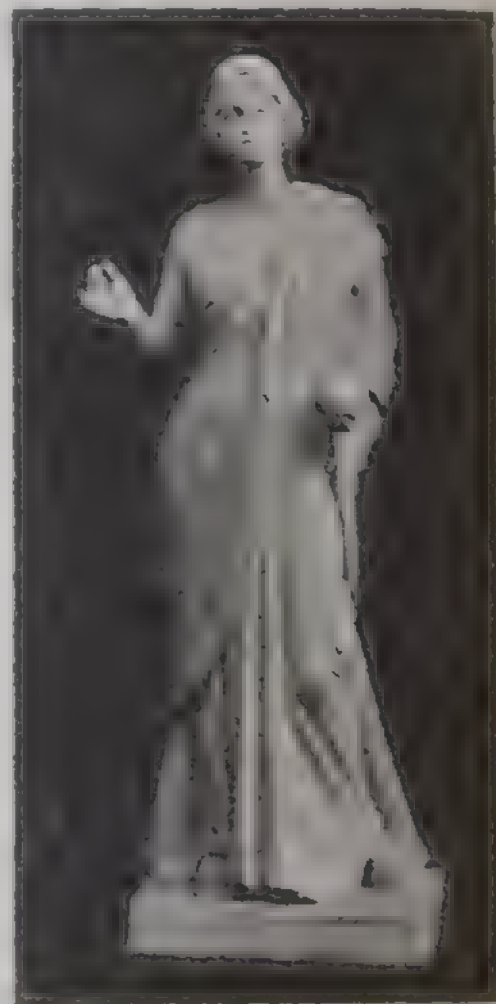


ATHENA

about the body. The mode of adjusting the *himation* often showed the skill and taste of the wearer (see page 246). The feet might or might not be protected by sandals. The elaborate ornaments worn by the Greeks at the time of Homer were discarded by men at the time of Pericles. The Athenian gentleman, dressed in his tunic and cloak, with sandals, a ring upon his finger, and a walking stick in his hand, was fully equipped for the street. The Athenian women still retained a taste for ornaments. They wore a fillet for confining the hair, earrings of various designs, necklaces, and bracelets and anklets. They

also carried fans and parasols, either for use or for ornament. The general effect of the simple female costume of the Greeks may be seen in the pictures here given of statues representing different mythological characters.

Marriage and the Position of Women. — As the father was the master of the household, he provided for the marriage of his children; and the betrothal was really an engagement made between the parents of the bride and groom. Although marriage was a legal contract, the wedding was a sacred, as well as a festive, ceremony. The parties purified themselves with the water brought from a sacred spring, and the bride's father offered a sacrifice to the gods of marriage. Then followed a banquet, in which the guests partook of the wedding cake. The banquet closed with a libation and



URANIA

kind wishes for the newly married couple, who were attended to their future home by a procession of friends and attendants, garlanded with flowers and singing the nuptial song to the music of flutes.

The Athenians believed that the proper sphere of woman was the home; and she was hence deprived of the liberty which she enjoyed in Homeric times, and even at this time in Sparta. Her world was the little world of household duties. For this sphere she had been trained by her mother; and she was taught that politics and the turmoil of the street should be left to men. Her employments, — spinning, weaving, embroidery, and the cultivation of her personal charms, — were not of course conducive to a high intellectual culture. The women of Athens are therefore often satirized by certain comic poets and other writers. But we must re-



POLYMNIA

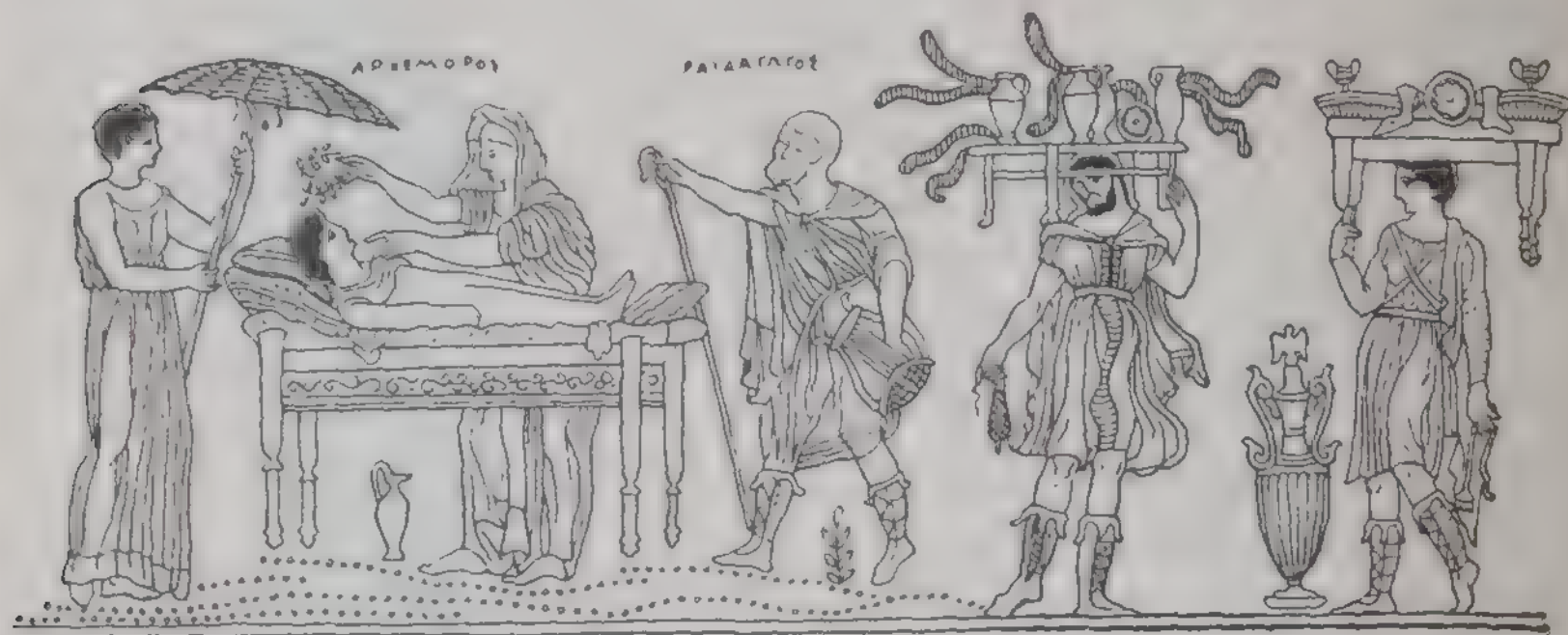


DEMETER

member that the Athenians worshiped Athena as the guardian of their city, and venerated their goddesses quite as highly as their gods; that woman was one of the most exalted subjects of the best Athenian art; and that female characters, like the Antigone of Sophocles, are among the most noble in the whole range of Athenian literature. These facts show that the Athenians were not entirely insensible to the attractions of feminine beauty and feminine virtues.

Funeral Ceremonies. — The Athenians had a great respect for the dead. To give a proper burial to one's relatives was one of the most sacred of duties. Even a stranger who found a dead body was required to cover it with earth. The

funeral ceremonies were strictly defined. The body was washed, anointed, clothed, crowned with a chaplet, and laid out in the vestibule. An obolus was placed in the mouth as a fee to Charon, who was supposed to row the departed spirit across the river Styx. Then were brought together and deposited



LAYING OUT OF THE DEAD

near the body vases and other personal effects, to be placed in the grave. Over the bier were uttered loud lamentations. On the third day the funeral procession, made up of the mourning relatives and their friends, attended the body to the spot where it was to be burned or buried. If the corpse was burned, the ashes were collected in an urn. If it was buried, it was placed in a coffin, and above the grave was erected some kind of monument. One of the most important of the burial grounds of Athens was in the Outer Ceramicus beyond the Dipylon Gate.

III. SOCIAL LIFE IN ATHENS

Athenian Sociability. — The Athenians were essentially a sociable people. This is seen in their hospitality, which they possessed in common with all other Greeks, but especially in their love of companionship and of social entertainments, and also in their love of conversation. Of all the Greek peoples the Athenians excelled in the power to talk in an interesting

manner. With their high intellectual tastes, they liked to compare their ideas upon literature and art and philosophy; and with their strong democratic spirit, they cared little for the aristocracy of blood or wealth. The marks of a gentleman were refined manners, a bright intellect, a good education, and, not the least, the capacity to converse in a pleasing manner upon many topics. Their social qualities were thus in harmony with their general intellectual culture.

Society of the Street. — The open air was, in many respects, the home of the Greek gentleman. In the streets he could always find his friends, with whom he was accustomed to pass many hours of the day. The chief center of the social life of Athens — as it was of the political and commercial life — was the Agora. Here under the shade of plane trees, or within the neighboring porches and porticoes, he could find comfort and the companionship of friends. Here he could discuss the policy of Pericles, the art of Phidias, the plays of Sophocles, the ideas of Anaxagoras and the sophists, or engage in talk of a lighter strain. A great deal of the intellectual culture of Athens was thus developed by this kind of social intercourse, which we might call the “society of the street.”

The Lyceum and Academy. — The Athenians found other places of resort and social pleasures in the gymnasia, of which we shall notice only the two most famous — the Lyceum and the Academy. They were both situated outside the walls of the city, the Lyceum just to the east, and the Academy about a mile to the north. They were at first simply exercising grounds laid out for the benefit of the young men. But it became customary for the older men to repair to these places, not only to watch the games, but to find a retreat from the bustle of the city. The gymnasia became in time more spacious and elegant in their arrangements, surrounded by colonnades, with adjoining halls furnished with seats for philosophers, rhetoricians, and others who delighted in intellectual conversation. In this way the gymnasia — such as the Lyceum and the Academy — came to be not only places for

exercise and recreation, but centers of intellectual and social life. These places were under strict regulations, based upon the Greek idea that there should be rational moderation and decorum in all things.

Social and Political Clubs. — Another feature of the social life of Athens is seen in the organization of clubs. These grew out of the early custom of forming parties, like picnics, at which each person contributed his portion of the viands. But in time they came to be permanent organizations of persons, made up generally of young men, who shared in the expense of maintaining the club. The club was organized primarily for social purposes, to cultivate companionship; and one of its features was a stated dinner or banquet given perhaps once a month. But from these social clubs grew up political clubs made up usually of aristocratic young men, devoted to the interest of the oligarchical party; and these came to exercise some influence upon the political life of Athens.

The Banquet and Symposium. — The banquet was not simply a special feature of the social clubs; it was a general feature of Athenian society. As there were no places of public amusement open after sunset, the banquet was the chief form of entertainment for the evening. It was generally a dinner-party given by a gentleman at his own house to his friends. It differed from the ordinary dinner in being more elaborate and in being restricted to men, and also in being followed by a "symposium." The character of the symposium varied, of course, with the character and culture of the guests. With the most highly cultivated, it was indeed a "feast of reason and flow of soul," accompanied as it was by refined conversation, dashes of oratory, sparks of wit, relieved by rehearsals from the poets and the music of the flute or lyre. A less cultivated class would be entertained by enigmas and riddles, jests and jokes at the expense of friends, and games of skill or chance. With the most convivial and least cultivated, the symposium might descend to ribaldry, the singing of boisterous songs; and with the exhaustion of their own resources

of entertainment, the guests might be amused by professional dancers, jugglers, and contortionists, who helped to while away the merry hours. The symposium was in the charge of a toastmaster selected by the guests — “king,” “leader of the feast,” “symposiarch,” or whatever he might be called. He presided over the company and directed the various features of the evening, and upon him depended to a great degree the character of the entertainment. The symposium was an expression of the social and intellectual culture of the Greek people.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Grant, Ch. 9, “Society in Greece” (16).¹

Abbott, Pericles, Ch. 18, “Manners and Society” (27).

Gulick, Ch. 14, “Social Life and Entertainments” (22).

Blümner, Ch. 4, “Marriage and Women” (22).

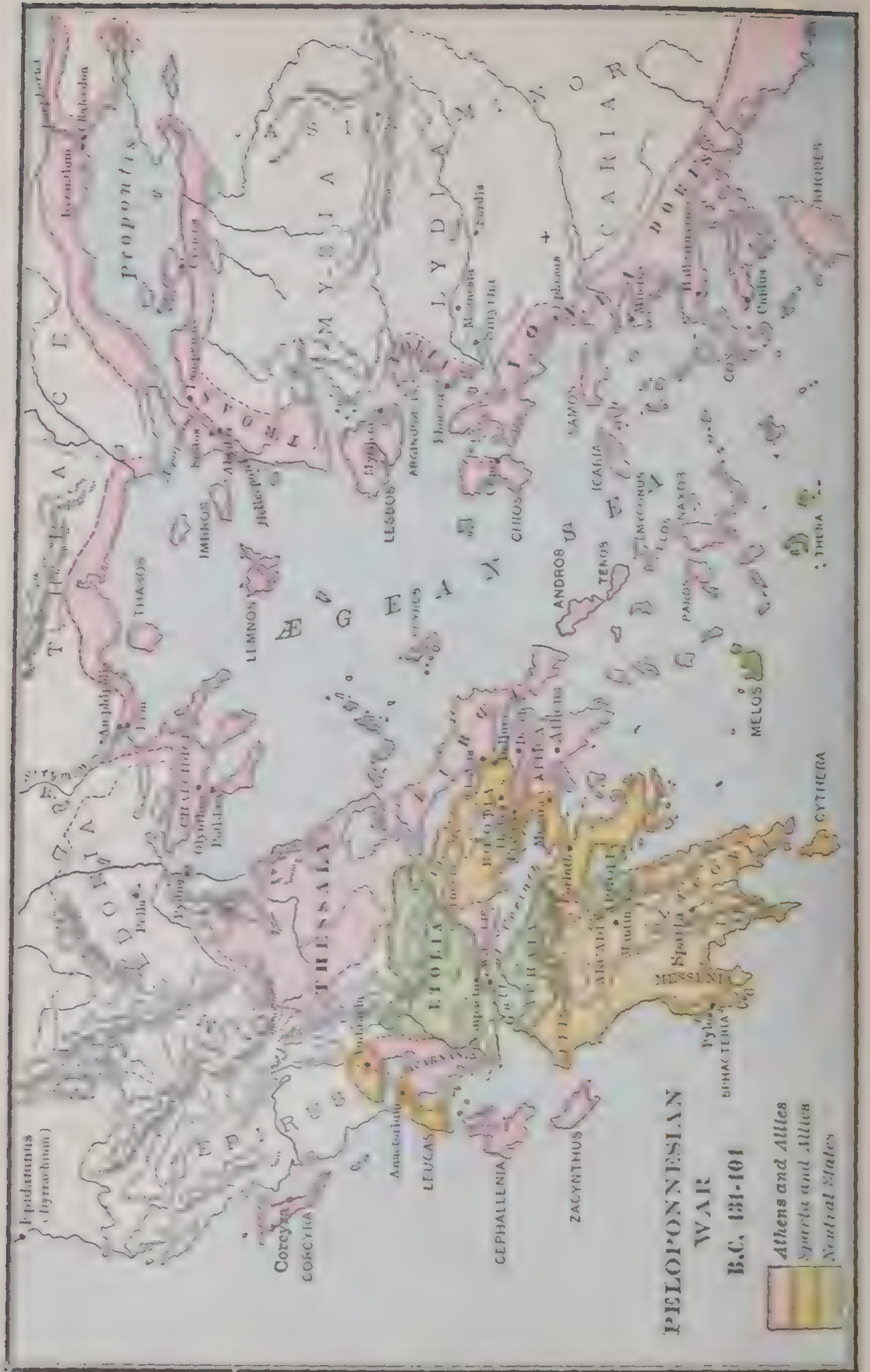
Felton, Vol. II., Second Course, “Life of Greece” (11).

Mahaffy, Old Greek Life, Ch. 4, “Public Life of the Greek Citizen” (22);
Social Life, Chs. 6–8, “Greeks of the Attic Age” (22).

SPECIAL STUDY

THE GREEK HOUSE AND HOME LIFE. — Gulick, Ch. 3 (22); Blümner, Ch. 5 (22); Guhl and Koner, § 22 (22); Becker, pp. 251–271 (22); Smith, Dict. Antiq., “House, Greek” (18); Harper’s Class. Dict., “Domus” (18).

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.



PERIOD V. THE FALL OF THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE (431-359 B.C.)

CHAPTER XXI

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR (431-404 B.C.)

I. FROM THE BEGINNING TO THE PEACE OF NICIAS (431-421 B.C.)

Causes and Significance of the War. — We have now passed in review the most important facts in Greek history since the close of the Persian invasions — a period marked by the growth of the Athenian empire, and culminating in the brilliant age of Pericles. Since the so-called Thirty Years' Truce (see page 213), Athens had achieved triumphs in peace surpassing the military glory which she had acquired in the wars with Persia. But from this height of prosperity she was destined soon to fall. As we take a certain pride in her prosperity, so the story of her fall has for us a kind of tragic interest.

If we look at some of the methods which Athens used in developing her empire, we must be convinced that her greatness was, to a certain extent, acquired at the expense of others. In building up her empire she had degraded her allies into subjects. In adorning her city she had used the funds which were contributed for the common defense. She was evidently devoted more to her own interests and glory than to the common welfare of Greece. Her imperial policy awakened not only the discontent of her own subjects, but also the jealousy of the Peloponnesian states under the lead of Sparta. All

these things were remote causes which finally led to that long and bitter conflict known as the Peloponnesian war. While an undue importance is sometimes given to this war, there are yet certain reasons why it has for us a peculiar significance: (1) because it is described by one of the world's greatest historians, Thucydides; (2) because it marks the downfall of the Athenian empire; and (3) because it illustrates one of the great defects of the Greek character—the incapacity to form a national state.

Events Leading to the War.—This war was essentially a struggle between Athens and Sparta. The events which led to it, however, did not directly concern Sparta herself, but Corinth, one of the members of the Peloponnesian league. It was Corinth that first became embroiled with Athens. Corinth was incensed because, in a quarrel between herself and her colony Coreyra, Athens had taken the part of Coreyra. On the other hand, Athens was incensed because, in an attempt to put down a revolt in Potidæa,—a colony in Chalcidice originally founded by Corinth, but now a subject ally of Athens—Corinth had taken the part of Potidæa. These facts, of course, produced a bitter feeling between Corinth and Athens. But Corinth was in no condition to cope single-handed with a power like Athens; and so she appealed to Sparta for aid, claiming that Athens had broken the Thirty Years' Truce. Sparta called a meeting of the Peloponnesian states; and it was there decided to declare war against Athens.

Parties to the War.—By this declaration of war Greece became divided into two hostile camps, under the leadership respectively of Sparta and of Athens. Sparta was the head of the Dorian race and of the Peloponnesian league, which was a confederacy consisting largely of inland states; she was also the representative of aristocracy; and she had under her command the best-organized army of Greece. Athens, on the other hand, was the head of the Ionian race, and of the Delian confederacy, which had become an empire of maritime states; she was also the promoter of democratic institutions; and she

had under her control the most powerful navy of Greece. Around these two leading powers were grouped the various states of Hellas. Sparta had on her side all the states of the Peloponnesus, — except Argolis and Achaia, which remained neutral, — and, outside the Peloponnesus, Megaris, Bœotia, East Locris, Phocis, Ambra'cia, Anacto'rium, and the island of Leucas. Athens, on her part, was supported by all the island states of the Ægean, — except Melos and Thera, — together with the coast cities of Asia Minor, Thrace, Chalcidice, and Thessaly (a lukewarm ally), also Acarnania and Naupactus, and the western islands of Corcyra, Zacynthus, and afterward Cephallenia. These various states supported their respective leaders with soldiers, ships, and money.

The War Policy of Pericles; his Death. — If we compare the respective forces of the two leading states, we may see the reason of the war policy adopted by Pericles. The Athenian army could not hope to defeat the superior land forces which Sparta sent to invade Attica; and so the inhabitants of Attica were called upon by Pericles to find a safe refuge within the walls of the city, while the powerful Athenian navy was sent to harass and ravage the coasts of the Peloponnesus. In this way the war was conducted during the earlier years — that is, by periodical invasions of Attica by the Spartan army, and by successive attacks upon the Peloponnesian coasts by the Athenian navy.

In the third year of the war Pericles died (429 B.C.), stricken down by a terrible plague which broke out in the overcrowded city. In the death of Pericles Athens lost her greatest statesman, at a time when she needed him most. No one man whom she had ever produced expressed more fully what was best in the Athenian character. "None did so much to make his country great, his city beautiful. Statesman, politician, and diplomat; soldier, general, and admiral; philosopher, artist, and orator; immovable in soul, inflexible in purpose, incorruptible in honor; he was the first and last embodiment of all the qualities which went to make Athens great" (Allcroft).

Progress of the War.—New and less experienced leaders now came forward to guide the affairs of state. The man who aspired to the position of Pericles was Cleon, a coarse leather-dealer, a bold demagogue, and a vociferous orator. Opposed to him was Nicias (*nish'i-as*), a well-bred man, a conservative leader, but overcautious and devoid of energy. During the next four years the progress of the war was marked by four important events—the fall of Plataea, the revolt of Lesbos, the sedition at Corcyra, and the capture of Sphacte'ria.

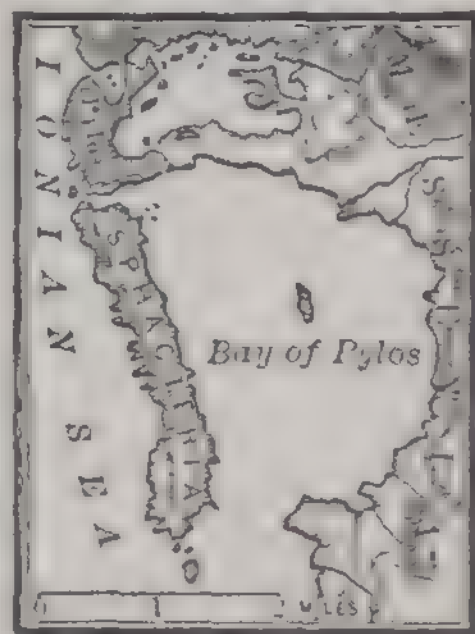
1. Plataea, a city on the borders of Bœotia, was an old and steadfast ally of Athens. Leaving the plague to do its work in Attica, the Spartans invested this city (429 B.C.). No aid came from the distracted city of Athens; and after two years of siege, the Plataeans were obliged to surrender, and were mercilessly put to death.

2. During the siege of Plataea, the Athenians were startled with the news that Lesbos, one of their most powerful allies on the Asiatic coast, was in a state of revolt. This revolt was provoked by the oligarchical faction, which was hostile to Athens. A year was required to reduce to submission Mytilene and the other cities of the island (427 B.C.). When the question arose in the Athenian assembly as to what should be done with the insurgents, Cleon demanded that every one of them should be put to death; his stormy eloquence prevailed and a decree was passed to that effect. As the result of wiser counsels, however, the decree was changed the next day, and made to apply only to the leaders of the revolt. But under this more merciful act, over a thousand men, it is said, were put to death, the walls of Mytilene were dismantled, and the lands were allotted to Athenian citizens.

3. Not only the island of Lesbos in the east, but the island of Corcyra in the west, was distracted by the seditious attempts of the oligarchical faction to break the alliance with Athens (427 B.C.). This sedition was attended with the most horrible scenes of bloodshed and crime, and the island was plunged into a reign of terror. Never before had the strife of

parties been so deadly. Sparta sent there a fleet to aid the oligarchs in their revolt against Athens. Athens also sent a fleet to aid the democratic party in putting down the rebellion. Finally, the democratic party triumphed by utterly exterminating the defeated faction; and the alliance with Athens was renewed.

4. Soon after this disgraceful sedition at Corcyra, the Athenians gained a great success by the capture of Pylos and the island of Sphacteria, on the western coast of Messenia. Pylos was a height upon the mainland; it was captured and fortified by the able general Demos'thenes. The Spartans hastened with an army and fleet to dislodge the Athenian force. The fleet was defeated in the bay, and a part of the army was entrapped on the neighboring island of Sphacteria. The Spartans sued for peace; but the voice of Cleon overpowered the Athenian assembly, and the war continued. As Cleon boasted that he could capture the beleaguered Spartans he was given the authority to do so. With the aid of Demosthenes, he reduced the island within twenty days, and returned triumphantly to Athens with three hundred prisoners (425 B.C.). This piece of good fortune made the boasting demagogue the hero of the hour, and gave the Athenians new hope.



SPHACTERIA

Brasidas and the Campaign in Chalcidice (424 B.C.). — Except the capture of Plataea, the Spartans had gained no important victory on land or sea since the beginning of the war, and now the loss of Sphacteria was humiliating. Added to this misfortune, the Athenians soon captured the island of Cythera (424 B.C.), from which they could cut off the Spartan commerce and harass the neighboring coasts of Laconia. But from these discouragements and threatening dangers, Sparta was rescued by the ability of her most able general, Bras'idas. This keensighted general saw that the repeated invasions of Attica were useless as long as Athens could draw support from her Ægean

allies. He therefore determined to strike at the sources of Athenian power, and planned the most brilliant campaign of the war — the expedition into Chalcidice. Here were situated some of the most important allies of Athens, in a country rich in resources. With a small force Brasidas marched through Megaris, Bœotia, and Thessaly. While he was far away to the north, the Athenians tried to get possession of Bœotia, but were severely defeated in a battle at De'lium (424 B.C.). On his



CAMPAIGN IN CHALCIDICE

arrival in Chalcidice, Brasidas appealed to the cities to throw off the yoke of the tyrant Athens. Several towns quickly responded to his call — Acan'thus, Stagi'rus, and Ar'gilus. Amphip'olis soon surrendered, and Brasidas was prevented

from taking Ei'on only by the arrival of the Athenian general Thucydides (the historian), who had been lying with a small squadron off the island of Thasos. Turning to the south, Brasidas took possession of the little peninsula of Acte and then the cities of Torone and Mende on the other peninsulas. The Athenians thus lost an important part of their empire, situated on the northern Ægean.

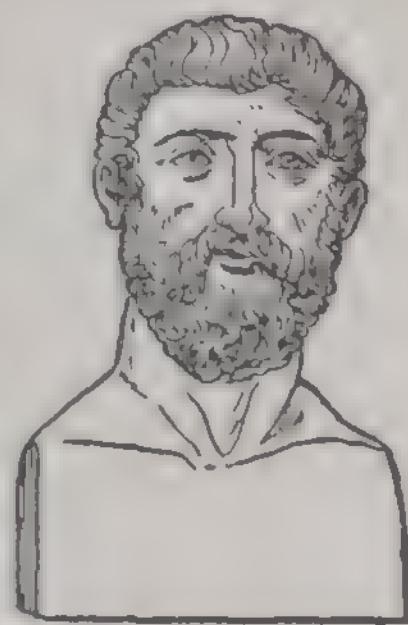
The Peace of Nicias (421 B.C.). — Cast down by these disasters Athens obtained a truce for a year (423 B.C.). At its conclusion Cleon still clamored for war, and was himself appointed general. A battle fought at Amphipolis resulted in the defeat of the Athenians, and the death both of Cleon and of the Spartan general Brasidas. The way was thus opened for peace. This was negotiated by Nicias, now the leading man of Athens (421 B.C.). The parties agreed to restore the acquisitions made by each during the war. Sparta was to give up

Amphipolis, and Athens was to give up Pylos and Cythera and the captives taken in war. It was agreed that peace should be maintained for fifty years.

II. FROM THE PEACE OF NICIAS TO THE SICILIAN DISASTER (421-413 B.C.)

Alcibiades and the Sicilian Expedition. — The so-called Peace of Nicias proved to be futile, and was soon followed by new combinations and intrigues between the different states. In this confused state of affairs there appeared at Athens a new leader, a man who was to exercise a remarkable influence during the remaining years of the war. This man was Alcibi'ades, one of the most brilliant and unprincipled characters that Athens ever produced. Fascinating in person, descended from a noble family, related to Pericles, a wayward pupil of Soc'rates, he became a political adventurer, selfish, ambitious, cunning, and unscrupulous. Under his influence the Athenians were now allured into an expedition which proved the most disastrous in their history.

In Sicily lay an important part of the Hellenic world. Here Greek culture had found a genial home. Here Greek politics had run the usual course from tyranny to democracy, which fact seemed to show a sympathy with the Athenian spirit. The chief city of the island was Syracuse, a Dorian colony founded by Corinth, and hence a natural ally of Sparta. The reduction of Syracuse would open the way for a western Athenian empire. This was the dazzling scheme advocated by the new war champion Alcibiades. "It is impossible for us," he said, "to mark out the limits of our dominion, and as our policy compels us to continue the plan of reducing others, let us make this expedition, and thus prostrate the pride of the Peloponnesians by showing that we care not for the present



ALCIBIADES

peace; and at any rate let us humble the Syracusans, if we do not extend our rule over the whole of Hellas" (Thucydides, VI., 16-18). These words of Alcibiades became the policy of Athens. An immense fleet was prepared and dispatched to Sicily under the command of three generals, Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lam'achus (415 B.C.).

Recall and Treachery of Alcibiades. — The fleet sailed for Sicily and began its operations in the vicinity of Syracuse; when orders came from Athens commanding Alcibiades to return to the city to answer the charge of sacrilege. This charge was based upon an act which had occurred before the sailing of the fleet. In one night the numerous busts of Hermes, set up in different parts of the city as a protection from evil, were mutilated — an act of sacrilege which outraged the religious sense of the whole Athenian people. Suspicions had already been cast upon Alcibiades, who was known to be reckless and profane; but before the expedition set sail there had been found no evidence sufficient to warrant his trial. Since then, however, it appeared that Alcibiades had profaned the Eleusinian rites, by engaging with his companions in a mock celebration of the mysteries. The people were not only horrified at these acts of sacrilege and profanation, but believed that they were connected with a plan to overthrow the democracy; thus they were induced to recall Alcibiades from Sicily and to place him upon trial. But Alcibiades, instead of answering the call of his country and facing the charges brought against him, fled to Sparta and became an open enemy of Athens.

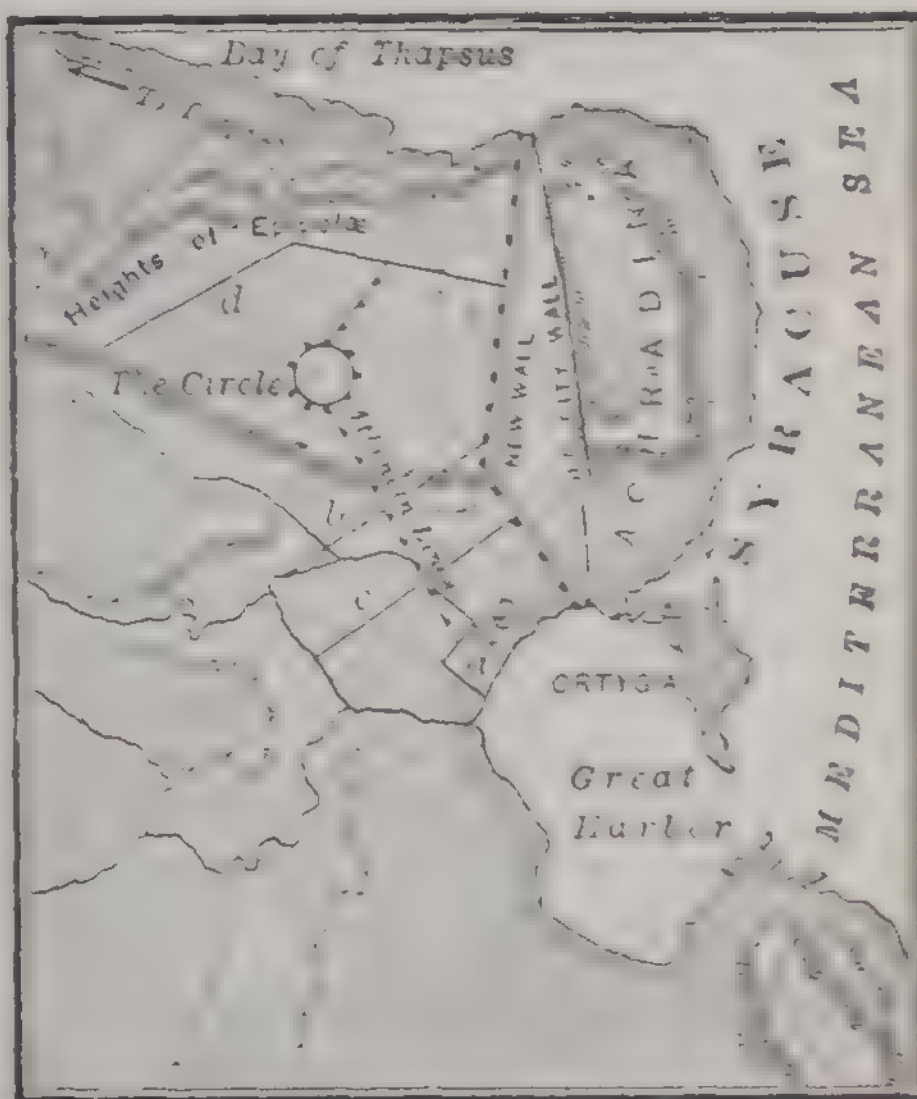
The Siege of Syracuse. — The operations against Syracuse were now left to Nicias and Lamachus, who held their forces near the friendly cities of Catana and Naxos (map, page 136). The city of Syracuse was originally built on the little island of Ortyg'ia; but it had now been extended so as to occupy a part of the mainland, called Achradi'na, which was fortified by an old wall. By a clever ruse Nicias succeeded in landing the Athenian force southwest of the city on the shore of what was called the Great Harbor. He there fortified a camp, and won

an important victory over the enemy. At the approach of winter he withdrew his forces to Catana. In the meantime the Syracusans threw up a new and stronger wall in front of the old one to protect the city, and sent to Corinth and Sparta for help.

In the spring, Nicias landed his entire force at Thapsus to the northwest of Syracuse, stormed the heights of Epip'olæ, and took a strong position in front of the Syracusan walls, known as "the Circle." This he fortified with the intention of extending his siege lines on the south to the Great Harbor, and on the north to the Bay of Thapsus. By so doing he would cut off Syracuse from all communications by land. The Syracusans tried to prevent the extension of the siege wall to the south by

throwing up two cross walls. But these were stormed in succession; and although Lamachus was killed, the Athenian siege wall was extended to the Great Harbor. Here had been collected in the meantime the Athenian fleet. Nicias, thinking that his cause was the same as won, failed to follow up his success by extending his northern siege wall to the Bay of Thapsus.

Sparta sends Aid to Syracuse.—The war, up to this time, seemed to be a succession of Athenian victories. Nicias had, with the aid of his able colleague, Lamachus, inflicted many defeats upon the enemy, and had practically put Syracuse in a state of siege. But from this time all was changed; and this change was due largely to the influence of Alcibiades.



SYRACUSE AND VICINITY

a. Athenian camp; b, c, first two cross walls, which the Syracusans lost; d, third cross wall, which the Syracusans held

While the Spartans were hesitating as to whether they should send aid to Syracuse, they were spurred on by the words of the Athenian traitor. He assured them that he had no love for Athens or its democratic institutions; that Athens desired to conquer not only Sicily but the Peloponnesus; that two lines of policy should be pursued by Sparta: (1) to send strong reënforcements to Syracuse, and (2) to seize and fortify Decelea in Attica, and thus threaten Athens at her very walls. The Spartans followed the advice of Alcibiades. They seized Decelea, from which they wasted the fields of Attica; and they sent their ablest living general, Gylip'pus, to the aid of Syracuse. Upon his arrival Gylippus seized the heights of Epipolæ and built a strong cross wall so as to prevent the Athenians from any further operations toward the Bay of Thapsus on the north. He then collected all the vessels possible and shut up the Athenian fleet in the Great Harbor on the south. By these two strategic strokes the Athenians instead of the Syracusans were put in a state of blockade.

Destruction of the Athenian Army.—The rest of this campaign was nothing but a series of Athenian disasters. Athens sent her best living general, Demosthenes, to the aid of Nicias. With a strong armament Demosthenes was able to enter the Great Harbor and reach the Athenian camp. His practiced eye took in the desperate situation. He saw that the heights of Epipolæ must be retaken, and that the Syracusans must be dislodged from their third cross wall, which prevented the extension of the siege lines to the Bay of Thapsus (see map, page 271). Demosthenes made the attempt to do this; but his army was severely defeated by Gylippus. Nothing was now left except to abandon the expedition; but the mouth of the harbor was held by the Syracusans with a fleet reënforced from Corinth. The attempt to escape from the harbor brought on a series of naval battles in which the Athenian fleet was practically destroyed. The attempt of the army to retreat by an overland march to Catana was also foiled. Most of the soldiers were captured, and

Demosthenes and Nicias were condemned to death. "Thus ended," says Thucydides, "the greatest undertaking of this war, and I think the greatest in which the Greeks were ever concerned, the most splendid for the conquerors, and the most disastrous for the conquered; for they suffered no common defeat, but were absolutely annihilated, — army, fleet, and all, — and of many thousands who went away, only a handful ever saw their homes again" (Thucydides, VII., 87).

III. FROM THE SICILIAN DISASTER TO THE FALL OF ATHENS (413–404 B.C.)

Last Phase of the War. — The terrible disaster at Syracuse was the prelude to the fall of Athens. Her final ruin was now only a question of time. But this last phase of the war presents to us a number of striking features. It shows us, as we have not seen before, — except perhaps in the Persian wars, — the great fortitude and reserve strength of the Athenians. It also shows us the real weakness of the Athenian empire, by the general disposition of her allies to revolt from her as soon as her power was crippled. We shall also see, as a result of the revolt of her allies, the war transferred from the west to the coasts of Asia Minor. Still further, the transference of the war to Asia leads to the interference of Persia once more in Grecian affairs. And during this whole period we can not lose sight of the intrigues of that accomplished traitor, Alcibiades.

The Intrigues of Alcibiades. — So far the schemes of Alcibiades had been successful. Although the author of the Sicilian expedition, he was glad to see it fail. He also had the satisfaction of seeing Sparta maintain her garrison at Decelea, which was a continual thorn in the side of Athens. He now continued his intrigues against his native city by inducing Sparta to send a fleet to stir up a revolt among the Athenian allies on the Asiatic coast. In spite of these efforts, the Athenians were able to keep hold of the island of Samos as a

base of operations, and succeeded in reducing many of the revolted cities. The Spartans began to suspect the loyalty of Alcibiades; and, fearing for his life, he now turned traitor to Sparta and took up his residence with Tissaphernes, the Persian satrap at Sardis. Here he began a new set of intrigues, apparently against both Sparta and Athens, but really to advance his own interests. He assured Tissaphernes that Persia would be the gainer by not taking sides with either party, but by letting them wear each other out. The Persian authority might then be established over all the Greek cities. For a time this adroit scheme seemed to work to his satisfaction; but when he began to see that his influence was waning with the Persian satrap, he entered upon his most audacious line of diplomacy. This was nothing less than to bring about his own restoration to power at Athens. The Athenian assembly had already condemned him to death; and hence a political revolution at Athens would be necessary for him to accomplish his purpose.

The "Four Hundred" at Athens. — Before attempting to stir up a revolution at Athens, Alcibiades began his new scheme by winning over to his side some of the generals of the fleet at Samos. He argued that Athens was doomed unless she could obtain the aid of Persia; that Persia was opposed to a democratic government; but that he could obtain a friendly treaty with Persia, provided an oligarchy was set up at Athens in place of the present democracy. Those generals who were already well disposed toward oligarchy, accepted his view, and Pisan'der was dispatched to Athens to bring about the desired revolution. With the aid of the oligarchical party, the constitution was changed. All power was now placed in the hands of a Council of Four Hundred, with the right to consult, if they wished, with a body of five thousand selected citizens. The new council began its work by the attempt to effect a treaty of peace with Sparta; but this attempt proved a failure.

Restoration and Disgrace of Alcibiades. — While this revolution was going on in Athens, the great body of the Athenian

army and fleet at Samos declared itself against the revolution, and claimed to be the only legitimate government of Athens. Not, perhaps, fully aware of his intrigues, and trusting that he might have some influence with Persia, the soldiers elected Alcibiades as one of their generals. In this position Alcibiades assumed the part of a patriot and showed his most remarkable abilities, which were devoted unreservedly to the success of the Athenian cause. The Spartans and their allies were now operating in the Hellespont. Here the Athenians obtained a number of victories, and under Alcibiades destroyed the entire Peloponnesian fleet near Cyzicus. The patriotic traitor also captured Chalcedon and Byzantium on the Bosphorus, and the Athenian commerce was opened once more to the Euxine.

Flushed with these victories, Alcibiades returned to Athens, where the government of the Four Hundred had, in the meantime, been overthrown, and the democracy reëstablished. The Athenians received him with open arms; and the decree against him was annulled. To show the Athenians his piety and his courage, Alcibiades engaged in the Eleusinian mysteries. The procession had been obliged for the past seven years to go to Eleusis by sea; but Alcibiades now conducted it by the usual "sacred way" in the face of the Spartan garrison at Decelea. He was then appointed sole general of the Athenian fleet, with power to conduct the war on the Asiatic coast. But on an unfortunate day, while he was temporarily absent, his fleet suffered a defeat at the hands of the Spartan admiral, Lysan'der. For this failure the Athenians deposed him from his command, and he retired in disgrace to his own castle on the Hellespont.

The Last Battles of the War. — It required two more battles to finish the war. One of these was fought (406 B.C.) near the small islands of Arginu'sæ, between Lesbos and the mainland, where the Athenians gained a victory. But this victory proved a disgrace to Athens; since she condemned to death the generals who had won it, on the ground that they failed to rescue their shipwrecked comrades — a thing which, under the circumstances, was doubtless impossible. The last battle was

fought (405 B.C.) in the Hellespont near the mouth of a little river called Egospotami ("Goat's Streams"). A new Spartan fleet had been built with the aid of Persian gold, furnished by the younger Cyrus, the new Persian governor in Asia Minor. With this new armament Lysander captured the entire Athenian fleet, and this event destroyed the maritime power of Athens. Lysander followed up his victory by reducing the cities on the Hellespont and Bosphorus. The allies fell away, and nothing was now left for Sparta but to reduce the city of Athens itself.

The Fall of Athens (404 B.C.). — In a short time Lysander sailed into the Saronic Gulf and blockaded the Piræus; and the Spartan army came down from Decelea and encamped before the walls of the city. Without money, ships, allies, or food supply, Athens refused to surrender. It was only famine and starvation that brought the city to terms. Corinth and Thebes demanded that the city be totally destroyed. But Sparta refused to destroy a city that had done so much for Greece in the past. Athens was, however, required to destroy the Long Walls and the fortifications of the Piræus, and to become a subject ally of Sparta. Accepting these conditions, Athens opened her gates to the enemy, and the Athenian empire was no more.

Thus ended the Peloponnesian war, which had lasted for twenty-seven years, which had desolated nearly every part of the Greek world, and which, in spite of the courage displayed, had revealed some of the weakest and worst phases of the Greek character — political jealousy, local self-interest, deceit, and cruelty.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Smith, Ch. 25, "Causes of the Peloponnesian War" (10).¹

Timæus, Part V., Ch. 1, "Commencement of Hostilities" (11).

Bury, Ch. 11, "Decline and Downfall of the Athenian Empire" (10).

Allcroft, Vol. III., Ch. 6, "Brasidas and Cleon" (10).

Holm, Vol. II., Ch. 21, "Corcyra, Potidæa, and Plataea" (11).

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

Curtius, Vol. III., Ch. 5, "The Deceleian War" (11).

Plutarch, "Alcibiades," "Lysander," "Nicias" (13).

Thucydides, Bk. II., Ch. 35-46, Funeral Oration of Pericles (13).

SPECIAL STUDY

THE SICILIAN EXPEDITION. — Oman, Ch. 32 (10) ; Timayenis. Vol. I., pp. 352-359 (11) ; Cox, Gen. Hist., Bk. II., Ch. 7 (10) ; Cox, Athenian Empire, Ch. 5 (16) ; Bury, Ch. 11. §§ 3-5 (10) ; Allcroft, Vol. III., Ch. 8 (10) ; Holm, Vol. II., Ch. 27 (11) ; Curtius, Vol. III., pp. 340-413 (11).

CHAPTER XXII

THE LATER STRUGGLES FOR SUPREMACY

I. THE SUPREMACY OF SPARTA

The New Spartan Empire. — The political history of Greece immediately after the fall of Athens is a period of renewed agitation, jealousy, and strife, and illustrates still further the incapacity of the Greeks to form a national state. With too great a passion for local liberty, they were unwilling to make concessions for the general good. When one city gained the supremacy, it used its power for its own interests rather than for the common welfare. Sparta now succeeded for a time to the empire which Athens was compelled to give up. The imperial and despotic policy adopted by Sparta was determined largely by the influence of Lysander, who on account of his recent victories was now the leading man in the Spartan state. As Sparta was the patron of oligarchy, she compelled the cities to give up their democratic governments. A military governor, called a "harmost," was placed over most of them; and whatever civil authority there was to be exercised, was placed in a board of ten persons, called a "decarchy." Under such a government the property and lives of the people could not be safe.

In Athens there was established a board of thirty oligarchs — who have received the name of the “Thirty Tyrants” (404–403 B.C.). Under their leader, Crit’ias, their rule was harsh and oppressive and resulted in anarchy and a reign of terror. Citizens were put to death, and property was confiscated without mercy. It was only by a popular revolution led by the patriot Thrasybu’lus that the Thirty were deposed and a democratic form of government reestablished. This was sufficient to show that the imperial rule of Sparta could not continue without opposition.

Persia and the “March of the Ten Thousand” (401–400 B.C.). — While Sparta was trying to establish her authority over the cities in Greece and Asia Minor, an event occurred which resulted in bringing her into conflict with Persia. This event was the expedition made by Cyrus the Younger, the Persian governor of Asia Minor, who had espoused the cause of Sparta in the Peloponnesian war. In order to place himself on the Persian throne in place of his brother, Artaxerx’es, Cyrus enlisted in his service about ten or twelve thousand Asiatic Greeks, besides a large number of native troops. With these he pushed his way through Phrygia, Cilicia, Syria, and Mesopotamia toward the Persian capital at Susa. He met his brother, Artaxerxes, near Babylon and fought a battle at Cunax’a, in which the Greek forces defeated the great army of the king. But here Cyrus was killed, and the other leaders were entrapped and put to death. The Greeks chose new leaders, chief among whom was Xen’ophon. They then began their long and wearisome march homeward through a hostile country. They moved up the banks of the Tigris River, harassed by the army of Tissaphernes, through the snows of Armenia, suffering from cold and hunger, and finally reached the shores of the Euxine at Trapezus, where they raised the joyful shout, “The sea, the sea!” Hence they continued their retreat, partly by water and partly by land, until they reached the friendly city of Chalcedon and finally the shores of the Ægean Sea. This famous “March of the



MARCH OF THE TEN THOUSAND

Ten Thousand," recorded by Xenophon himself, revealed the weakness of the Persian empire and the superiority of the Greek soldiers, and led directly to a conflict between Persia and Sparta.

War between Persia and Sparta (399-394 B.C.). — The rebellious attempt of Cyrus, assisted as it was by Greeks, aroused the wrath of the Persian king. He therefore appointed his faithful general, Tissaphernes, as governor of Asia Minor, with orders to reduce all the Grecian cities on the coast. Sparta now regarded herself as the protector of the Greeks, and answered their call for help. The war against Persia which followed was carried on for six years, at first under inferior generals, but finally under the Spartan king Agesila'us. This able commander defeated Tissaphernes, recovered the Asiatic cities, carried the war into the enemy's country, and threatened to overthrow the empire itself. To relieve his empire from the presence of the Spartan army, the Persian monarch sent an emissary to Greece with bags of gold to stir up a revolt among the subjects of Sparta in

Europe. The dangers at home compelled the Spartans to recall Agesilaus from Asia, and the conquest of Persia was delayed for more than half a century.

Revolt of the Greeks against Sparta (395-387 B.C.). — When Agesilaus reached Sparta, he found a large part of Greece united in an attempt to throw off the Spartan yoke. Thebes, Corinth, Athens, and Argos had formed a league for the liberation of the Hellenic states. The war which ensued is called the Corinthian war, because it was waged to a great extent in the vicinity of the isthmus. Besides many engagements fought on land, a decisive naval battle was fought near Cnidus on the southwest coast of Asia Minor (394 B.C.). In this battle the Greek allies, under the Athenian general Conon, assisted by the Persians, defeated the opposing fleet, and practically destroyed the maritime power of Sparta. Conon freed the cities on the Asiatic coasts from the Spartan power, and then sailed to Athens. Under his direction, the fortifications of the Piræus and the Long Walls, which had been razed after the Peloponnesian war, were rebuilt. The stress of the war was so great that Sparta appealed to Persia to act as arbiter and to settle the affairs of Greece. This resulted in the so-called Peace of Antalcidas (387 B.C.). By this peace the Greek cities in Asia were once more given up to the Persian king; the islands of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros were given to Athens; and all the cities of Greece proper were henceforth to be "free and independent."

Further Aggressions of Sparta (387-379 B.C.). — It is true that Sparta had by the late war lost her maritime power and her control of the Asiatic cities. But still, by the terms of the Peace of Antalcidas, the bonds which had united her enemies were broken; and she was now free to deal with them separately. She claimed the right to carry into execution the terms of the peace, and made her despotie influence felt everywhere. To offset the power of Thebes in Boeotia, she caused the city of Plataea to be rebuilt. To punish her enemies in Arcadia, she razed the walls of Mantinea. In order to prevent

a rival power from growing up outside of Greece, she waged war against the newly formed confederacy in Chalcidice. This league had grown up from a union of the Greek and Macedonian cities under the headship of Olynthus; it was now broken up by Sparta in the so-called "Olynthiac war" (382-379 B.C.). For fear that Thebes might rise against her while her armies were engaged in Chalcidice, Sparta seized the Theban citadel, the Cadmea, and placed within it a Spartan garrison. This most arrogant piece of aggression led to the uprising of Thebes with other states, and to the overthrow of the Spartan supremacy.

II. THE SUPREMACY OF THEBES

The Liberation of Thebes (379 B.C.). — The story of the revolution which resulted in freeing Thebes and the rest of Greece from Spartan domination, centers about the names of two great Theban patriots — Pelop'idas and Epaminon'das. Pelopidas was a Theban who had taken refuge in Athens. With a band of companions he entered his native city in disguise, killed the oligarchic leaders, and with the aid of the people forced the Spartan garrison to withdraw from the citadel. Thebes was thus made free. Under the guidance of Epaminon'das the other cities of Bœotia gained their independence, and formed a new Bœotian confederacy to withstand the power of Sparta.



BŒOTIA

The New Confederacy of Athens (377 B.C.). — Athens took courage from the success of Thebes, and gathered together many of her old allies in a new Athenian confederacy. She built a new navy and regained something of her old maritime

power. She at first aided Thebes in resisting Sparta; and then, envious of the growing power of Thebes, she formed a treaty with Sparta. In the midst of these jealous intrigues and the attending conflicts, Athens proposed that a general conference be held at Sparta for the pacification of Greece. It was there proposed that the Peace of Antalcidas should be renewed — that all states should remain free and independent. Athens and Sparta wished this to mean that all cities should be free to form alliances if they chose, but should not be bound in a confederacy. But Thebes refused to accept this meaning, because she wished still to retain her hold upon her own allies. The treaty was hence signed without Thebes. While Athens had been able to recover some of her influence, Thebes and Sparta were still the great rival powers of Greece.

War between Thebes and Sparta; Battle of Leuctra.—Sparta was at this time as jealous of Thebes as she had once been of Athens. She therefore sent an army into Bœotia to destroy the newly formed confederacy, but was defeated in the memorable battle of Leuctra (371 B.C.). The ruling spirit in Bœotia



BATTLE OF LEUCTRA,
B.C. 371

was Epaminondas, the great Theban patriot, whose name is one of the most distinguished among Grecian statesmen and generals. To him is due the new arrangement of the Grecian phalanx which won the battle of Leuctra. He seems to have discovered one of the great principles of successful warfare—that is, to be stronger than the enemy at the point of contact. The

old Greek phalanx was arranged in lines eight men deep. The Spartan army was so formed at Leuctra. Epaminondas also arranged the main part of his line in the same way. But on his left wing, which he intended to be the point of contact, he arranged the phalanx in the form of an irresistible column fifty men deep, guarded on the extreme left by a body of cavalry. In this way he crushed the Spartan right wing; and the

rest of his army was pushed forward to complete the victory. The battle of Leuctra had two important effects: first, it introduced a new feature into ancient warfare, which was afterward employed by the Macedonians; secondly, it insured for the time being the ascendancy of Thebes.

Extension of the Theban Power.—The power of Thebes was now supreme in central Greece. To extend her influence into Peloponnesus, Epaminondas invaded this territory, and delivered the people from Spartan control. In Arcadia, he helped the city of Mantinea to rebuild its prostrate walls, and gathered the Arcadian towns into an independent union, with the new city of Megalop'olis as their capital. In Messenia he rescued the population from their long serfdom, and built for them a new city, Messe'ne, on the slopes of Mt. Itho'me. Sparta, fearing for her safety, appealed to Athens for assistance. Athens accordingly sent an army into the Peloponnesus to prevent the further encroachment of Thebes.

While Thebes was thus extending her power to the south under Epaminondas, she was also extending her power to the north under Pelopidas. She brought Thessaly under her authority, and even established influential relations with Macedonia. It was not long before troubles arose again in the Peloponnesus. Epaminondas again invaded the country and met the Spartans at Mantinea (362 B.C.), where he gained a victory over the Spartans and their allies; but at this battle Epaminondas was killed. As the Thebans, without their leader, were unable to follow up their victory, peace was established. With the decline of the Theban power, Athens was once more regarded as the leading city of Greece.

Failure of the Grecian State System.—The supremacy of Thebes had failed to create a national state for Greece, just as the supremacy of Sparta and that of Athens had failed before. The Greeks had, it is true, been able to develop a city state with local self-government, far in advance of the Oriental system of government. But they did not possess the capacity to organize their cities into a single state, based upon their com-

mon nationality. Their various leagues failed, because under the predominance of one city the rights of the others were disregarded. With all their love of liberty springing from their own self-interest, they failed to recognize that other essential principle of good government, the love of a higher law based upon the common welfare.

III. THE SUPREMACY OF SYRACUSE IN SICILY

Parallel History of Sicily and Greece. — In tracing the general course of Greek history, we have seen the growth of a number of city states, which were agitated by political revolution, and in which tyranny, oligarchy, and democracy were contending for mastery. We have also seen Greece, under the leadership of Athens, delivered from the invasion of Persia, and developing a high form of culture. We have, moreover, seen a tendency on the part of some one city to lift itself into a position of supremacy over the others. There is a general similarity between these movements in Greece proper and those in western Hellas. In Sicily we see a similar movement in the development of a large number of cities disturbed by political revolution; a similar conflict against a foreign enemy; a similar development of a high intellectual culture; and a similar tendency toward supremacy on the part of one city. But the predominant city in Sicily was not Athens or Sparta or Thebes, but Syracuse; and the foreign enemy of Sicily was not Persia, but Carthage.

The Growth of Syracuse. — From very early times the Carthaginians desired to get control of the island of Sicily; and their invasions had been repelled under the leadership of Syracuse. One of their most important attempts to conquer the Sicilians was made at the time of the Persian invasions of Greece, and was ended by their decisive defeat at Himera (p. 192). Being relieved for a time from these foreign enemies, the Sicilian cities pursued their steady course of culture and their varied course of political revolution. The Sicilian expedition,

which proved so disastrous to Athens, gave a new impulse to the ambition of Syracuse, and under various governors we see her occupying a leading position in Sicily, and even in Magna Græcia.

Dionysius the Elder, and the Younger. — A few years after the destruction of the Athenian fleet at Syracuse, the Carthaginians made a new and more vigorous attempt to subdue the island. They captured the cities of Selinus, Himera (409 B.C.), and Agrigentum (406 B.C.). In their extremity the Syracusans chose Dionys'ius the Elder as their leader in war, and from this position he became a tyrant. He was a man of varied virtues and vices, of unusual clemency to a vanquished foe, and of unwonted cruelty to his own subjects. His great achievement was the driving back of the Carthaginians to the western extremity of the island, and the defense of Syracuse by



DOMINIONS OF DIONYSIUS, 379 B.C.

an enlarged fortification, which took in the heights of Epipolæ (see map, page 271). He also brought under his control many of the cities of Sicily, and aspired to found a Syracusan empire. He entered Italy as a tribe of northern barbarians (the Sabelians) were engaged in reducing the cities of the southern peninsula. Many of these cities in Bruttium he subdued and plundered, and others in Iapygia he made dependent upon him; and even the kingdom of Molos'sia, across the Ionian Sea, he brought under his influence. He adorned Syracuse with splendid buildings and works of art, and made it the home of noted men; so that it vied with Athens as the most cultivated city of the Greek world. He was succeeded by his son, Dionysius the Younger, who had none of the remarkable

abilities of his father. Under his rule, the city rapidly fell into discord and anarchy, from which it was rescued by Timo'leon.

Timoleon the Liberator. — Suffering under the weak rule of the Younger Dionysius and threatened again by the Carthaginians, Syracuse appealed to the mother city of Corinth for help. Corinth fitted out a small expedition, and appointed Timoleon, one of her citizens, as its leader. This commander took possession of the citadel of Syracuse. Then advancing against the Carthaginians, he defeated them in a decisive battle. There were other cities of Sicily which were ruled by tyrants. These tyrants he expelled, and in these cities, as in Syracuse, he erected democratic governments. With the expulsion of the Syracusan tyrants, the cities of Magna Græcia also recovered their independence. Thus Timoleon became the true liberator of western Hellas. When he had accomplished his great mission, he laid down his power and retired to private life. Sicily remained a flourishing seat of Grecian culture, but in its political life the island soon relapsed into the disturbed condition which marked the rest of the Greek world.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

- Timayenis, Vol. I., Part VI., "Hegemony of Sparta" (11).¹
 Holm, Vol. III., Ch. 5, "Arrogance of Sparta" (11).
 Curtius, Vol. IV., Bk. V., Ch. 1, "Athens under the Thirty" (11).
 Sankey, Ch. 9, "Peace of Antalcidas" (16).
 Oman, Ch. 36, "Attempts to overthrow the Spartan Hegemony" (10).
 Smith, Ch. 40, "The Supremacy of Thebes" (10).
 Allcroft, Vol. IV., Ch. 6, "Sicilian Affairs" (10).
 Plutarch, "Agesilaus," "Pelopidas," "Timoleon" (13).

SPECIAL STUDY

THE "MARCH OF THE TEN THOUSAND." — Smith, Ch. 36 (10); Bury, Ch. 12, § 2, (10); Oman, pp. 417-420 (10); Timayenis, pp. 417-420 (11); Allcroft, Vol. IV., Ch. 2 (10); Holm, Vol. III., pp. 2-6 (11); Curtius, Vol. IV., pp. 185-192 (11); Xenophon, *Anabasis* (13).

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE NEW PHASE OF GREEK CULTURE

I. DEVELOPMENT OF PROSE LITERATURE

The New Culture of Greece. — From what we have seen of the political agitation and decay that marked the Grecian world after the age of Pericles, we might conclude that the culture of Greece would show similar signs of decay. But this was far from being the case. Nothing shows so clearly the strength and elastic nature of the Grecian mind as the fact that, in the midst of exhausting wars and civil strife, literature and philosophy and art continued to flourish. And it is interesting to know that Athens still retained her intellectual ascendancy in Greece. But the culture of Athens now acquired something of a new character. By coming into contact with a variety of states through successive alliances, the Athenians became less narrow and more cosmopolitan. Moreover, the dangers and disasters which afflicted Greece made the thought of the period perhaps less creative and spontaneous, but more reflective and critical. We may see less of the high emotional elements which show themselves in poetry; but we see more of those calmer intellectual qualities which are expressed in prose literature — history, oratory, and philosophy.

The Athenian Historians. — Foremost among the historians of this time are Thucydides and Xenophon; and of the great historians of Greece and perhaps of the world, Thucydides stands preëminent. He may be regarded as the father of scientific history. His subject was the Peloponnesian war — a war in which he had taken a subordinate part. The record which he has left us of this war is perhaps more important to civilization than the war itself. The war marked the fall of

the Athenian empire; the record of the war marked the beginning of a new epoch in literature. The one showed the political incapacity of the Greeks; the other is a lasting evidence of their great intellectual ability. The work of Thucydides is



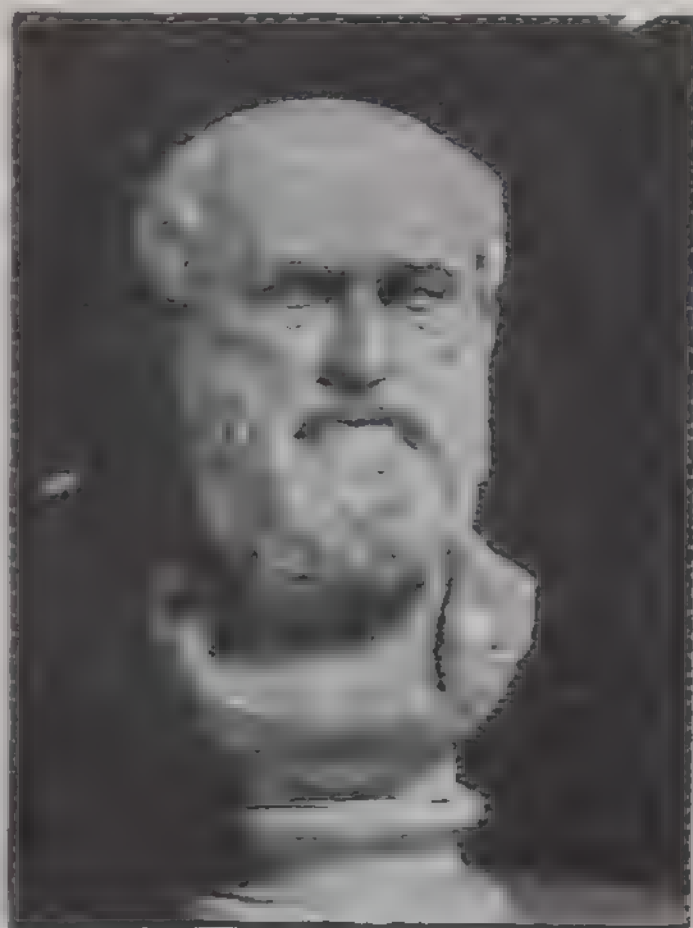
THUCYDIDES

marked by calm judgment, a love of truth, honesty, and accuracy in the statement of facts, and a perception of the relation of cause and effect in historical events. His style, though sometimes obscure, is pure and forcible, and withal "classic,"—which means "the absence of all that is tawdry, the absence even of all that we call florid, a certain severity and reticence, which are as marked in the prose of Thucydides as in the marble of Phidias" (Mahaffy).

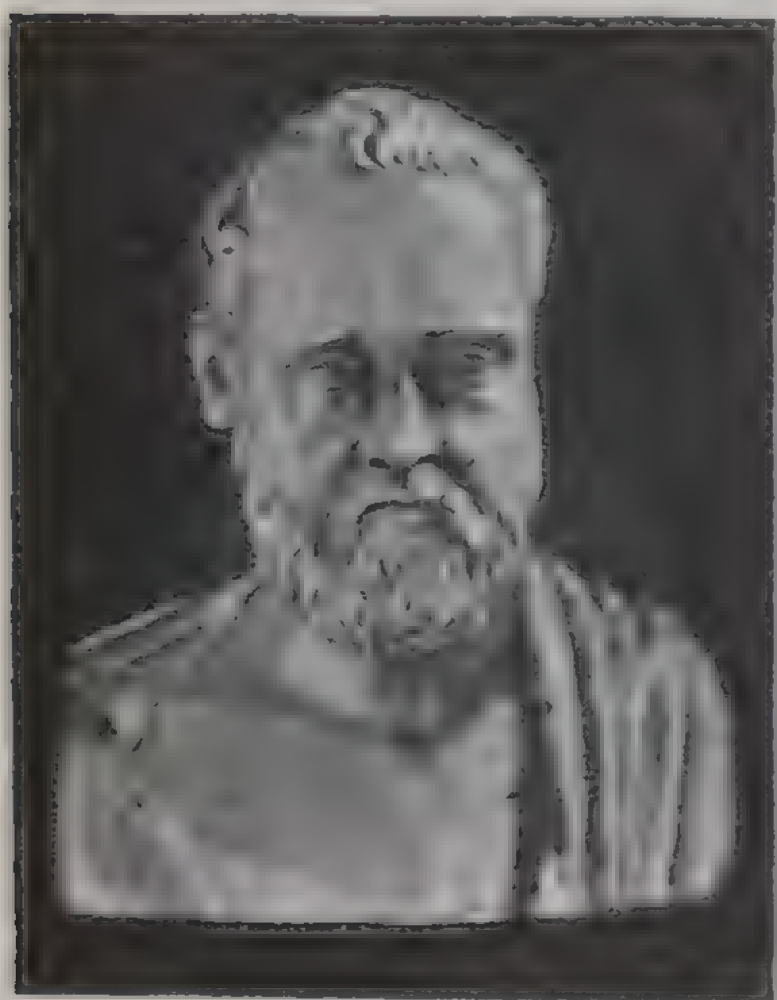
Xenophon is the other important historian of this period. He can scarcely be compared with Thucydides as an historian, but he writes in an easy and interesting manner upon a great variety of subjects. His "Anab'asis" tells the story of the March of the Ten Thousand, in which he himself took part. His "Hellen'ica" is an attempt to cover that part of the Peloponnesian war left unfinished by Thucydides. His "Memorabil'ia" draws a lifelike portrait of his great master, Socrates. His "Cyropædi'a" professes to describe the education of Cyrus the Elder, but is quite as much a description of what the author regards as a just prince. His "Œconom'icus" gives us an insight into the home life of the Greeks. He wrote interesting works upon other subjects, the variety of which might justify us in calling him an essayist as well as a historian.

The Athenian Orators. — The making of speeches was not a new art among the Athenians, as we have already seen in connection with our study of the law courts and the assembly. But it is now that oratory becomes reduced to a written and

permanent form. Of the many orators who attained distinction, we may select three as the most representative — Lysias, Isoc'rates, and Demosthenes (who is not to be confused with the general of the same name). Lysias was employed, like many others, to write speeches for those who were obliged to plead their own cause in the courts. As he wrote for plain men, he used a plain, direct, and simple style. By writing clearly and distinctly, he became a master of vivid and effective speech. Somewhat different from Lysias was Isocrates. He was primarily a teacher of rhetoric, and hence the orations which he wrote — but did not deliver — have more of a rhetorical finish,



LYSIAS

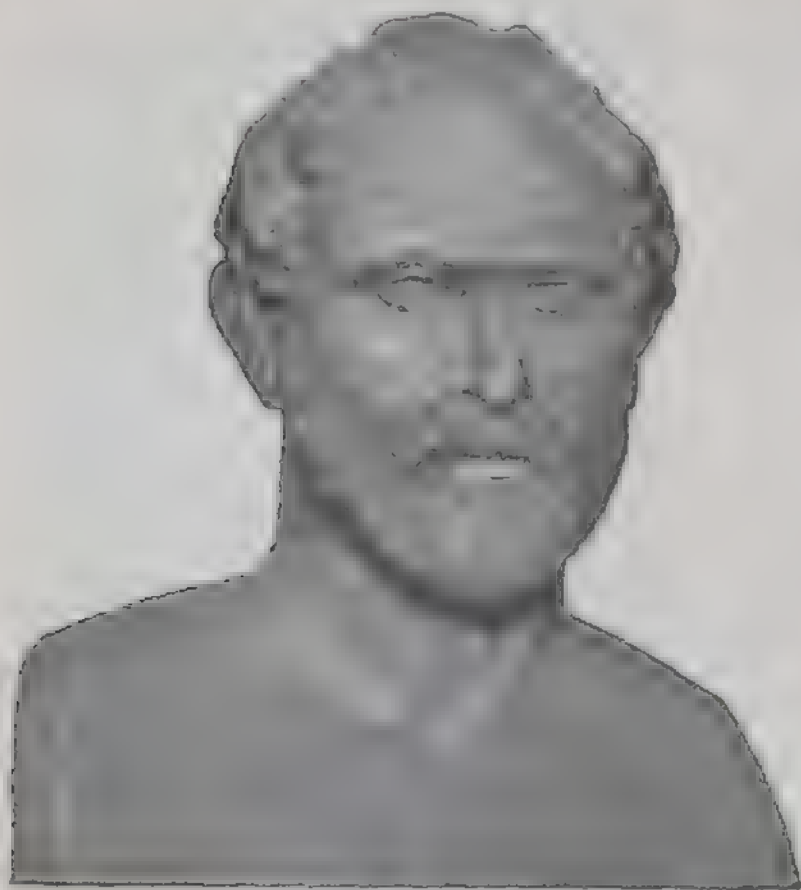


ISOCRATES

and are perhaps more attractive in language than effective in thought. But the greatest of all the orators of Greece was Demosthenes, who holds the same preëminent place in oratory that Thucydides does in history. His life belongs to the later part of this period, and even reaches over into the Macedonian epoch. In the face of innumerable obstacles he attained the greatest skill and power in the art of expression. He combined the vivid effective speech of Lysias with the

finished periods of Isocrates; but he possessed, more than either of these, an earnestness of purpose, a force of argument, a

power of persuasion, and an energy of diction, which have given him a place among the world's greatest orators. The



DEMOSTHENES

most celebrated of his orations are his twelve "Philippics," in which he appealed to his countrymen to resist the encroachments of Philip of Mac'edon.

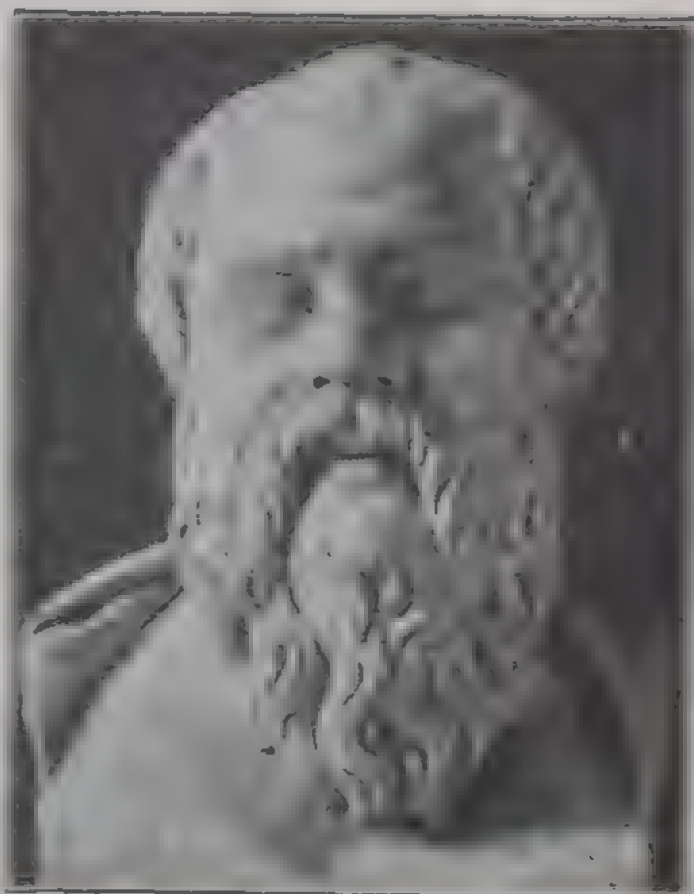
II. CULMINATION OF GREEK PHILOSOPHY

New Phase of Philosophy. — The high intellectual development which Greece maintained during this time, is seen not only in history and

oratory, but also, and perhaps in a still greater degree, in philosophy. It was during this period that the philosophical thought of Greece reached its best and highest expression. Before this time philosophers had been trying to discover how the universe was made, and whether there is any such thing as an ultimate and fixed principle. Now they begin to study the human mind, the correct methods of reasoning, and the proper mode of discovering truth. The great names which belong to this period are those of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle,—three men who rank among the greatest thinkers that the world has produced.

The Practical Philosophy of Socrates. — The name of Socrates is connected with that of the old sophists of the Periclean age. Among them he first appeared as the defender of truth, and the founder of a more scientific method of thinking. The son of a poor sculptor, with no personal attractions, he became one of the most conspicuous figures in Athens. He turned the thoughts of men into new channels. He showed them how foolish it was to follow the method of the old philosophers, and

to speculate about things which can not be known. His first maxim was, "Know thyself." He confounded the sophists who prided themselves upon their extensive wisdom. He taught men that true wisdom consists in knowing that which is good and doing that which is right. He taught them the difference between justice and injustice, between virtue and vice, between courage and cowardice. He taught them their duties to themselves, to their fellow-men, and to God. He taught that God is the supreme Good, who reveals Himself in the universe and in the human conscience, ruling the world by His providence, and guiding men in the path of duty. His long life extended beyond the period of the Peloponnesian war. He was finally tried and condemned to death by a small majority of his fellow-citizens, on the charge of introducing new gods into the state and of corrupting the youth. While we must condemn the Athenians for this wretched act of injustice, we need not wonder at it. Like many other people the mass of the Athenians were blindly attached to their old religious ideas, and shut their eyes to the new light. Socrates represented the higher intellectual and moral life of Greece. He left no writings: but his beneficial influence upon the world has never ceased.



SOCRATES

The Idealistic Philosophy of Plato. — Socrates left behind him many disciples who founded new schools. But the most distinguished of these was Plato, the founder of the so-called "Academic school." He carried out still farther the method of Socrates. In order to discover truth, he studied the ideas in the human mind, which he believed are reflections of the ideas in the divine mind. He believed that our ideas are born with us, brought into the world from our preexistent

state. The divine ideas are embodied, not only in us, but in the world; and we should study the universe to discover these ideal principles in accordance with which all things are governed. So, in human life, we should conform to the ideal principles of justice and virtue; in other words, a perfect life is a life in harmony with the divine Idea. By such a method of thinking, Plato constructed a broad system of idealistic philosophy. The writings of Plato are in the form of dialogues, in which Socrates is often represented as the chief speaker;



PLATO

so that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the thoughts of Socrates and those of Plato himself. The dialogues are often named after some person; for example, the "Protag'oras," which discusses the nature of virtue; the "Phædo," which sets forth the arguments in favor of immortality; the "Theæte'tus," which is a discourse on the theory of knowledge. One of the most celebrated of Plato's Dialogues is "The Republic," which discusses the principles

which should govern the perfect state. From the political conflicts of the time Plato stood aloof; and hence he shows to us the Greek mind in its purest and most tranquil frame.

The Realistic Philosophy of Aristotle. — The course of Greek philosophy was continued in Aristotle, who, though born in the city of Stagi'ra (or Stagirus) in Chalcidice, came to Athens, and became a pupil of Plato. Although he regarded himself as a follower of Plato, his method differed considerably from that of his master. If we call Plato's philosophy *idealistic*, we may call Aristotle's *realistic*. Instead of beginning with ideas, Aristotle began with facts; and he tried to discover the

general laws which govern the facts of nature. He was therefore a man of wide observation and general learning. By gathering and classifying a vast number of facts, he became the founder of many sciences — of Logic, which treats of the laws of thought; of Psychology, or the science of the human mind; of Biology, or the science of living things; of Politics, or the science of the state. He is said to have studied the constitutions of many of the states of Greece; and the recently discovered work on the Athenian constitution, which is attributed to him, has added much to our knowledge of that government. Aristotle, like Demosthenes, belongs to the later part of the period we are now considering, and his life extended into the Macedonian period.



ARISTOTLE (So-called)

III. NEW PHASE OF THE DRAMA: COMEDY

Origin of the Greek Comedy. — If we see in the history, the oratory, and the philosophy of this period the calmer and more serious phases of the Greek mind, we may see in the new form of the drama its lighter and more sparkling qualities. We no longer see that form of the drama which was produced by the great tragedians just after the Persian wars. We see quite another form, which is said, however, to have sprung from the same origin — namely, the worship of Dionysus, the wine god. While tragedy sprang from the greater choral songs which accompanied the winter festival, the other phase of the drama — that is, comedy — sprang from the more frolicsome songs which attended the rural festivals in the springtime. To each

of them was added the dialogue; but each retained its own character — the one grave and the other gay. The comedy had already begun to be used at the time of Pericles; but it reached its highest development during the Peloponnesian war. The purpose of the comedy was to excite laughter and ridicule, and hence it shows the capacity of the Greeks for wit and humor.



MASKS USED IN COMEDY

The Old, Middle, and New Comedy. — It is usual to separate the Athenian comedy into the old, the middle, and the new, according to the object toward which its satire was directed. The old comedy, of which Aristophanes was the great representative, flourished just after the age of Pericles. It was directed against individuals, the public and private citizens of Athens, who were by name held up to ridicule before the laughing populace. It served the purpose of the modern comic paper in subjecting to bold and ludicrous caricature well-known persons, with little care sometimes for the justice of the picture. The middle comedy, which extended from the close of the Peloponnesian war to the Macedonian epoch, was less personal in its attacks, and was directed not so much toward persons as toward types of people. The new comedy, which grew up in the following period, was hardly more than a continuation of the preceding form, with perhaps more refined methods, being a comedy of manners.

The Comedies of Aristophanes. — The greatest of all the comic writers of the Greeks was Aristophanes, who belonged to the old school. He mingled in the political life of Athens, and belonged to the party which was "against the government." He was also opposed to the new order of things, the new

culture, the new philosophy, and longed for the good old days of Miltiades and Pericles. His comedies might give us the best picture we have of Athenian life, if they contained less of caricature and satire. From other sources we may learn that some of his pictures are fairly just, while others are marked by the grossest injustice. Among his most noted works are the "Clouds," the "Knights," the "Wasps," and the "Birds." The "Clouds" indicated the method of the sophists, and unjustly held up Socrates as the type of this whole class. The "Knights" attacked with brilliant satire that coarse demagogue Cleon, who, though not an admirable character, perhaps does not merit all the abuse he received. The "Wasps" is an amusing picture of the Athenian jury system, in which every man is represented as trying to get a day's pay without a day's work. The "Birds" is "a fantastic satire upon the Athenian habit of building castles in the air, and of indulging in extravagant dreams of conquest" (Symonds). With all his ribaldry, Aristophanes was a poet of real genius, of sparkling wit, of great versatility, and sometimes of exquisite beauty.

IV. NEW SCHOOL OF GREEK ART

The Younger Attic School. — Another illustration of the fact that the political conflicts of this period did not destroy the culture of Greece is shown in the continuance of art. Architecture followed the forms already existing, although we can see a tendency to use the more graceful Ionic style, in place of the more dignified and severe Doric. A similar tendency is seen in the character of sculpture. We see less of the grand and divine dignity of the work of Phidias. But we see more grace and human beauty — less of that which is



ARES LUDOVISI

impressive, and perhaps more of that which is attractive. We see a marvelous skill in the pose of the human figure, and a wonderful expression in the human face. Notwithstanding the changes which modified the artistic spirit, the sculpture of this period will compare favorably with that of the Periclean age. The greatest names which belong to this school are those of Scopas, Praxit'eles, and Lysip'pus.

Scopas of Paros. — Although a native of the island of Paros, it is conjectured that Scopas lived in Athens a number of



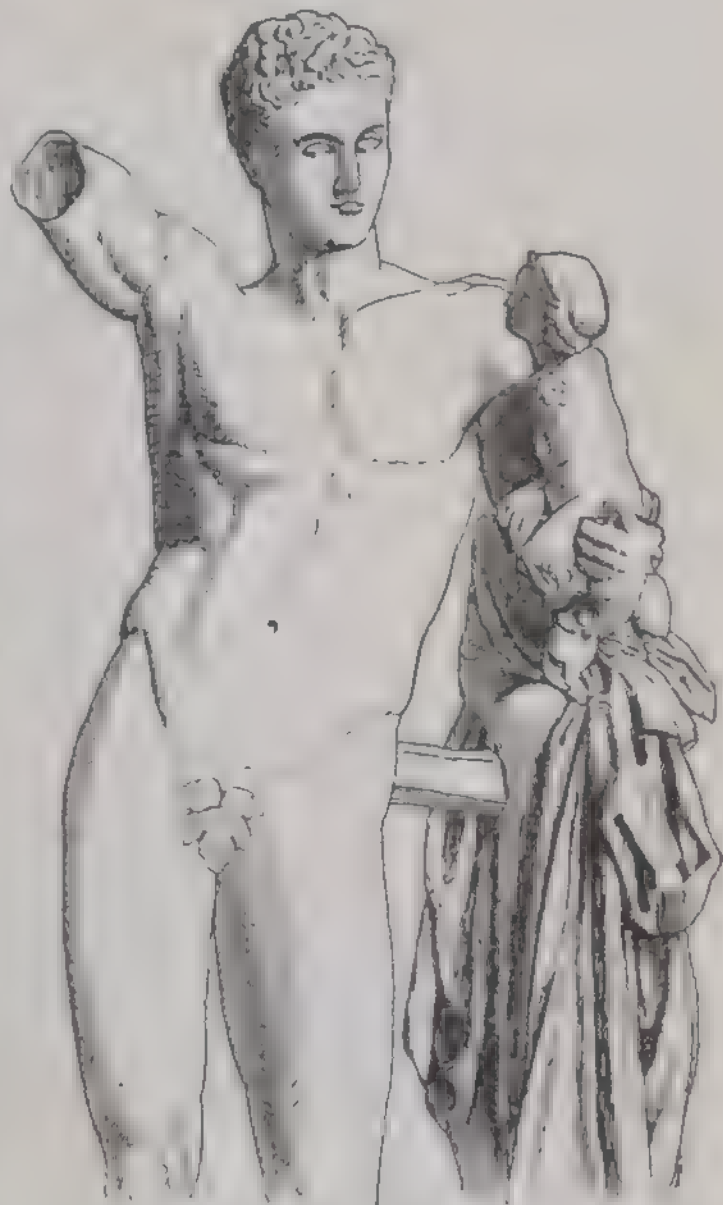
NIOBE

years. However this may be, his work was not confined to Athens. He was the architect of a temple built to Athena at Tegea, in Arcadia, and he carved the statuary in the pediments of this temple. He was also engaged in Caria in executing the reliefs on the renowned Mausole'um, or funeral monument of Mausol'us. Besides these sculptures, there are also two famous pieces of statuary which some, perhaps without sufficient reason, have attributed to him. Whether they belong to him or not, they are generally supposed to represent the art of this period. The one is the *Aras Ludovisi*, which shows the god of war in an attitude of idle repose. The easy relaxed position of this powerful figure impresses one as a master stroke of the sculptor's art. The other is the group of *Niobe and her children*, which is supposed to be the work of either Scopas or Praxit'eles. It represents the mother in an

years. However this may be, his work was not confined to Athens. He was the architect of a temple built to Athena at Tegea, in Arcadia, and he carved the statuary in the pediments of this temple. He was also engaged in Caria in executing the reliefs on the renowned Mausole'um, or funeral monument of Mausol'us. Besides these sculptures, there are also two famous pieces of statuary which some, perhaps without sufficient reason, have attributed to him. Whether they belong to him or not, they are generally supposed to represent the art of this period.

attitude of supplication, imploring the gods to stay the vengeance which they have pronounced upon her and her children. The face of Niobe is unequaled in art as the expression of prayerful grief.

Praxiteles of Athens. — The name of Praxiteles stands next to that of Phidias in Greek art. He was a native of Athens, but we know very little of his life. One of the most famous of his works was the Aphrodite of Cnidus, which was visited from all parts of Greece by his admirers. But critics have been disposed to give the place of honor to his Hermes with the infant Dionysus, which in a mutilated form has come down to us. He executed a large number of figures of gods, goddesses, etc., which were characterized by their grace, symmetry, and beauty.



HERMES OF PRAXITELES

Lysippus of Sicyon. — The last great name which may be associated with this school is that of Lysippus of Sicyon, whose life, however, reached into the next period. His works appear to have been entirely in bronze. He was especially noted for his selection of human subjects. One of his most famous pieces is the figure of an Athlete. He was also distinguished for his portrait statues, one of which — that of Sophocles (see page 246) — is regarded as the finest ancient work of its kind.

New School of Painting. — During this period there was a marked advance in the method of painting. Previously colors had been applied in flat tints with no gradations of light and shade; and hence the so-called paintings were more properly colored drawings. But colors were now graded so as to

produce the effect of light and shade, which we call *chiaroscuro*. This method was introduced by Apollodo'rus of Athens. But it was improved by the two great painters, Zeuxis and Parrha'sius. The realistic effect of the new style of painting is illustrated by the story often told of these rival artists, — how the former painted a bunch of grapes that deceived the birds, and the latter a curtain that deceived the rival painter himself.

In this brief review of the culture which followed the age of Pericles and which flourished during this most distressing period in the political life of Greece, we are able to see more clearly than ever before the sterling qualities of the Greek mind — qualities which continued to shine in the midst of political storms. Every phase of culture, with the exception of poetry, remains; and in some respects there is a new revelation of intellectual life. What other age can show such a versatility of genius — Thucydides in history, Demosthenes in oratory, Plato in philosophy, Aristophanes in comedy, and Praxiteles in art!

SELECTIONS FOR READING

- Mahaffy, Survey, Chs. 6, 7, "The Fourth Century B.C." (10).¹
 Holm, Vol. II., Ch. 26, "The New Culture"; Vol. III., Ch. 12, "Literature and Art in the First Half of the Fourth Century" (11).
 Allcroft, Vol. III., Ch. 12, "Literature"; Vol. IV., Ch. 11, "Literature" (10).
 Zeller, Second Period, "Socrates, Plato, Aristotle" (24).
 Mayor, pp. 27-143, "Socrates to Aristotle" (24).
 Jevons, pp. 404-435, "Demosthenes" (23).
 Symonds, Vol. I., Ch. 8, "Aristophanes" (23).
 Tarbell, Ch. 9, "Great Age of Greek Sculpture. Second Period" (19).
 Gardner, Handbook, Ch. 4, "The Fourth Century" (19).

SPECIAL STUDY

GREEK RHETORIC AND ORATORY. — Fowler, Chs. 29-32 (23); Mahaffy, Greek Literature, Vol. II., Chs. 11, 12 (23); Brédif, Demosthenes, Chs. 1, 7, 9 (27); Jebb, Greek Literature, Bk. II. (23); Jebb, Attic Orators, Vol. I., Chs. 7-11; Vol. II., Chs. 12-18, 22 (23).

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

THE SPREAD OF HELLENISM

PERIOD VI. THE UNION OF GREECE AND THE ORIENT (359-229 B.C.)

CHAPTER XXIV

MACEDONIA AND GREECE UNDER PHILIP

I. MACEDONIA, ITS PEOPLE AND KING

Transition to the New Epoch. — From our study of Greek history up to this time, we have been able to see that the greatest achievements of the Greeks were not in the direction of political organization, but rather in the direction of a high intellectual life. We have had our attention continually called to the varied and remarkable evidences of their genius — in epic, lyric, and dramatic poetry; in history, oratory, and philosophy; in architecture, sculpture, and to a certain extent in painting. It is true that Greece had derived some of the primitive elements of her culture from the great countries of the East. But in the course of time she had developed within her own small territory a type of civilization which far surpassed that which the East had ever possessed. We have now reached the period in which the superior culture of Greece is no longer to be confined within the narrow limits of Hellas, but is to be extended and diffused among the people

of the East. If in early times the tide of Orientalism once flowed toward the Ægean, now the tide of Hellenism is to flow back toward the Orient. The great feature of the coming epoch is the union of Greece and Asia in a wider civilization, which we may call "Græco-Oriental." The country which is to form the bond of union between the West and the East is Macedonia. The two great men who are to be most influential in bringing about this union are Philip and Alexander the Great—the one bringing under his control Greece; the other, Asia.

Macedonia and the Macedonians. — Macedonia now comes to occupy for the first time an important place in history. It



MACEDONIA AT THE ACCESSION OF PHILIP II.

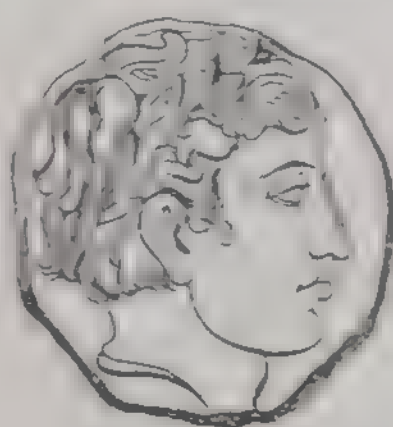
was a country lying to the north of Thessaly, beyond the Cambunian Mountains. Geographically it may be divided into two parts: the highlands, lying toward the north and west and broken up by hills and mountains; and the lowlands, lying toward the sea

and drained by three rivers which flow into the Thermaic Gulf. The people were remotely related to the Greeks. But they were still in a semi-barbarous condition, living by hunting wild beasts and plundering one another. They were a hardy race, and had in them the making of good soldiers. In the highlands they were separated into many tribes, each under its own chief. But in the lowlands, near the sea, they had come into contact with the Greek colonies, and had begun to be more civilized and to have something like a united government.

Early Kings of Macedonia. — We have little to do with the earlier kings of this country, except so far as they were

brought into relation with the Greeks. We hear of Alexander I. who served in the army of Xerxes, but who afterward took part in the Greek festivals, and was considered as a real Greek. We also hear of Archela'us, a more noted king, who came into closer relation with the Greeks; who ruled with skill and energy, enlarging his kingdom: and who adopted some of the customs of the Greek people, even inviting to his court Greek poets and artists. At the time of the Theban supremacy, Macedonia became so strong and threatening that Pelopidas invaded the country, checked the ambition of its ruler, and brought back to Thebes the young prince Philip as a hostage. This young Philip, while in bondage, became versed in the civilized arts of Greece and especially in the military system of Epaminondas, and thus became fitted for his future work as the king of Macedonia.

Accession of Philip II. (359 B.C.). — On his return to Macedonia Philip was appointed regent of the kingdom at the age of twenty-three; and in a short time he had himself proclaimed king. He proved to be a man of wonderful ability, versed in the best as well as the worst arts of statecraft. He possessed unusual



PHILIP II. (Coin)

powers of organization. He was able as a warrior, and still more able as a wily diplomatist. He soon crushed all his rivals, and seated himself firmly upon the throne. He then extended his power over the mountain tribes, and pushed back the barbarians on the frontiers — the Illyrians on the west and the Paeo'nians on the north. But more than this, he gathered together his scattered subjects into a well-organized army. This gave to the people a common military discipline and a common national spirit. In organizing his army, Philip adopted the Greek phalanx: but he strengthened it by making the line sixteen instead of eight men deep. He armed the men

with lances twenty-one feet long, so that the front of the phalanx presented a projecting forest of bristling spears. He also organized a fine body of heavy-armed cavalry, made up of the best men of the kingdom and called "companions," which formed in action the right arm of his battle line.

Extension of the Macedonian Kingdom. — Philip directed his energies to extending his kingdom along the coast. By deceiving the Athenians he got possession of Amphipolis and Pydna. He then captured Potidæa, a Corinthian colony in Chalcidice which had been brought under the power of Athens. But instead of keeping this city himself, he turned it over to Olynthus, the capital of the Chalcidian confederacy; he did this to make Athens jealous of Olynthus, and thus to keep these two cities from uniting against him. He soon pushed into Thrace and founded a city called after his own name Philip'pi. This gave him control of the Thracian mines, which yielded him an annual revenue of a thousand talents (nearly \$1,200,000). Thus in a few years Philip had converted a semi-barbarous country into a well-organized and growing kingdom.

II. ENCROACHMENTS OF PHILIP UPON GREECE

Athens and the "Social War" (358-355 B.C.). — The aggressions of Philip on the northern coasts of the Ægean Sea were made upon territory which Athens either owned or coveted. Since the foundation of her second confederacy (see page 281), Athens had recovered much of her old power and influence; and she was now disposed to resist the encroachments of the Macedonian king. But she was prevented at this time from making any serious opposition to him, as she was engaged in putting down a revolt of her own allies — Chios, Cos, Rhodes, and Byzantium (map, page 262). This revolt was incited and aided by the satraps of Asia Minor, and also by Mausolus, the governor of Caria. After a weary war — known as the "Social war" — the independence of the allies was acknowledged.

As a result of this war, Athens again lost her influence on the Asiatic coast, at the same time that she was losing her hold on the northern shores of the Ægean.

Philip and the "Sacred War" (357-346 B.C.). — Philip was aided in his aggressions, not only by the revolt of the Athenian allies just mentioned, but also by a more serious quarrel which broke out in central Greece. This was a bitter feud between Phocis and Thebes regarding the oracle at Delphi (map, page 76), and is known as the "Sacred war." The Thebans brought against the Phocians the charge of sacrilege, claiming that the Phocians had seized lands belonging to the temple of Apollo. The Phocians were condemned by the Amphictyonic Council, and were heavily fined. They refused, however, to pay this fine, and added to their first crime another, by seizing the temple itself with its treasures. A long war followed between Phocis and Thebes — the latter being assisted by Thessaly and Locris. The Phocians were victorious in battle and pushed their armies into Thessaly. Thebes, therefore, appealed to Philip for aid; and the Macedonian king entered Greece as the ally of Thebes and the champion of Apollo. He defeated the Phocians and made himself master of Thessaly. Pressing on to Thermopylæ, he found this pass held by an Athenian army. Instead of exposing his own army to slaughter, he deemed it wiser to withdraw and to wait for a more convenient season in which to extend his influence in Greece.

Demosthenes and Philip. — The one great man who now appeared as the defender of Greece against Philip was Demosthenes. He had already made a reputation as an orator; and he now assumed the rôle of a statesman. Inspired with a patriotic spirit as pure as that of Pericles, he labored under the delusion that Athens might again be great and might stem the advancing power of Macedonia. Demosthenes was opposed by the peace party of Athens. This party had for its leader Eubulus, for its popular representative Phocion, and for its chief orator Æschines. These men believed that it would be for the best interests of Athens to come to terms with Philip.

But Demosthenes determined to resist every advancing step made by the Macedonian king. To arouse Greece to a sense of her danger, he delivered the first of a series of famous orations known as "Philippics."

Philip was now busy in the north, trying to get possession of Olynthus, and to reduce to his power the whole Chalcidian confederacy. Olynthus appealed to Athens for aid; and Demosthenes delivered his "Olynthiac orations," to urge the people to make war upon Philip and to save the Chalcidian city. His earnest efforts induced the Athenians to declare war, but failed to save the beleaguered town. Olynthus fell (348 B.C.), and with it all the Chalcidian cities, whose inhabitants, according to the ancient custom, were either put to death or sold into slavery. The kingdom of Philip now extended nearly to the Hellespont on the east, and to the pass of Thermopylæ on the south.

III. THE PACIFICATION OF GREECE

The Peace of Philocrates (346 B.C.). — The ambition of Philip was now directed to getting control of the whole Hellenic peninsula. But to obtain any further influence in Greece, it was necessary to get possession of Thermopylæ, where a short time before he had been stopped by the Athenian army. This pass, he was convinced, could be taken more easily by diplomacy than by force. He accordingly surprised and pleased the Athenians by showing a desire to make peace. On motion of Philocrates, an Athenian embassy was appointed to negotiate a treaty with the king. The embassy included in its number the rival orators, Æschines and Demosthenes. After some dallying and annoying delay, the "Peace of Philocrates" was concluded. Philip professed his friendship for Athens, and Athens withdrew her opposition to Philip. Thermopylæ was now held by a body of Phocian mercenaries, who, fearing for their own safety, opened secret negotiations with the king. Philip promised them a safe departure if they would surrender to him the

pass of Thermopylae. He thus obtained the key of Greece for the possession of which he had been intriguing; and to insure its permanent occupation, he placed in it a Macedonian garrison. He then marched to Delphi; but instead of wreaking his vengeance upon the Phocians, as had been expected, he simply scattered them in small villages, and received himself the two votes in the Amphictyonic Council hitherto possessed by Phocis. Turning now to the Peloponnese, Philip formed alliances with Argos, Messenia, and Elis; and his emissaries were stationed in nearly every city. As the indirect result of the Peace of Philocrates, Macedonia thus became the leading state in Greece.

The Battle of Chæronea (338 B.C.). — But Athens was not ready, even now, to accept the supremacy of the Macedonian king. It is true that Demosthenes had urged the people to accept the Peace of Philocrates; but he was afterward led to question the honesty of Philip in his dealings with Greece. He also saw that Philip was about to make further aggressions in Thrace. It was through the influence of Demosthenes that Philip was prevented from getting possession of Byzantium on the Bosphorus. It was also through his influence that Athens and Thebes joined in a final effort to crush the king, when he was once more called into Greece to protect the oracle at Delphi. But at Chæronea, in Boeotia (map, page 281), Philip defeated the combined forces of the Grecian allies, and destroyed the last opposition to his power. This battle is generally regarded as marking the loss of Grecian independence. But we can see that the independence of Greece had been gradually declining since the first interference of Philip in Grecian affairs. Greece fell before Macedonia on account of her incapacity to form a united state, like that which Philip had created for his people.

The Congress of Corinth (338 B.C.). — Philip now proceeded to do for Greece what Greece had failed to do for herself. He called together at Corinth a congress of all the states. This congress is said to have been the most representative body that

the Hellenic world had ever seen — Sparta alone standing aloof. The king gave to the Greeks a constitution which formed a kind of federal state. Every city was to be free, and to manage its own affairs, and not to be subject to any tribute. The Amphictyonic Council was to be the supreme arbiter in the settlement of disputes between the different states. The king was to be the president, having the power to declare war and peace. At this congress Philip revealed his greatest project, which was nothing less than the conquest of Persia, in which Greeks and Macedonians would unite in avenging the wrongs done to Greece since the days of Xerxes. The proposals of the king were accepted, and he was appointed commander in chief of the armies which were to invade the Persian empire. But while making plans for this expedition, Philip was assassinated, and the completion of his work was left to his son, Alexander the Great.

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- Curteis, Ch. 3, "Macedonia and Hellas at Philip's Accession" (17).
 Smith, Ch. 42, "Accession of Philip" (10).
 Bury, Ch. 16, "Rise of Macedonia" (10).
 Timayenis, Vol. II., Part III., Ch. 2, "The Phocian and Olynthiac Wars" (11).
 Holm, Vol. III., Ch. 16, "The Sacred War" (11).
 Oman, Ch. 42, "Philip and Demosthenes" (10).
 Allcroft, Vol. V., Ch. 6, "Peace of Philocrates" (10).
 Curtius, Vol. V., Bk. VII., Ch. 3, "Athens and King Philip" (11).
 Plutarch, "Demosthenes," "Phocion" (13).

SPECIAL STUDY

THE MACEDONIAN ARMY. — Bury, pp. 819, 820 (10); Allcroft, Vol. V., pp. 115, 116 (10); Curteis, pp. 34-38 (17); Wheeler, Alexander, pp. 215-217 (27); Dodge, Alexander, Ch. 12 (27); Grote, Part II., ch. 92.

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

CHAPTER XXV

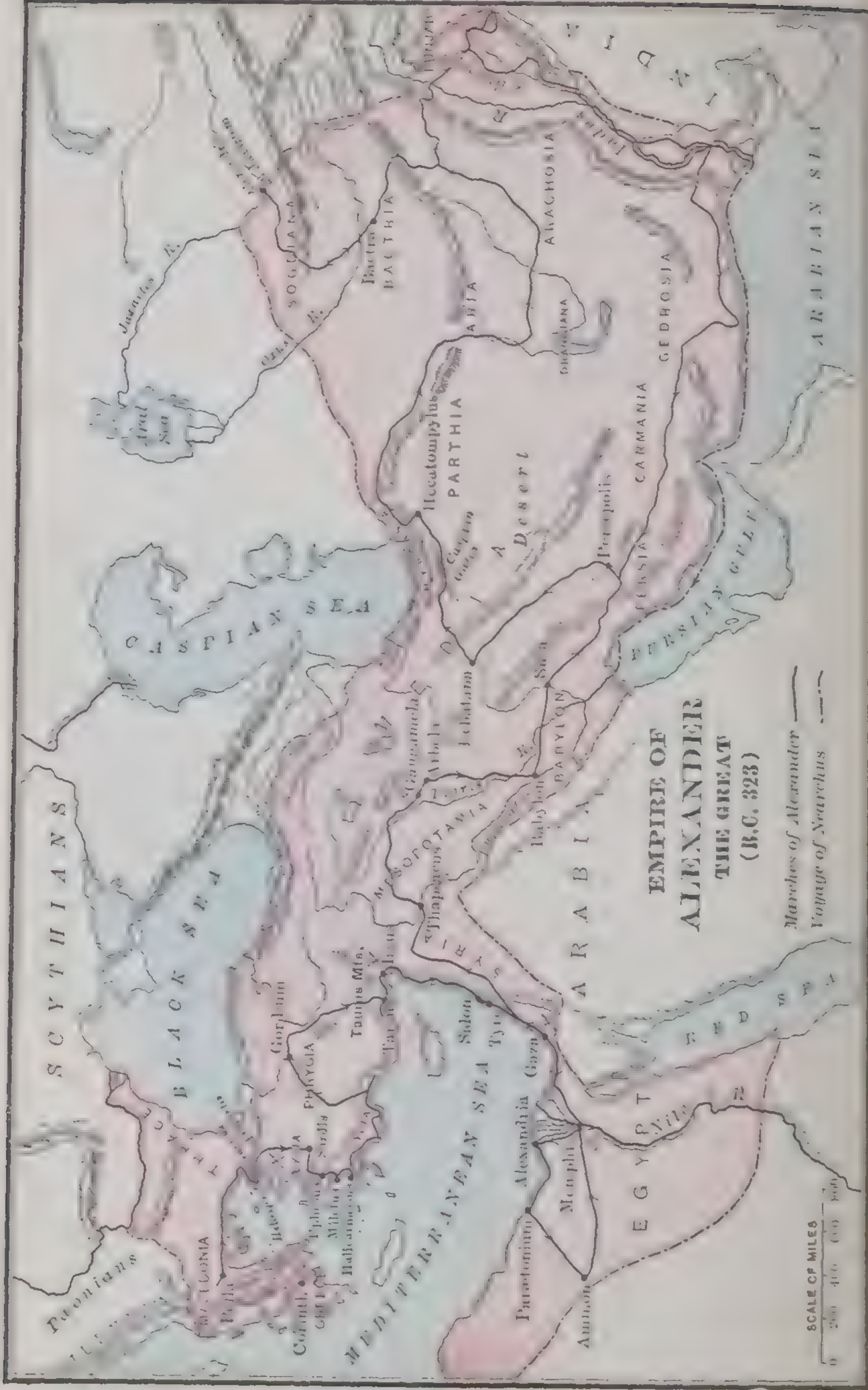
ALEXANDER AND THE CONQUEST OF THE EAST

I. CONQUESTS IN WESTERN ASIA

Accession of Alexander (336 B.C.). — By the work of Philip the barriers which separated Greece from Macedonia were broken down; but the barriers which separated Europe from Asia still remained. To level these was the work of Alexander. In this young prince we see a remarkable combination of qualities. From his father he inherited an imperial will, a keen insight into men and things, and a genius for military organization. From his mother — a half-barbarian princess — he inherited an impetuous nature, a fitful, fiery temper, and a tendency to superstition. By his great teacher, Aristotle, he was trained to virtue and the love of truth, to an exalted appreciation of knowledge, and to a sympathy with the Hellenic spirit. From his favorite author, Homer, he derived a heroic inspiration, a zeal for warlike action, and a passion to rival the deeds of Achilles. From the time that he was a boy of twelve — when, according to Plutarch, he had tamed the fiery steed Buceph'alus — to the battle of Chæronea, where he had led the Macedonian cavalry, he had shown that he was born to rule. At the age of twenty he ascended his father's throne. His first work was to quell the spirit of revolt



ALEXANDER



which seemed everywhere to show itself with the news of his father's death. He put out of the way his possible rivals. He entered Greece and had himself proclaimed commander in chief, as his father had done. He punished the tribes of the north and west which threatened the frontiers of his kingdom. Angered by a Grecian revolt led by Thebes, he wiped that city from the earth, sparing only the temples and the house of the poet Pindar. Having pacified his kingdom in Europe, he was ready to enter upon the conquest of Asia.

Asia Minor; Battle of the Granicus (334 B.C.).—The expeditions of Alexander are so filled with incidents that we can do scarcely more than simply to trace on the map his route through the Eastern countries, and point out the sites of his most important battles. He crossed the Hellespont with a small but well-trained army consisting of thirty thousand infantry and five thousand cavalry. He first visited the plains of Troy, already hallowed in his imagination by the tales of Homer: here he offered a sacrifice to Athena, and paid homage to the tomb of Achilles. His first battle was fought at the river Granicus, a small stream flowing into the Propontis. At this point the Persian satraps of Asia Minor had collected an army of forty thousand men, made up largely of Greek mercenaries, with which they hoped to stop the progress of the young Macedonian. Alexander crossed the river in the face of the Persian cavalry, and practically destroyed the whole army, with but a small loss on his own part.¹ The victory at the Granicus



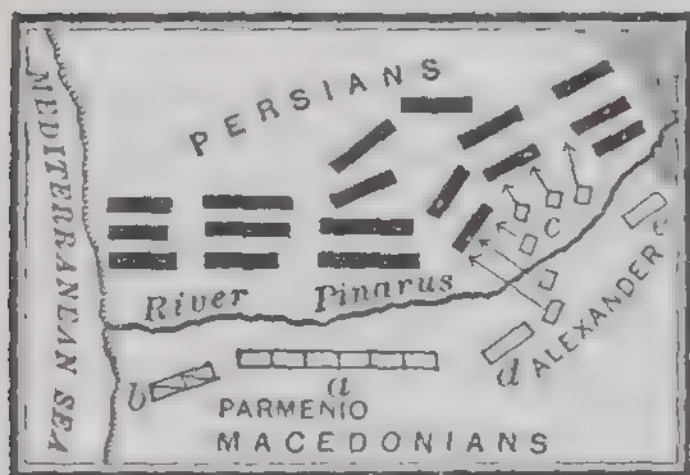
BATTLE OF GRANICUS

a, Macedonian phalanx; *b*, allied cavalry; *c*, companion cavalry; *d*, light infantry; *e*, archers and javelin throwers

¹ In this victory we may learn something of the way in which Alexander conducted a battle. His general plan was as follows: (1) To hold in reserve his left wing,—consisting of (*a*) the Macedonian phalanx, supported on the left by (*b*) the allied cavalry—in order to resist any attack of the enemy; (2) to charge furiously with his right wing—consisting of (*c*) the “companion cavalry” connecting with the phalanx by (*d*) the light infantry, and supported

left very little opposition in Asia Minor. Phrygia fell immediately into his hands. Sardis surrendered without a blow. Ephesus was frightened into submission. Miletus resisted and was taken by storm. The cities of Lycia hastened to open their gates. This closed the first campaign; and Alexander moved north to Gordium, the capital of Phrygia, where he quartered his army for the winter, and according to the well-known story "cut the Gordian knot."

Syria; Battle of Issus (333 B.C.). — In the spring Alexander marched southward through the passes of the Taurus Mountains to Tarsus; then through the city of Issus into the open plains



BATTLE OF ISSUS
(For letters, see page 309.)

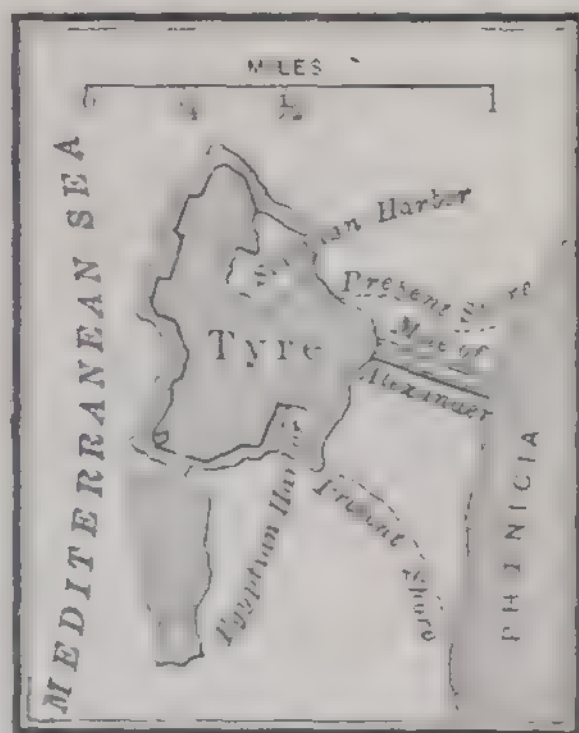
of Syria, where he expected to meet the armies of the great king, Darius III. In the meantime, Darius had assembled a vast horde of six hundred thousand men and moved to the north and to the rear of Alexander's army, hoping to cut off its retreat. He took up a position south of Issus on the banks of the little river Pin'arus. But,

crowded between the mountains and the sea, a large portion of the Persian army could not be brought to the battle line. Alexander, who had moved far to the south of this position, was obliged to face about, march back toward the north, and attack Darius in his chosen position. After a severe conflict, a large part of the Persian army was destroyed and the rest put to flight. Syria was thus brought under Alexander's power.

Instead now of pushing directly into the heart of Persia, as the "Ten Thousand" had done under Cyrus the Younger, Alexander decided first to secure the Mediterranean coasts to the

on the extreme right by (e) the archers and javelin throwers — the cavalry charge being intended to pierce and break the enemy's lines; and (3) to bring up the reserved left wing and complete the victory. No general has ever surpassed Alexander in the use of cavalry. In all his great battles Alexander commanded the attacking right wing, and his most trusted general, Parme'nio, commanded the reserved left wing. (See Dodge, pp. 237-244, 305-316, 368-386.)

south. He therefore moved through Sidon and reached Tyre. At this place he met the most serious resistance which he encountered in all his campaigns. The new city of Tyre was situated on an island about half a mile from the coast. Having no fleet at hand, Alexander could reach the city only by building an immense mole, or causeway, through the sea to the walls. By this stupendous piece of work he was able to storm and capture the city. The overtures for peace which the Persian king now felt disposed to offer him were scornfully rejected.



SIEGE OF TYRE

Egypt ; Founding of Alexandria (332 B.C.). — There remained only one more province on the Mediterranean to be secured, and that was Egypt. The march to the south, however, was blocked at Gaza, a strongly fortified town defended by its faithful governor, Batis. To assault these walls Alexander performed another great feat of engineering skill. He built a mound of earth, two hundred and fifty feet high and twelve hundred feet broad at the base, around the entire city. Although repulsed three times, he finally took the town by storm. He put to death what remained of the garrison, and sold the women and children into slavery. The story is told that the heroic defender, Batis, was cruelly bound to a chariot and dragged to death, after the manner in which Achilles had treated the body of Hector. The way was now opened to Egypt, which welcomed Alexander as a deliverer. The province willingly acknowledged his authority. On the coast west of the Delta, he founded the new city of Alexan'dria, the first and most famous of many towns which perpetuated his name. Thence he moved westward along the coast, and then southward through the Libyan desert to the noted temple and oracle of Zeus Ammon. Here, it is said, the oracle addressed him as the son of Zeus and the future conqueror

of the world. This may have had some influence upon Alexander, in leading him to claim divine honors for himself.

II. CONQUESTS IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN ASIA

Central Persia; Battle of Arbela (331 B.C.). — Having organized the government of Egypt, Alexander returned to Tyre and made his preparations to pierce the heart of the Persian empire. He crossed the Euphrates at Thap'sacus, and passed through Mesopotamia beyond the Tigris. In a broad plain



BATTLE OF "ARBELA"

(For letters, see page 309.)

near the village of Gaugame'la, and thirty miles west of Arbe'la, he came face to face with the army of the great king. Here was to be fought the battle which was to decide the fate of Persia. Since his defeat at Issus, Darius had gathered an im-

mense armament which rivaled that of Xerxes, — a million infantry, forty thousand cavalry, two hundred scythed chariots, and fifteen elephants. To meet this host Alexander had now an army of forty thousand infantry and seven thousand cavalry. The long line of the Persian army reached far beyond his own, and threatened to overlap his wings. And so, to meet this, he placed behind each wing a second line, which could resist an attack on either flank. His attack began with a cavalry charge toward the enemy's left: and this he suddenly changed and directed in the form of a wedge against the center, where Darius himself was urging on his troops. The frightened king fled; his army became demoralized; while the rest of Alexander's troops pressed forward and gained a complete victory. The battle at Gaugamela — usually called the "battle of Arbela" — sealed the doom of the empire. Alexander then moved south to Babylon, which surrendered to him; next to Susa, which also opened its gates; and then to

Persep'olis, which was taken after a feeble resistance. These three cities were the richest in the world; and by their capture Alexander came into possession of immense treasures. He proclaimed himself the monarch of Persia, which he no doubt had a right to do; but he disgraced his name by wantonly firing with his own hand the magnificent palace at Persepolis.

Pursuit and Death of Darius (330 B.C.). — With the Persian empire at his feet, Alexander next marched north to Ecbat'ana in pursuit of the fugitive king, Darius. At his approach the king fled toward Parthia. Leaving at Ecbatana his most trusted general, Parmenio, who had commanded his left wing in all his great battles, Alexander pressed on, through the Caspian Gates, to a town (Hecatomp'ylus) on the borders of Parthia. He here learned that Darius had just been killed by Bessus, who had declared himself king of Bac'tria. Alexander obtained the body of Darius and delivered it to the queen mother, thus following the example of Achilles, who had delivered up the body of Hector to his father, Priam.

The Far East; Battle of the Hydaspes (326 B.C.). — Alexander had now traversed the western and central provinces of the empire. There remained the far eastern provinces, which had been but loosely joined to Persia. He subdued the tribes of Hyrea'nia on the southern shores of the Caspian Sea. He brought under his authority Parthia, and to the south the provinces of A'ria and Drangia'na. Turning again to the north he established his power over Bactria and Sogdia'na, and planted on the river Jaxar'tes a new Alexandria, the extreme northern limit of his conquests. It was during this period that Alexander blackened his name by two of his most infamous crimes. The one was the assassination of his faithful general, Parmenio, on the charge of conspiracy; the other was the murder, in a fit of drunken frenzy, of his dearest friend, Clitus, who had saved his life at the battle of the Granicus. Of these dastardly crimes, it can only be said in extenuation that he bitterly repented of them.

Not satisfied with the conquest of Persia, Alexander crossed the Indus, and proceeded through the Punjab to the river Hydaspes. Here, after a severe engagement, he gained a victory over the armies of India, led by Porus, the most able king of the Far East. Struck by the royal bearing of Porus, Alexander made him viceroy of his new Indian province. The Macedonian soldiers, now wearied with years of marching and fighting, refused to go farther into unknown lands; and Alexander was obliged to return. Down the Indus and through the sands of Gedrosia and Carmania, his army marched back to Persepolis and Susa; while his fleet explored anew the ancient water route from the Indus to the Euphrates. Alexander repaired to Babylon, now the capital of his newly conquered world.

Death and Character of Alexander. — On his return to Babylon Alexander did not rest. He hoped to push his conquests into Arabia, and to give a firmer organization to his Græco-Oriental empire. But in a short time he was stricken down by a fever, and died (323 B.C.) at the age of thirty-two years and eight months. His last words were a request that the empire be given "to the most worthy." His body was carried to Egypt, and was buried at Alexandria with divine honors.

What shall be thought of Alexander? This is a question upon which there has been much difference of opinion. Some have regarded him as scarcely more than a brilliant military adventurer. Others have looked upon him as having done more for the world's civilization than any other human being. Without assuming too much confidence in our own opinion, let us look at his chief characteristics as a man, as a soldier, and as a statesman.

As a man Alexander possessed remarkable natural endowments — a body of great beauty, agility, and strength, capable of extraordinary feats of endurance; a mind of transcendent genius, of restless activity, of wonderful powers of insight, of broad and comprehensive views, prolific in resources, and unerring in the adjustment of means to ends; a will power such

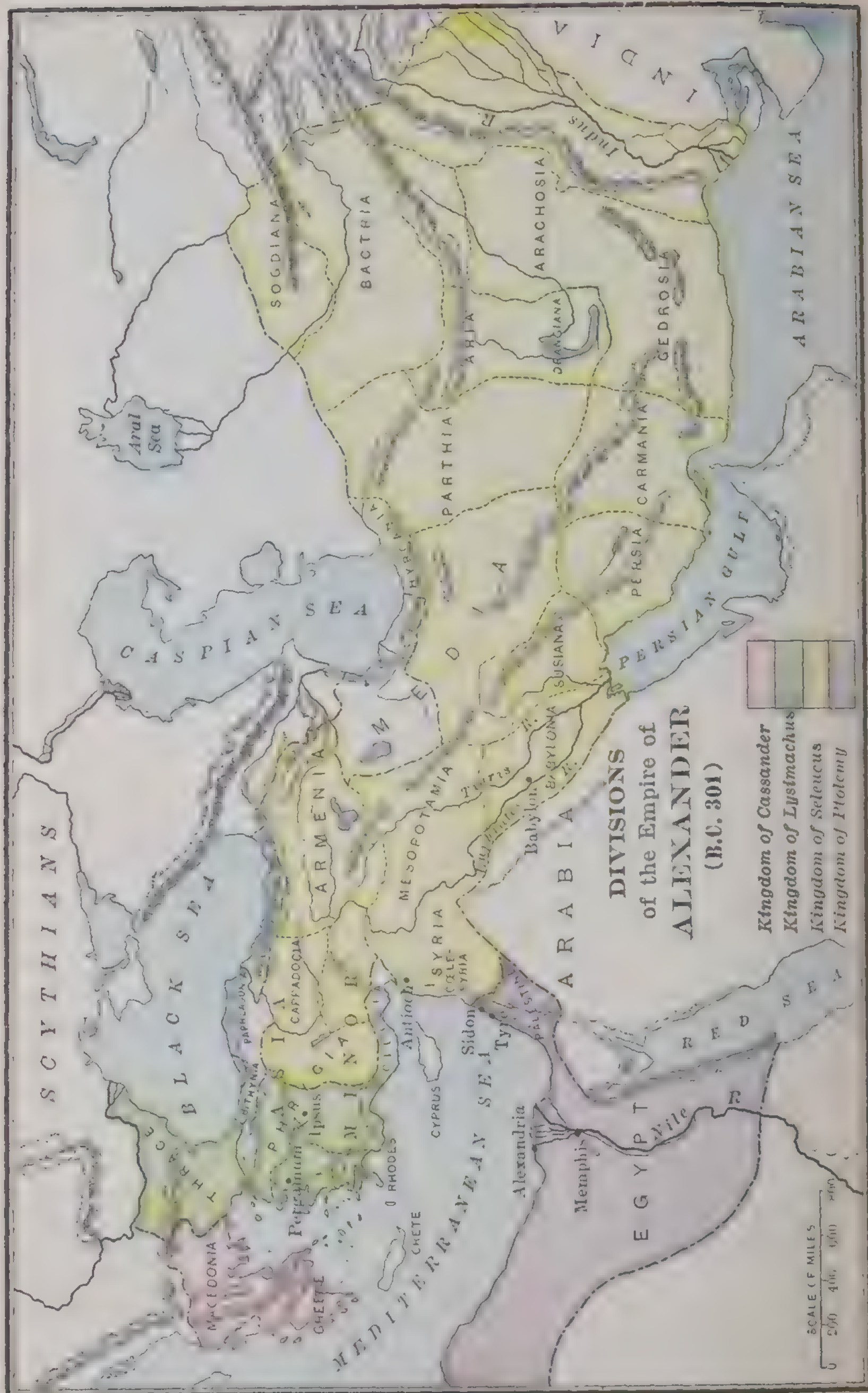


SARCOPHAGUS OF ALEXANDER (So-called)

as is rarely given to men, irresistible and untiring; and an emotional nature made up of a strange mixture of generosity and cruelty, of self-control and self-indulgence, of calm repose and furious passion, capable of performing the worst of crimes, and immediately giving way to penitence and remorse.

As a soldier he has had scarcely a peer in the world's history: a born commander of men, a supreme master of strategy and tactics, equally great in marches, sieges, and battles.

As a statesman he possessed a cosmopolitan breadth of view. He believed that the state should not be narrowed to the limits of a city or small territory, like that of the Greeks, but should take in all civilized peoples. He showed his broad ideas by favoring the mixture of races, by encouraging a wider commercial intercourse, by patronizing the arts and the sciences by building up new cities as centers for the diffusion of Greek civilization. He adopted, in some respects, higher methods of



government than those which had hitherto prevailed in the East; and these may have had a beneficial effect upon the later monarchies of the East, and perhaps upon the later Roman empire. But it remains true that the empire which he himself carved out with the sword fell to pieces almost immediately after his death. Yet we must regard Alexander as a great and efficient agent in advancing civilization; for by breaking down the barriers which separated the Greek and the "barbarian," he paved the way for the spread of a higher culture; and this event marks a new epoch in the world's history.

III. DISSOLUTION OF ALEXANDER'S EMPIRE

Wars of Succession; Battle of Ipsus (301 B.C.). — The power of Alexander is seen in the fact that no one else was able to wield the authority which he himself had exercised. The years which followed his death were years of intrigue and war between his different generals who attempted to succeed him (known as the "Diad'ochi"). At first Perdic'cas tried to rule. He divided the provinces among the other chieftains, who, however, refused to recognize his authority. Afterward Antig'onus aspired to the position of great king. But he was opposed by the other generals, who were themselves getting control of various provinces — Cassan'der of Macedonia, Lysim'achus of Thrace, Seleu'cus of Syria, and Ptol'emy of Egypt. After years of bitter strife, Antigonus was defeated and slain at the battle of Ipsus in Phrygia; and the victorious generals divided among themselves the fragments of the empire.

Kingdom of the Seleucidæ; Syria. — Even before the battle of Ipsus, Seleucus had succeeded in getting possession of Babylon and a large part of the eastern provinces. He now received in addition Mesopotamia, Syria, and the eastern part of Asia Minor. He removed his capital from Babylon to Antioch in Syria; but in this way he also weakened his hold upon his eastern provinces. He divided his whole territory into seventy-two satrapies, ruled not by natives but by Greeks and

Macedonians. The eastern provinces were intrusted to his son Antiochus, who afterward succeeded to his father's throne (280 B.C.). This extensive empire was known as Syria, or the "Kingdom of the Seleucids," and remained the greatest power in Asia until the Roman conquest (64 B.C.).

Kingdom of the Ptolemies ; Egypt. — Ptolemy I. (Soter) was one of Alexander's generals who was put in possession of Egypt directly after the death of the conqueror, and had maintained himself there during the wars of succession. He afterward added to his kingdom Palestine, lower Syria (Coele-Syria), and Cyprus. Under his administration and that of his successors Egypt rose to prosperity and greatness. The first Ptolemy organized the kingdom into provinces based upon the ancient nomes; but the civil and military authority was placed in the hands of Greeks and Macedonians. Alexandria became the great commercial emporium of the Mediterranean, and the center of the world's learning. Egypt remained the land of commerce and of culture until it was absorbed by the Roman empire (30 B.C.).

Kingdom of Macedonia and Greece. — After the death of Alexander the Greeks made a fresh attempt to throw off the power of Macedonia. This unsuccessful revolt, which is known as the "Lamian war" (323–321 B.C.), was inspired chiefly by Demosthenes, who after its disastrous close fled from Athens and took his own life by poison. The Greeks still remained under the influence of Macedonia; and their political history has no unusual interest for us until the rise of the Achaean and Ætolian leagues, which we shall notice hereafter. After the battle of Ipsus, Macedonia fell into the hands of Cassander, who received it as his share of Alexander's empire. His successors were chiefly occupied in maintaining their influence over the Greek cities, until they came into contact with the rising power of Rome.

Minor Fragments of the Empire. — Besides these most important fragments of Alexander's empire, there arose a number of smaller states which we need only mention here. The ter-

ritory comprising Thrace and portions of Asia Minor had been granted after the battle of Ipsus to Lysimachus. But this kingdom soon fell to pieces. Thrace was attached to Macedonia; and in Asia Minor there grew up the new kingdoms of Pergamum, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, and the island republic of Rhodes, which included some of the cities on the adjacent coast.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

- Smith, Ch. 44, "Alexander the Great" (10).¹
 Curteis, Ch. 9, "Alexander in Asia Minor" (17).
 Allcroft, Vol. V., Ch. 9, "From Granicus to Arbela" (10).
 Bury, Ch. 17, "Conquest of Persia" (10).
 Wheeler, Alexander, Ch. 19, "The Siege of Tyre" (27).
 Holm, Vol. III., Ch. 26, "Concluding Years of Alexander's Reign" (11).
 Dodge, Alexander, Ch. 27, "Arbela" (27).
 Timayenis, Vol. II., Part IX., "The Successors" (11).
 Mahaffy, Survey, Ch. 8, "Alexander and his Successors" (10).
 Arrian, Anabasis, Bk. I., Chs. 12-17, Battle of the Granicus (13).

SPECIAL STUDY

THE CHARACTER OF ALEXANDER. — Oman, Ch. 44 (10); Wheeler, Alexander, Ch. 31 (27); Curteis, Ch. 17 (17); Allcroft, Vol. V., pp. 155-158 (10); Holm, Vol. III., Ch. 27 (11); Freeman, pp. 161-206 (12); Mahaffy, Problems, Ch. 8 (12); Dodge, Alexander, Ch. 48 (27); Plutarch, "Alexander" (13).

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

CHAPTER XXVI

GREEK CULTURE AND THE EASTERN WORLD

I. HELLENIC AND HELLENISTIC CULTURE

Alexander and Hellenism. — The real greatness of Alexander rests upon the fact that he put himself in harmony with the highest civilization of his age, and gave to it the character of a world culture. It was, in fact, the alliance of Alexander with Hellenism that created a new epoch in the world's history. Without the civilization of Greece at his back, the conquests of Alexander might have had scarcely more significance than those of other great warriors. On the other hand, without Alexander for its champion, Greek civilization might not have attained its world-wide influence. We should, therefore, think of Alexander not so much as the one who conquered the Eastern world as the one who paved the way for the spread of Greek civilization. While we give him personally all the credit due him as a conqueror and civilizer, we must still remember that the regeneration which he wrought was due ultimately to the great superiority and civilizing influence of the culture of Greece.

Hellenic Culture in Greece. — In taking a brief review of the general culture which had its beginning in this period, we may first look at Greece itself, where the Hellenic spirit was least affected by Oriental influences. Athens was still the center of Grecian life and thought. Here flourished the men who represented better than elsewhere the continuance of the old Hellenic spirit. Here Demosthenes and Æschines continued to deliver their orations in pure Attic Greek, while Macedonia was winning her way to power. Here Aristotle continued to write his works on philosophy and science, while

Alexander was extending his arms to the Indus. Here comedy continued to flourish in the writings of Menan'der; and painting survived in the famous portraits and other works produced by Apelles. These men represented the old Hellenic culture — a culture which had been developing in Greece since the days of the Persian wars, but which was destined to lose its Attic purity by contact with the thought and spirit of the East.



MENANDER

Post-Aristotelian Philosophy. — One of the evidences of the influence of the East upon the native culture of Greece is seen in the growth of certain new schools of philosophy which followed Aristotle. These schools were a protest, not only against the old religious ideas of the Greeks, but also against the foreign superstitions which were coming into Greece from the East. The foremost of these schools were the Epicurean and the Stoic. The Epicurean school took its name from Epicurus, who was born at Samos and had taught in the cities of Asia Minor before he came to Athens. Epicurus tried to rescue men from the influence of superstition and the old mythological ideas concerning the gods. According to his teachings, if there are any gods such as people imagine, they have nothing to do with the world and with human life. Men should be influenced, not by the fear of the gods, but by the desire to obtain the highest happiness — not the passing pleasure of the hour, but the permanent happiness of a lifetime. The Stoic philosophy, which was a higher system than the Epicurean, was founded by Zeno. He taught in the Stoa Poikile (Painted Porch), from which his school received its name. He also rejected the prevailing mythological notions.

and believed that the world is governed by a Universal Reason which is revealed in the laws of nature. According to Zeno, men should live, not to appease the gods, but to conform to the highest "law of nature." He also sympathized with the broader ideas of the age, and believed that men's duties should not be limited to their own city or even to Greece, but should extend to all mankind.

In these new schools of philosophy we may see some of the influences of the new period — the influx of Oriental superstition which these schools tried to withstand, and also the desire to enter into the new world spirit which followed the breaking down of national barriers. The new philosophy taught that every one should be, not simply a member of his own city, but a "citizen of the world."

The Spread of Hellenism in the East. — But the most interesting feature of this age is not so much the influence of Oriental ideas upon the old culture of Greece, as the diffusion of the Hellenic culture into other parts of the world — that is, the "Hellenizing" of the Orient. This was due, not only to the work of Alexander himself, but to the continuance of his policy by his successors. Like him, they also planted new cities, placed over them Greek and Macedonian governors, encouraged Greek colonization, introduced the customs of Greek life, favored the use of the Greek language, and patronized Greek learning and art. These new cities became new centers of Greek civilization, and in some respects they surpassed the older cities of Greece. The accumulated wealth of the East was used to construct splendid works of art, fashioned upon Greek models — temples, colonnades, sculptures, market places, gardens. The ambition of princes to conquer the lands of their neighbors became tempered by the desire to surpass their rivals as patrons of art, literature, and science. In such ways as these the Greeks became the citizens of the world, and the culture of Greece became the heritage of other people.

Meaning of Hellenistic Culture. — As we consider this great movement by which the Greek language and civilization were

gradually extended over the East, there is one important point which should be kept in mind. This is the fact that the culture which had been developed by the Greeks themselves was considerably modified by being taken up by the people of foreign countries. For example, the Greek language, when spoken by a Syrian, a Jew, or an Egyptian, would no longer remain the pure language of Sophocles or Plato, but would acquire features foreign to the Attic tongue. So the architecture and sculpture of Greece would have impressed upon them a certain Oriental character and spirit, which would distinguish them from the art of Phidias and Praxiteles. To this Greek culture modified by Oriental influences we apply the term "Hellenistic," to distinguish it from the purer Greek culture of the Greeks themselves, which we call "Hellenic." The Hellenistic culture, then, refers to the language and civilization of the people of the East who adopted the speech and culture of the Greeks. It is, in short, the Orientalized form of Hellenism.¹ The Greek influence extended into central Asia and as far east as the Indus; but the chief seats of the Hellenistic culture were the countries on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean — Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt.

II. HELLENISTIC CULTURE IN ASIA MINOR

Pergamum as a Center of Culture. — We remember that from very early times the coast cities of Asia Minor had been in the possession of the Greeks, and were in fact the primitive seats of the Hellenic civilization. But as the result of Persian encroachments, they had become estranged from Greece and had fallen under Oriental influence. The new culture, therefore, which now sprang up in Asia Minor after the conquests of Alexander, was really Hellenistic, though possessing less foreign elements than the culture either of Syria or of Egypt. The chief seat of the new civilization in Asia Minor was the

¹ For the proper use of the term "Hellenistic," see Holm, Vol. IV., p. 5, note.

city of Pergamum — the capital of the kingdom of the same name. The kings of this country came to be wealthy and somewhat powerful monarchs. They gained an enviable reputation by ending the depredations of the Gauls — a barbarian people who in the third century invaded Greece and Asia



THE GREAT ALTAR AT PERGAMUM (Restoration)

Minor, and were finally settled in the province of Galatia, in the interior of Asia Minor. This victory over the Gauls was the great heroic event in the history of Pergamum, and was commemorated in many works of art.

Architecture and Sculpture of Pergamum. — The kings of Pergamum adorned their capital with splendid buildings, which rivaled the architecture of Athens. Here we find an agora, surrounded by public buildings and porticoes. Here we find a theater, temples, and colonnades like those of Greece. The central architectural feature of the city was a vast altar dedicated to Zeus Soter (the Savior). This was built by Eumenes II. to commemorate the victory over the barbarian Gauls, and the divine assistance then given. The altar was situated on the summit of the acropolis, said to have been more than eight hundred feet above the level of the sea. It was adorned

with elaborate sculptures and especially with a gigantic frieze on which was represented the battle between the gods and the barbarian giants. This altar with its decorations was regarded as one of the marvels of the ancient world. We have preserved to us a valuable relic of the Pergamean art, and also of the Gallic invasion, in the well-known copy of the Dying Gaul, usually called the "Dying Gladiator." This is worth our careful study as a specimen of Hellenistic art, showing a departure from the purest Greek models in the realistic representation of a wounded barbarian warrior.



THE DYING GAUL

Literature and Science of Pergamum. — This city was a center not only of art, but also of learning. Although it made no important contributions to literature, it was distinguished for a remarkable collection of literary works — a library of two hundred thousand volumes, which rivaled the more renowned collection at Alexandria. Books, or rather manuscripts, had previously been written upon Egyptian papyrus. But as the exportation of this material was prohibited by the Egyp-

tians, the kings of Pergamum adopted in its place the skins of animals (called *Pergament chartæ*, from which comes our word "parchment"). The city of Pergamum also became the home of many scientific men, — grammarians, mathematicians, natural philosophers, and physicians, — of whom many acquired great renown, as Cra'tes in philology, and Galen in medicine.

The School of Rhodes. — Another important center of Hellenistic culture in Asia Minor was Rhodes, famous for its school of rhetoric and its code of maritime law. The art of Rhodes reveals the same Oriental influences that appeared at Perga-



LAOCOÖN AND HIS SONS

mum. This is seen in the taste for colossal figures and impressive groups of statuary. The famous Colossus of Rhodes, a statue one hundred and fifty feet high, was reckoned as one of the seven wonders of the world. The most important example of Rhodian sculpture that remains to us is the group of Laocoön, a priest of Apollo, and his sons, who were destroyed by serpents sent by Athena. The agony depicted upon the face of the priest, though wonder-

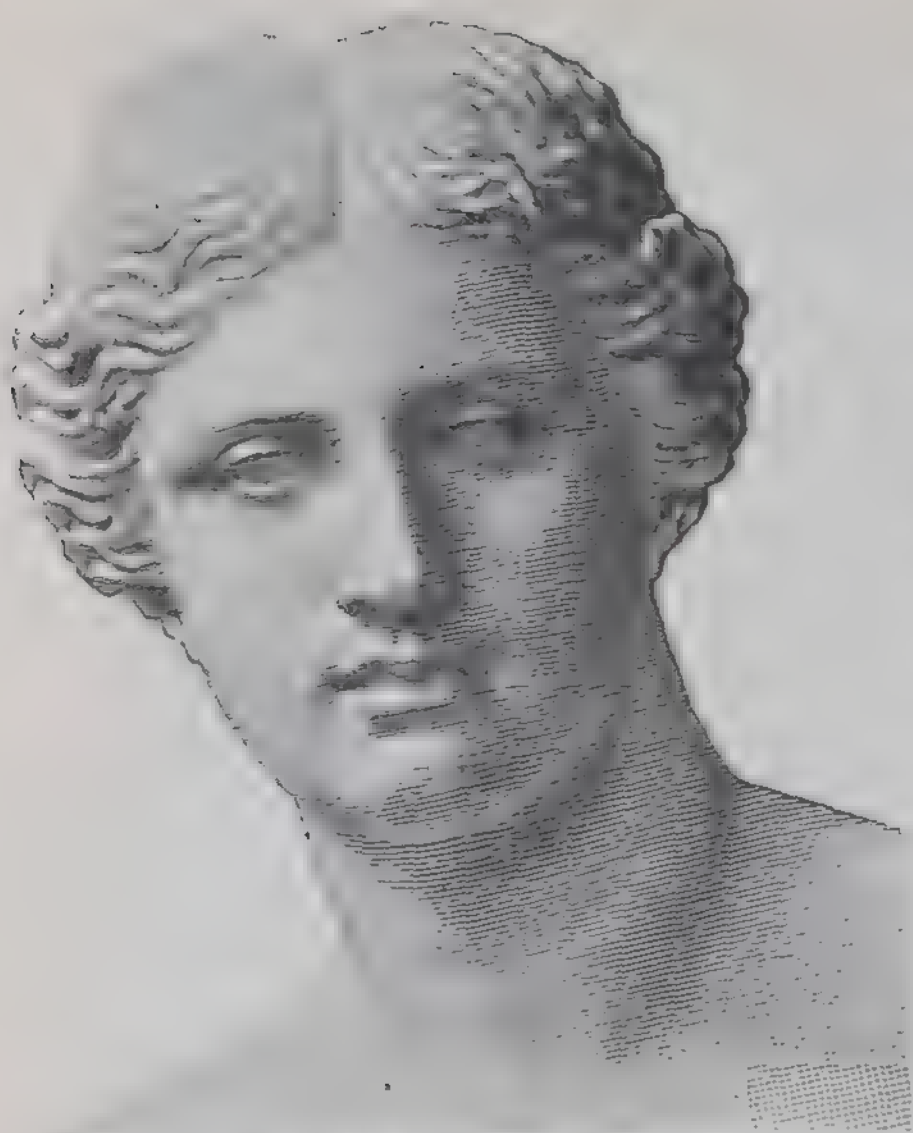
fully expressive, is far removed from the calm repose which marks the purer Hellenic art.

Examples of Pure Hellenic Art. — As we study the art of what is called the "Hellenistic period," we should bear in mind the fact that not all the works produced at this time show in an equal degree the influence of Orientalism. Some works show this influence to a greater, and some to a less extent. Before we leave the shores of the Ægean, we should therefore notice



HEAD OF THE APOLLO BELVEDERE

at least two examples of the art of this period which preserve in the greatest degree the pure Hellenic spirit, and to which is given a high rank among the statues of the world. One of these is the Apollo Belvedere, which is now generally assigned to this period, although the place where it was produced is not known. So nearly does it approach the perfect Greek style, that it has been said that in it "we see Lysippus in the form and Praxiteles in the face" (Perry). The other example of the pure Hellenic art of this period, and one which is per-



HEAD OF THE APHRODITE OF MELOS

haps still more remarkable, is the Aphrodite found on the island of Melos, and usually called the "Venus of Melos." Scarcely any figure of ancient art has been more admired than this. The faces of these two marble statues express the Greek ideal of perfect masculine and feminine beauty. In them we see that grace of form and calmness of spirit which the Greeks regarded as essential to the purest art.

III. HELLENISTIC CULTURE IN SYRIA

The Civilization of the Seleucidæ. — From the Greek culture of Asia Minor, in which the Hellenic spirit predominated, we pass to the Greek culture of Syria, in which a much larger Oriental element may be seen. Syria, or rather the kingdom of the Seleucidæ, was the largest division of Alexander's empire, extending from the Mediterranean to the Indus, and containing the most wealthy cities of the East. The Seleucidæ were the most zealous followers of Alexander in the founding of new cities. These new towns, which numbered more than seventy, became the active centers of Greek influence. They were colonized by Greeks. In them the Greek language was spoken; Greek methods of city government were adopted; the commercial spirit of the Greeks was present; and Greek buildings were erected. But these Greek towns, springing up by the side of the older Asiatic cities, felt the influence of Oriental customs and ideas. The Greeks

absorbed the Oriental love of wealth and passion for luxury, and developed a form of life which was neither purely Greek nor purely Eastern, but a mingling of the two — a composite culture in which the Oriental features were improved and the Hellenic features debased.

Antioch as a Center of Culture. — The city which presents the most conspicuous type of this Græco-Oriental or Hellenistic culture in Syria was An'tioch, the capital of the kingdom. The original city was founded by Seleucus I. (Nica'tor), and named in honor of his father Antiochus. The great influx of population compelled a second, a third, and a fourth addition, so that the city became at last a quadruple city (*tetrapolis*). Here gathered the people of many nations: but the prevailing form of culture was Greek, imbued with the Oriental taste for magnificence. The buildings glistened with precious stones and ornaments of gold. The broad, regular streets were lined with the most splendid porticoes, colonnades, and statues. Beyond the walls of the city was the cypress grove of Daphne, said to be one of the most attractive places in the world. It contained the tree of Daphne, into which this nymph, according to tradition, was changed when fleeing from Apollo. The grove was reached by a road passing through beautiful villas and gardens enlivened with fountains and medicinal springs. It was adorned with stately temples, baths, and places of amusement. In the temple of Apollo was a colossal statue of that god, said to rival the Zeus of Phidias. All this fondness for luxury shows that the Greeks, while exercising a powerful influence upon the East, were themselves coming under the spell of Orientalism.

Attempt to Hellenize the Jews. — The only opposition to the Hellenizing movement in western Asia appeared in Judea. Here the people were attached to their ancient language and religion. It is said that Alexander offered strong inducements for the Jews to settle in Alexandria, where they could retain their religion unmolested. Many of them took advantage of this offer; but while preserving their own religion, they could not

help imbibing much of the Hellenistic spirit. In Judea itself, however, the people succeeded in resisting these foreign influences. It is true that the Jewish magnates in Palestine sometimes affected the Greek culture, by learning to speak the Greek language and adopting Greek names; but the mass of the people clung to their Hebrew language and customs. When Palestine passed from the control of Egypt to that of Syria, a systematic attempt was made by the Syrian king Antiochus IV. (Epiph'anes) to force upon the Jews the Greek language and customs, including the Greek religion. This was accompanied by a most unjust and bitter persecution. It aroused a national revolt, which ended only with the establishment of the independence of the Jewish nation.

IV. HELLENISTIC CULTURE IN EGYPT

Alexandria as a Center of Culture.—In Egypt we find the most important intellectual center of the Hellenistic world. The Ptolemies did not, like the Seleucidae, attempt to bring the whole kingdom under Greek influence by the erection of many new cities. They rather attempted to concentrate into a single focus the various elements of Greek culture. This focus was the city of Alexandria, founded by the great conqueror himself. It was first of all a commercial center, taking the place of Tyre as the important emporium of the Mediterranean. It came to be the most cosmopolitan city of the world, with a population of nearly a million inhabitants, made up of Egyptians, Greeks, Macedonians, Jews, and people from nearly every Asiatic country. The ideas of various people found here a common meeting place. The Ptolemies respected the religion of the Egyptians and that of the Jews, while clinging to their own Grecian gods. But these various religions were often mingled with one another. The god Sera'pis, for example, was a deity which united the character of the Greek Zeus and that of the Egyptian Osiris. Though the surrounding country was not attractive, the architecture of

the city united Greek taste with Oriental splendor. There were many public buildings, such as theaters, amphitheaters, race courses, and sanctuaries; but the most imposing of these was the Serape'um, the temple of the common god Serapis.

Museum and Library of Alexandria. — Alexandria obtained its highest renown as the home of scholars. Here we find blended the Greek and the Egyptian taste for philosophy and science. The most famous work of the Ptolemies was the establishment of the Museum and the Library. The Museum was a collection of buildings dedicated to the Muses, and might not inaptly be called a "University." Here were gathered the philosophers, scholars, and students of all countries — Greece, Asia Minor, Judea, Babylon, and even India. It is said that at one time as many as fourteen thousand students found a home in Alexandria. In connection with the Museum were botanical and zoölogical gardens, dissecting rooms, and astronomical observatories. But the most famous of these buildings was the great Alexandrian Library, containing over five hundred thousand manuscripts. It was the desire of the Ptolemies to possess an authentic copy of every existing work of Greek literature. This library was the most extensive collection of manuscripts in the ancient world.

The Literature and Scholarship of Alexandria. — The kind of literary work done at Alexandria was less creative than critical. The literature which was produced at this time was mostly elegiac and lyric poetry. One poet of this period holds the first rank among the pastoral poets of the world: this poet was Theoc'ritus. Although born at Syracuse, he lived at Alexandria. His "Idylls," describing the beauties of nature, have been admired by all people, and perhaps approach more nearly than any other literature of this period to the pure æsthetic spirit of the early Greeks. His contemporaries in a similar class of poetry, Bion of Ionia and Moschus of Syracuse, although greatly esteemed, do not possess an equal felicity and charm. History also was cultivated by Manetho, an Egyptian priest, who wrote the "Chronicles of Egypt"; while the

Babylonian Berosus was doing a similar kind of work for Chaldean history. But the most thorough literary scholarship of Alexandria was devoted to the critical study of the ancient Greek texts. Aristarchus may be called the father of textual criticism and the science of grammar. Translations, too, formed a part of the work of these Alexandrian scholars. The most noted of these translations was the Septuagint, a Greek version of the Jewish Scriptures.

The Alexandrian Science and Philosophy. — Alexandria was a meeting place for Greek and Oriental science; and a great impulse was given in the direction of a more strictly scientific method. There are many famous names of scientists connected with this seat of ancient learning. Euclid was the founder of our modern geometry. Modern astronomy has grown out of the works of Hipparchus and Ptolemy. Eratosthenes was the first to give a mathematical estimate of the size of the earth. Archimedes, a native of Syracuse, came here to study; he was a noted mathematician, and made brilliant discoveries in physical and mechanical science. In Alexandria, also, we see in later times a remarkable mingling of the philosophical ideas of the world — Greek idealism, Jewish monotheism, Oriental mysticism, and afterward even Christian theology. But the complex systems which grew up under such names as "Neoplatonism" and "Gnosticism," we need not attempt to explain. For us they simply illustrate, like the other phases of Alexandrian culture, the various ideas and forms of thought resulting from the union of the Greek and the Oriental world which followed the conquests of Alexander.

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Felton, Vol. II., pp. 275-278, "Spread of Hellenism" (11).¹

Timayenis, Vol. II., pp. 237-242, "Hellenism in the East" (11).

Holm, Vol. IV., Ch. 14, "Culture of the Greek World, 300-220 B.C." (11).

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

- Mahaffy, Survey, Ch. 9, "The Hellenistic World" (10).
 ——— Greek Life, Ch. 9, "Alexandria and its Rivals" (17).
 Gardner, P., Ch. 15, "Successors of Alexander and Greek Civilization" (14).
 Gardner, E. A., Handbook, Ch. 5, "The Hellenistic Age" (19).
 Tarbell, Ch. 10, "Hellenistic Period of Greek Sculpture" (19).
 Perry, Ch. 45, "Plastic Art in Rhodes" (19).

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THE ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL. — Mahaffy, Survey, pp. 282-284 (10);
 Mahaffy, Greek Life, Chs. 9-12 (17); Holm, Vol. IV., Ch. 20 (11);
 Draper's Intellectual Development in Europe, pp. 138-153.

PERIOD VII. UNION OF GREECE AND THE OCCIDENT
(229-146 B.C.)

CHAPTER XXVII

MACEDONIA AND THE GREEK FEDERATIONS

I. THE DECLINE OF MACEDONIA

Character of the New Period. — If the study of the previous period has shown to us the extension of Greek civilization to the East, the study of the present period will show to us a movement quite as important — the extension of Greek civilization to the West. In this movement Macedonia continues to play a certain part, but a part entirely different from that taken in the previous period. Then we saw that Greece was brought into relations with the Eastern world by the Macedonian conquest of Persia. Now we shall see that Greece is brought into relation with the Western world by the Roman conquest of Macedonia. To understand, then, the manner in which Greece became united to the Occident, we must consider first of all the decline of the Macedonian power.

External Dangers to Macedonia. — Since the breaking up of Alexander's empire, Macedonia had suffered from external invasions and encroachments which left her in an impoverished and distressed condition. The vast horde of barbarian Gauls which entered Asia Minor (see page 324) had previously invaded Macedonia. They had defeated her armies, devastated her territory, and weakened her resources. Macedonia had also found a dangerous rival in the Molossian kingdom, which had grown up near by on the shores of the Ionian Sea in Epirus

(see map, page 285). This kingdom had reached its highest power under Pyrrhus, who made an expedition to the West to assist Tarentum against the Romans, and to deliver Sicily from the Carthaginians. To extend his kingdom Pyrrhus had also made continual encroachments upon Macedonia, and had twice wrested the crown from the Macedonian kings. The apparent helplessness of Macedonia in the presence of her foreign enemies is sufficient to show the weak condition into which she had fallen since the days of Philip and Alexander the Great.

Character of the Macedonian Kings. — But the weakness of Macedonia is especially seen in the character of her later kings. Their reigns were characterized by ambition, intrigue, treachery, and murder. The long line which extended from Cassander to Perseus can scarcely show a name which is not stained by some dishonorable or criminal act. The chief policy of these kings was to maintain themselves upon the throne against the schemes of their rivals, and to prevent the Greek cities from obtaining their independence.

II. THE ÆTOLIAN AND ACHÆAN LEAGUES

The Ætolian League in Central Greece. — While the Macedonian kings were trying to maintain their authority in Greece, there came into prominence two confederations, which were the most important factors in later Greek politics. In the course of time they came to include the most important states of Greece, except Athens and Sparta. One of these confederations was the Ætolian league in central Greece. This had existed from very early times in the remote district of Ætolia, as a union of mountain tribes, banded together for mutual protection and common plunder. The Greeks generally had regarded these tribes as scarcely civilized; but they had obtained a reputation for valor by their aid in defending Greece at the time of the great Gallic invasion (280 B.C.) They had a common federal government, consisting of a gen-

eral, a council, and a popular assembly. The league gradually extended its power so as to include Locris, Phocis, Bœotia, and parts of Thessaly, the island of Cephallenia, and also



THE ÆTOLIAN AND ACHÆAN LEAGUES,
ABOUT 229 B.C.

Elis in the Peloponnesus. The Ætolians did not possess a high reputation for honor; and Polyb'ius says that "they were dangerous alike to friend and to foe."

The Achæan League in the Peloponnesus. — A body quite similar to the Ætolian league in its organization, but far superior in its character, was the Achæan league, which comprised most of the states in the Peloponnesus. From very ancient times there had existed in Achaia

a union of twelve cities. They had always shown a peaceful disposition, and had hitherto kept aloof from the wars of their neighbors. The Macedonian kings had found little difficulty in dissolving this league, and in placing over its towns military garrisons. But about the time of the Gallic invasion, the cities began to draw together again. They drove out the foreign garrisons, and the league was reestablished to maintain the liberties of Greece against the encroachments of Macedonian kings.

Extension of the Achæan League by Aratus. — The real power and greatness of the Achæan league were due to the famous leader Ara'tus, who for a time appeared as the deliverer of Greece from Macedonian rule. The first work of Aratus was

to liberate his own native city, Sicyon, from its tyrant. He then induced the league to accept this city as one of its members. He was himself elected as general of the league. He then drove the Macedonian garrison from Corinth, and brought that city also within the union. Megara followed; and there was a general movement among the Peloponnesian towns to join the league. In a few years (229 B.C.) the whole Peloponnesus, except Laconia and Elis, was combined in a single federal state—the most advanced political organization that had ever existed in Greece.

Constitution of the Achæan League.—This league is often referred to as the most striking example of a federal republic existing in the ancient world; and we should therefore notice its principal features. In the first place, each city retained its equality and independence—having its own government, electing its own officers, and managing its own local affairs. In the next place, the general powers of the league were vested in a central or federal government. This consisted of (1) a general (or president), and a council or cabinet of ten persons who exercised administrative powers; (2) a boule, or senate, of about one hundred and twenty persons, which prepared measures for the assembly and managed foreign affairs; and (3) an assembly of the whole people, in which the citizens of each city possessed one vote. The assembly passed all federal laws, and elected all federal officers. As the federal assembly was not a representative body, and as all the citizens would not be disposed to attend its meeting, there was a tendency for the league, although democratic in theory, to become aristocratic in fact, and also for the general to exercise a great influence in shaping its policy.

III. THE WORKING OF THE LEAGUES

Friendly Relations with Rome. Nearly the whole of Greece was now organized into these two federal states. If they could have united in the defense of their common liberties,

they might perhaps have been able to throw off the Macedonian yoke. An event occurred which seemed favorable to such a union. This was the friendly alliance which they established with Rome, the new power that was growing up in the West. The Romans were annoyed by depredations made upon their commerce by the Illyrian pirates. These pirates were also attacking the commerce of the Greek cities. The interests of Rome and Greece seemed for the time to be at one. Both leagues joined with Rome in destroying these common enemies (229 B.C.); and in return for this aid the Romans sent legates to the Ætolians, and the Achæans, and even to Athens, to assure them that she was the natural ally and protector of the Greek states. But this common friendship for Rome was unfortunately not sufficient to allay the spirit of rivalry among the cities themselves, or to prevent the continued interference of the Macedonian king.

The Achæan League and Sparta.—The only state of the Peloponnesus which was now acting alone was Sparta. Once the head of the Peloponnesian confederacy, Sparta was now envious of the growing influence of the Achæans. She was herself trying to recover some of her ancient prestige. She had reformed and strengthened her decaying institutions through the efforts of her two energetic kings, Agis III. and Cleomenes III. Cleomenes believed that the interests of Sparta required the breaking up of the Achæan league. He appealed to the Ætolians, and with their aid waged a successful war against the Achæans. The cause of the Achæans seemed about to be lost, when their general Aratus felt obliged to appeal to Macedonia for aid. The Macedonian king, Antigonus, was quite willing to lend a helping hand, since he saw an opportunity to strengthen his own authority in Greece. He invaded the Peloponnesus, defeated Cleomenes in the battle of Sella'sia (221 B.C.), and forced Sparta into submission. But the most unwelcome result of this so-called "Cleomenic war" was its effect upon the Achæan league. The league was originally organized to repel the power of

Macedonia; but now, by accepting the assistance of Macedonia, it was compelled to submit to the Macedonian authority.

Conflict between the Leagues (220-217 B.C.). — By the defeat of Sparta and the submission of the Achæans, the Ætolians were left the strongest independent power in Hellas. It was now their turn to make an attempt to establish their supremacy. The time seemed especially favorable on account of the recent death of the warlike king,

Antigonus, and the accession of the young Philip V. to the Macedonian throne. The Ætolians accordingly invaded the Peloponnesus and made war upon the Achæans. They obtained the assistance of Sparta, still smarting under her recent defeat. In this war between the leagues, — called the "Social war," — the young Macedonian



PHILIP V.

king felt bound to protect his Achæan allies. He entered upon a series of vigorous campaigns by land and sea against the Ætolians. He was everywhere successful. Ætolia and the whole of Greece seemed on the point of being reduced to the condition of a Macedonian province, when Philip received the news that the Romans had been defeated in a great battle by Han'nibal. He determined to make peace with the Greeks, and to join Hannibal against the Romans. By the terms of this peace — the Peace of Naupactus (217 B.C.), — the two leagues were compelled to lay down their arms and to return to the condition in which they were at the beginning of the war — that is, the Achæans were still to recognize the authority of the king; the Spartans were to withdraw into their own territory of Laconia; and the Ætolians were to retain their independence.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Timayenis, Vol. II., "Ætolian and Achæan Leagues" (11).¹

Smith, Ch. 46, "From the Battle of Ipsus to the Conquest of Greece" (10).

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

Mahaffy, *Greek Life*, Ch. 18, "The Crisis of Hellenism" (17).
 Schuckburgh, Ch. 22, "Ætolian and Achæan Leagues" (10).
 Plutarch, "Aratus," "Agis," "Cleomenes" (13).

SPECIAL STUDY

GREEK FEDERALISM. — Mahaffy, *Problems*, pp. 176-186 (12); Greenidge, Ch. 7 (20); Holm, Vol. IV., Index, "Achæan League," "Ætolian League" (11); Fowler, Ch. 10 (20); Freeman, Chs. 5-8 (20).

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE ABSORPTION OF HELLAS BY ROME

I. THE ABSORPTION OF WESTERN HELLAS

Rome versus Macedonia. — The persistent rivalry between the Greek cities rendered them incapable of uniting in a common effort to maintain their freedom. In their relations with Rome, it is true, they were beginning to have a common feeling of friendship. But in their relations to Macedonia they seemed to have no settled and common policy — now resisting her authority, and now courting her favor, just as their separate interests seemed to require. Each state regarded its own particular interests as more important than the common interests of Greece. With such a lack of national spirit, it is quite evident that Greece could never become a single free and independent state. She must either remain under the power of Macedonia, or pass under the authority of Rome. And when we compare the relative weakness of Macedonia with the growing strength of Rome, it is not difficult for us to see which of these two powers was destined to be the ruler of Greece.

Absorption of Magna Græcia. — At the time that Philip V. decided to assist Hannibal, a considerable part of the Greek world had already been absorbed by Rome. We may look back for a moment and see how Rome, starting out as a little town on the

Tiber, had extended her dominion over western Hellas, and had come to be the great rival of Macedonia. Many of the Greek cities in Italy had sought the protection of Rome against the neighboring barbarian tribes. In this way, the northern cities of Cumæ and Neapolis had been brought under her authority — and also many southern cities, like Pæstum (Posidonia), Rhegium, and Thurii (Sybaris). (For these cities, see map, page 136.) The most important Greek city in southern Italy was Tarentum, which, in a quarrel with Rome, called in the aid of Pyrrhus, the Molossian king of Epirus. But with the defeat of Pyrrhus, all the cities of Magna Græcia were brought under the Roman dominion.

Absorption of Sicily. — Rome then entered Sicily, professedly to protect the city of Messana from the Syracusans, but really to oppose the growing power of Carthage. Carthage had hitherto, as we have seen, been opposed by the powerful rulers of Syracuse, such as Dionysius the Elder, and Timoleon (pages 285, 286). After them Agathocles, one of the boldest adventurers of antiquity, made himself tyrant of Syracuse, and attempted to drive the Carthaginians from the island; and he was, in fact, the first of European soldiers "to carry the war into Africa." But in spite of his courageous efforts, Carthage still retained her hold upon the western towns of Sicily. It remained for the Romans, after a tedious war of twenty-three years, — the first Punic war, — to accomplish what others had failed to do. The Carthaginians were driven from the island, and Sicily was made a Roman province. It was not long before all the Greek cities of the west (including Massilia in Gaul) were gathered into the Roman state.

II. THE LIBERATION OF GREECE FROM MACEDONIA

Renewed Friendship between Greece and Rome. — Rome had gained the reputation of being the enemy of the greater powers, and the friend of the weaker states. The greater powers hence sought her destruction; and the weaker ones sought her pro-

tection. When, now, the great Carthaginian soldier, Hannibal, invaded Italy for the purpose of destroying Rome, and when the Macedonian king, Philip V., had decided to help him, Rome entered once more into friendly relations with the Greek cities, in order to prevent the king from invading Italy. To weaken the power of Philip, she formed an alliance with the Ætolians. At the same time Sparta, Messenia, and Elis declared themselves to be the "friends of Rome." As the Greek cities had before united with Rome against the Illyrian pirates, so they now felt bound to Rome by a common hatred toward Macedonia. The triumph for Rome, it seemed, would be a triumph for Greece.

Revival of the Achæans under Philopœmen. — The Achæans now thought they saw an opportunity to throw off the authority of the Macedonian king and to recover their lost power in the Peloponnesus. They were led in this movement by their greatest statesman, Philopœmen, who has been called "the last of the Greeks." This man had already proved himself to be an able soldier in the "Cleomenic war," and now he was appointed general of the Achæan league. He carried on a successful war against Sparta, and compelled that city to join the league. Elis also now forsook the Ætolians, and joined the Achæans, so that the whole Peloponnesus was for the first time united in one federal state. The Greek cities were inspired once more with the hope of freedom; and at the next Nemean festival Philopœmen was hailed as the "liberator of his country."

Overthrow of the Macedonian Supremacy. — But whatever the Greeks might have hoped, the Macedonian king was not yet disposed to give up his claims as the rightful ruler of Hellas. He still possessed three strong garrisons, by which he believed he could hold the country in subjection, and which he styled "the fetters of Greece." One of these "fetters" was at Demetrius in Thessaly; another at Chalcis in Eubœa; and the third at Acrocorinthus, a lofty citadel overlooking the walls of Corinth. The king had also laid siege to the city of Athens, which was not a member of either league. The time had now

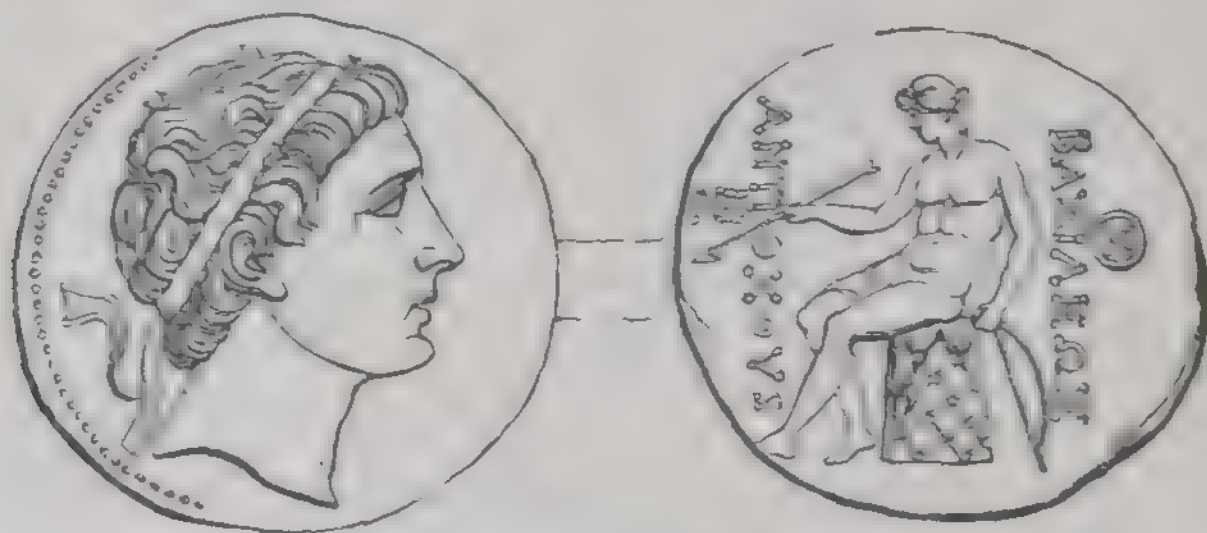
come for Rome not only to punish Philip for taking the side of her arch-enemy, Hannibal, but also to maintain her position as the defender of the Greek cities. In the war which followed—the second Macedonian war (200–197 B.C.)—the siege of Athens was raised by a Roman fleet; the Achaean league declared for Rome; and the Macedonian army was defeated by the Roman general Flamininus at Cynoscephalæ in Thessaly (197 B.C.). This destroyed the last vestige of Macedonian authority in Greece.

The Liberation of Greece.—Greece was now freed from Macedonia; but her liberties were in the hands of her deliverer, Rome. It was a question whether the Greek cities were really to be free, or whether they had simply exchanged one master for another. This question was settled when Flamininus at the next Isthmian festival proclaimed “the liberation of Greece” (196 B.C.). In the name of Rome he declared the states to be free and independent; that the Achaian and Achaean leagues should retain their federal constitutions; that only those fortresses which had been garrisoned by Philip, including the “three fortresses,” should be held by Rome. But on the complaint of the Achaians, even these garrisons were withdrawn (194 B.C.).

III. THE ABSORPTION OF MACEDONIA AND GREECE

Revolt of the Achaians.—If the public spirit of the Greeks had been equal to the generosity of the Romans, there seems to be no reason why the freedom proclaimed by Flamininus might not have been maintained. Greece had been freed from the domineering policy of Philip V., and Rome had shown by her acts thus far no disposition to reestablish a similar policy. The settlement of Greece had, in the main, been satisfactory to all parties, except to the Achaians and Sparta. The Achaians were especially irritated because certain outlying cities, which Rome had freed, had not been given up to them. Inspired by such a selfish spirit, they determined to look about

for allies and to make war upon Rome. They appealed to Sparta, to Philip, and to Antiochus III., king of Syria. The Syrian king was the only one to respond to this appeal. He invaded Greece, but was soon driven out by the Roman armies.



ANTIOCHUS III. (Coin)

The Ætolians continued the war, but were soon brought to terms. They were now treated with an iron hand. They were obliged to give up the freedom which they had abused, and to acknowledge the supremacy of Rome (189 B.C.).

Reduction of Macedonia. — The crushing of the Ætolian league naturally led the Macedonian king to believe that the real policy of Rome was not that of a liberator, but that of a conqueror. Philip, therefore, made preparations to meet Rome in the field, and these preparations were continued after his death by his



PERSEUS

son and successor, Perseus. The new king not only prepared for an open war, but stirred up among the Greek cities a spirit of revolt against Rome—among the Ætolian cities, which had just been conquered, and also among the Achæan cities, which held their liberties under the guarantee of Rome. The war came; Macedonia was conquered at the battle of

Pydna (168 B.C.; map, page 300). A thousand Achæan citizens who had been active in opposing the Roman cause,—among whom was the historian Polybius,—were transported as captives to Italy. Macedonia was now compelled to recognize the

Roman supremacy; and in a few years (146 B.C.) the whole country was reduced to the form of a Roman province under a Roman governor.

Reduction of the Achaean League. — The last independent state of any importance now remaining in Greece was the Achaean league. If Rome had hitherto felt under obligation to maintain the freedom of this league, she now felt released of this obligation on account of what seemed to be the treachery of the Achaeans themselves, during the last Macedonian war. But she still showed a sort of generosity by permitting the return of the Achaean captives. These captives, however, still retained their hostile feeling toward Rome. But the direct cause of Rome's intervention in the affairs of the Hellenism was a quarrel between the Achaean league and Sparta on a question of boundaries. Sparta appealed to Rome, and a commission was sent to Greece to settle the dispute. The award of the commission was rejected by the Achaeans, and the spirit of revolt was kindled, especially at Corinth. The Roman armies were sent to enforce the award, and to reduce the rebellious cities. Corinth was destroyed (146 B.C.); the Achaean cities were punished, and all Greece came under the Roman authority. A few cities like Athens, Sparta, and Sicyon were allowed to retain their freedom, while the rest of Greece was placed under the authority of the Roman governor of Macedonia (146 B.C.).

By the steps which we have thus briefly traced the whole Hellenic world was absorbed into the Roman republic. And you might also add that, in the process of time, the chief Hellenistic countries of the East — Pergamum, Syria, and Egypt — were also brought under the Roman authority; so that Rome became at last the universal successor to the civilization of Greece.

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Timonyan, Vol. II., Part IX., Ch. 10. "The Roman Conquest" (11).

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

Holm, Vol. IV., Ch. 15, "Greece during the Roman Period" (11).
 Mahaffy, Problems, Ch. 10, "The Romans in Greece" (12); Greek
 Life, Ch. 19, "Gradual Subjection of Hellenism to Rome" (17).
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 Plutarch, "Philopœmen" (13).

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CHAPTER XXIX

GREEK CULTURE AND THE WESTERN WORLD

I. GREEK CULTURE AFTER THE ROMAN CONQUEST

Continuance of Greek Culture. — We have closed the political history of Greece with the fall of Corinth (146 B.C.); but when we consider the influence of Greece upon the world, we are obliged to say that her intellectual history did not cease at that time. The great significance of Greece, like that of any other country, is to be judged by those elements of its life which it has bequeathed to other peoples. The most permanent features of Greek civilization, as we have been led to believe, were not so much her political institutions as her intellectual and æsthetic culture. We have seen that when Greece fell under the power of Macedonia, her spirit gave a new life to the Eastern world. It is just as true that when she came under the power of Rome, her culture became a valuable heritage to the Western world. To get some idea of the historical importance of Greece, we should take at least a brief survey of her continued influence after she lost her political independence.

Later Seats of Greek Learning. — After the "fall of Greece" there still remained in the Greek world certain centers of learn

ing where the Greek culture was made the subject-matter of education. Athens itself remained an educational center, where were still taught the principles of Greek rhetoric, oratory, and philosophy. The students of other cities and countries flocked to Athens, as to a university, to pursue the branches which were considered necessary for a higher liberal culture. The great capitals of the East — Pergamum, Rhodes, Antioch, and Alexandria — also remained the centers of Greek intellectual life, where the Greek language, philosophy, and science retained the highest place in the course of education. In these centers of learning the old Greek thought and spirit were kept alive and made influential.

Later Greek Writings. — The Greek language continued to be used in Hellas and in the Hellenistic countries as the language of the best literature. There were many famous Greek writers who flourished after the fall of the Greek states. Polybius, an Achæan, wrote a general history in forty books (of which five remain to us entire); and this work is one of our chief authorities for the period from the second Punic war to the destruction of Corinth. Dionysius of Halicarnassus wrote a work on Roman antiquities, extending from the earliest times to the first Punic war. Diodo'rus of Sicily composed a universal history in forty books. Plutarch, a Bœotian, has given us fascinating biographies of important Greek and Roman characters. Ar'rian, a native of Bithynia, wrote the best account which we have of the expeditions of Alexander the Great. Lu'cian, who was born on the banks of the Euphrates, but who spent much time in delivering lectures in the cities of Syria, Greece, and Italy, was one of the most celebrated of Greek satirists.

Spread of Hellenism to the West. — But the continuance of Greek culture was not restricted to the land of its birth, or to the countries of the East. In many respects its most important triumph was its adoption by Rome. This seems to us the more remarkable when we compare its entrance into Italy after the fall of Hellas with its previous entrance into Asia

after the victories of Alexander. We might say that it was borne into Asia on the chariot of a conqueror, while it was brought into Italy in the chains of a captive. The Greeks who settled in the East went there as free men and citizens: but the Greeks who settled in the West came as subjects and prisoners of war. And so the words of the Roman poet are very apt when he describes the influence of Greece upon Rome by saying, "The conquered led captive the conqueror."

As the Greeks were first brought to Rome as captives in war, so the beautiful works of Greek art were carried thither as the spoils of war. It is said that one Roman general, *Emilius Paullus*, after the battle of *Pydna*, "transported his rich booty of paintings and statues—among which was an *Athena* by *Phidias*—in two hundred and fifty wagons through the streets of Rome" (*Perry*). With the fall of *Corinth* all its rich treasures were carried to Italy to adorn the Roman capital. But these works of art, plundered as they were from Greek cities, served to refine and civilize the rude people on the *Tiber*, and to extend the influence of Greece throughout western Europe.

Greek Elements in Roman Culture.—We have not to do at present with the distinctive features of Roman civilization. But we should have impressed upon our minds the fact that the new world culture which sprang up on the shores of the *Mediterranean Sea* after the Roman conquest, was made up largely of Greek elements. Whatever genius the Romans may have shown in the development of government and law, their art and literature and philosophy were derived in great part from Greek sources. While their architecture revealed the power and dignity of the Roman character, "whatever was done in the way of design, in the way of adding beauty to strength, was done wholly under the advice and direction of the Greeks" (*Mahaffy*). In the poetry of Rome we recognize the Greek muse speaking in the Latin tongue. The Roman philosophers also expounded anew the systems of *Zeno* and *Epicurus*. Even in the Roman civil law—the highest product

of the Roman mind—we may see the influence of the Stoic ideas of justice and the “law of nature.” Every step in the expansion of the Roman empire afforded a new opportunity either for the absorption or for the diffusion of the thought and ideals of Greece.

II. TRANSMISSION OF GREEK CULTURE TO MODERN TIMES

Its Preservation in the Byzantine Empire.—The diffusion of Greek culture throughout the countries of the old world—in Asia, in Africa, and in Europe—is one of the most remarkable facts of ancient history. But the wonderful vitality of Greek thought and the permanent influence of Greek ideals are even more strongly evident in the transmission of this culture to modern times. In order to understand how the Hellenism of the ancient world has become a part of the culture of our modern Western world, we should notice the channels through which the old Greek ideas have come down to us. One of these means of communication was through its preservation in the Byzantine empire—that is, that part of the Roman empire which remained in the East, after the western part was destroyed by the German barbarians. The countries of the eastern Mediterranean continued to be bound together by a common government at Byzantium, which was now called Constantinople. Here the Greek language was still spoken. Here works of Greek literature continued to be written. The old Attic writers were still studied, and the manuscripts of the ancient authors were preserved in the schools of learning and in the monasteries. In this way the Hellenic spirit was kept alive in eastern Europe until the modern period.

Its Absorption by the Arabians.—Another way in which the Greek culture was preserved and transmitted to modern times was through the Arabian conquests. When the Eastern or Byzantine empire declined in power, the Arabians—who had accepted the religion of Mohammed and whom we are accustomed to call the “Saracens”—became the successors of the

Græco-Roman civilization in western Asia and Egypt. This barbarous people became refined and civilized under the influence of the Hellenistic culture of the East. They became the students of Greek science and Greek philosophy, especially that of Aristotle. They became imbued with the love of learning, and their capitals were filled with collections of Greek manuscripts. When they extended their conquests to the west, by way of northern Africa, into Spain and southern Italy, they brought with them into western Europe the remains of the old Greek learning, which they themselves had gathered up in Syria and Egypt.

Its Revival in the Renaissance. — But the most marked revival of Greek culture in modern Europe was due not to this indirect influence exercised by the Arabians; it was due, rather, to the direct influence exercised by Greek scholars, who migrated to the West from the declining cities of the Byzantine empire. While the old government at Constantinople was falling into weakness and decay, new nations were springing into life in western Europe, — in Italy, Spain, France, Germany, and England. And in these newly formed countries of modern Europe the old culture of Greece had a new birth — a *renaissance*. When finally the Turks overran the East and captured Constantinople in the fifteenth century, the devotees of Greek learning found a refuge in Italy. The study of the Greek language and of Greek culture produced a new intellectual life, not only in Italy, but in the other countries of the West. The same kind of regenerating influence which the Hellenic culture had in earlier times exercised upon the people of the Orient, upon the Romans, and upon the Arabians, was now felt by the peoples of modern Europe. Greek art, literature, philosophy, and science found a new and genial home in the West, and gave a strong impulse in the direction of a more refined and higher intellectual life.

Its Influence in Modern Education. — The influence of Greek culture has been preserved in modern times by being incorporated in our higher educational system. The study of the

Greek language, with its capacity for fine distinctions, for clear and graceful expression, has given to the modern mind something of the sweetness and refinement of the Greeks. We still study the works of Homer as the great masterpieces of epic poetry. — We still study the tragedies of Æschylus and Sophocles as lofty specimens of the dramatic art; and we still read the pages of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon as models of historical composition. — Modern ideas have thus been broadened and made more liberal through the influence of Greek studies.

III. GREEK ELEMENTS IN MODERN CIVILIZATION

Greek Political Ideas. — Through the various ways that we have noticed, the Hellenic spirit has become a part of our modern life. — We should indeed study the history and civilization of the ancient Greeks to little purpose if we failed to recognize our own indebtedness to this remarkable people. — While it may be difficult for us to separate from our modern times, the elements which make up the complex culture of modern times, we may yet see in our political and intellectual life many features derived from the Greeks. — Our ideas of political liberty, for example, and of the state as an organization of free citizens, have their origin to a large extent in the city state of Greece. — It is true that our modern state extends beyond the limits of the city; but it is also true that it is, like the Greek city state, an organization of free citizens; and in this larger modern state, the city still remains, like the Greek city, a unit in right of local self-government. — Although we may have received this idea of municipal government more directly from Rome, it no doubt came originally from Greece. — It would be difficult for us to estimate how much we are indebted for our true notions of the spirit of liberty which inspired the people of Hellas.

Greek Science and Philosophy. — Moreover, our scientific and philosophical ideas have in them many elements which we have

indirectly derived from the Greeks. Our geometry is mainly the geometry of Euclid. Our geography is founded in great part upon that of the Alexandrian scientists. It is a question whether America would have been discovered when it was, had not Columbus become acquainted with the later Greek ideas regarding the shape of the earth.¹ Our sciences of grammar, of logic, of rhetoric, are also drawn from the storehouse of Greek learning. So, also, our philosophical theories of man and of nature are largely influenced by the writings of Plato and Aristotle, and other Greek thinkers.

Greek Spirit in Literature. — We may perceive still further in our best literature the presence of the Hellenic spirit. The most cultivated of modern writers have looked upon the literature of Greece as furnishing the highest models of a pure literary style. The writings produced on the soil of Ionia and Attica have given an inspiration to the modern poet, orator, and historian. The "classics" of the modern world have thus an affinity with the classical works of Greece, — marked as they are by simplicity of style, clearness of thought, and ease of expression.

Greek Art and Taste. — The modern world is finally indebted largely to the Greeks for some of the best features of its art — especially in architecture and sculpture. This influence is seen, not only in modern imitations of Greek temples and statues, but especially in those principles of taste which are based upon the perception of the highest beauty. The Greek taste was opposed to all that is artificial and meretricious. It was opposed alike to barbarian crudeness and Oriental excess. The influence of this classic love of simplicity, of sincerity, of

¹ On this interesting subject, see Fiske, *Discovery of America*, Vol. I., pp. 22-228, 274-281; Winsor, *Columbus*, pp. 107-122; Hallam, *Literature of Europe*, Vol. I., p. 195; Payne, *History of America*, pp. 22-72. Although some doubt has been thrown upon the genuineness of the "Letter of Toscanelli" by Vignani (in his *Toscanelli and Columbus*, London and N.Y., 1902), there is no doubt that the advanced geographical ideas of Europe from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, were derived from Greek sources.

moderation, is seen in the higher forms of modern art — even in those forms which do not strictly follow the ancient Greek models. The spirit of classic art has thus exercised a refining influence upon the modern taste, and has led to a higher appreciation of the union of truth with beauty.

Civilizing Influence of Greece. — As we look back over the history of Greece and its influence upon the world, we can see the important place which it has occupied in the growth of civilization. We have seen Greece at first the heir of the Orient, developing an early culture under foreign influences, which soon passed away, leaving only the memories and monuments of the Mycenæan age. We have seen her afterward showing a spirit of freedom and independence, — in politics, in literature, in art, in philosophy, — breaking away from the servile spirit and despotic authority of the East, and developing in the age of Pericles a culture far superior to that of any earlier people. We have also seen her in her political decline and fall, still maintaining her intellectual supremacy and scattering the fruits of her culture into every part of the world. We have seen that whatever people have been brought into contact with her spirit have received a new intellectual life. We must, therefore, look upon the influence of Greece as one of the most powerful factors in the civilization of the world. Whatever flaws we may find in the old Greek character, we can not too highly appreciate that peculiar intellectual and æsthetic type of culture which forms one of the great bequests of antiquity to modern times. “All that is most beautiful and most instructive in Greek achievement,” says Professor Jebb, “is our permanent possession; one which can be enjoyed without detriment to those other studies which modern life demands; one which no lapse of time can make obsolete, and which no multiplication of modern interests can make superfluous. Each successive generation must learn from ancient Greece that which can be taught by her alone; and to assist, however little, in the transmission of her message is the best reward of a student.”

SELECTIONS FOR READING

- Mahaffy, *Survey*, Ch. 10, "Greek Culture under the Romans" (10);¹ *Problems*, Ch. 10, "The Romans in Greece" (12); *Greek Life*, Ch. 23, "Importation of Hellenism to Rome" (17); *Greek World under Roman Sway*, Ch. 5, "General Reaction of Hellenism upon Rome." *Greenidge*, Ch. 8, "Hellenism and the Fall of the Greek Constitutions" (20).
- Perry*, Ch. 48, "Migration of Greek Art to Rome" (19).
- Felton*, Vol. II., Fourth Course, Lect. 7, "Byzantine Scholarship" (11).
- Symonds*, Ch. 12, "The Genius of Greek Art" (23).
- Jebb*, *Greek Classical Poetry*, Ch. 8, "Permanent Power of Greek Poetry" (23).
- Butcher*, pp. 1-46, "What We Owe to the Greeks" (12).

SPECIAL STUDY

THE MODERN GREEK KINGDOM. — *Timayenis*, Vol. II., Part IX., Chs. 2, 3 (11); *Felton*, Vol. II., Fourth Course, Lects. 8-11 (11); *Jebb*, *Modern Greece*; *Rose*, *Christian Greece and Living Greek*; *Sargeant*, *New Greece*.

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

APPENDIX

A CLASSIFIED LIST OF BOOKS UPON ORIENTAL AND GREEK HISTORY

N.B. — This list contains only English works and English translations.

1. THE BEGINNINGS OF HISTORY

(1) Anthropology and Ethnology.

- Deniker, J. *Races of Man.* Lond. 1900.
Ihering, R. von. *Evolution of the Aryan.* Lond. 1897.
Morris, C. *The Aryan Race.* Chicago, 1892.
Peschel, O. *Races of Man.* N. Y. 1876.
Quatrefages, A. de. *The Human Species.* N. Y. 1879.
Ripley, W. Z. *Races of Europe.* N. Y. 1899.
Sayce, A. H. *Races of the Old Testament.* Lond. 1891.
Sergi, G. *The Mediterranean Race.* Lond. and N. Y. 1901.
Taylor, L. *Origin of the Aryans.* Lond. 1892.
Tylor, E. B. *Anthropology.* N. Y. 1881.

(2) Primitive Culture.

- Clodd, E. *Childhood of Religions.* N. Y. 1890.
—— *Story of Primeval Man.* N. Y. 1895.
Hearn, W. E. *Aryan Household.* Lond. 1879.
Hoernes, M. *Primitive Man.* Lond. 1901.
Hoffman, W. J. *Beginnings of Writing.* N. Y. 1895.
Joly, N. *Man before the Metals.* N. Y. 1883.
Keary, C. F. *Dawn of History.* N. Y.
Laing, S. *Human Origins.* Lond. 1892.
Mason, O. T. *Woman's Share in Primitive Culture.* N. Y. 1894.
Nadaillac, Marquis de. *Manners and Monuments of Prehistoric Peoples.* N. Y. 1892.
Schrader, O. *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Race.* Lond. and N. Y. 1890.
Starr, F. *First Steps in Human Progress.* Medville, 1895.
Tylor, E. B. *Primitive Culture.* 2 vols. N. Y. 1874.
—— *Early History of Mankind.* Bost. 1878.

2. ANCIENT ORIENTAL NATIONS

(3) Oriental History, General.

- Babelon, E. *Manual of Oriental Antiquities.* N. Y. 1889.
 Boughton, W. *History of Ancient Peoples.* N. Y. 1897.
 Duncker, M. W. *History of Antiquity.* 6 vols. Lond. 1877.
 Hilprecht, H. V. *Explorations in Bible Lands.* Phil. 1903.
 Lemerant, F., and Chevallier, E. *Ancient History of the East.*
 2 vols. Phil. 1871.
 Maspero, G. C. C. *Life in Ancient Egypt and Assyria.* N. Y.
 1892.
 — *Dawn of Civilization. Egypt and Chaldea.* Lond. 1894.
 — *Struggle of the Nations.* N. Y. 1897.
 — *Passing of the Empires.* N. Y. 1899.
 Rawlinson, G. *Five Great Monarchies.* 3 vols. N. Y. 1871.
 Sayce, A. H. *Ancient Empires of the East.* N. Y. 1889.
 — *Record of the Past.* 6 vols. Lond. 1888-92.
 Smith, P. *Student's History of the East.* N. Y. 1871.

(4) China.

- Bulger, D. C. *History of China.* 3 vols. Lond. 1881-84.
 — *Short History of China.* Phil. 1893.
 Douglas, R. K. *Story of China.* N. Y. 1899.
 Giles, H. A. *History of Chinese Literature.* N. Y. 1901.
 Legge, J. *Chinese Classics.* 5 vols. Hong Kong, 1861-72.
 — *Religions of China.* Lond. 1880.
 Martin, W. A. P. *The Chinese.* N. Y. 1881.
 Moule, A. E. *New China and Old.* Lond. 1891.
 Scidmore, E. R. *The Long-lived Empire.* N. Y. 1900.
 Williams, S. W. *The Middle Kingdom.* 2 vols. N. Y. 1883.
 — *History of China.* N. Y. 1897.

(5) India.

- Dutt, R. C. *Ancient India.* N. Y. 1896.
 Frazer, R. W. *Literary History of India.* N. Y. 1898.
 Garrett, J. *Classical Dictionary of India.* Madras, 1871.
 Hopkins, E. W. *Religions of India.* Bost. 1895.
 Macdonell, A. A. *History of Sanskrit Literature.* N. Y. 1900.
 Monier-Williams, M. *Indian Wisdom.* Lond. 1893.
 Ragozin, Z. A. *Story of Vedic India.* N. Y. 1891.
 Rhys-Davids, T. W. *Story of Buddhist India.* N. Y. 1903.
 Wheeler, J. T. *Short History of India.* Lond. 1880.

(6) Mesopotamian Countries.

Benjamin, S. G. W. *Story of Persia.* N. Y. 1891.

Budge, E. A. W. *Babylonian Life and History.* Lond. 1891.

Goodspeed, G. S. *Babylonians and Assyrians.* N. Y. 1904.

Perrot, G., and Chipiez, C. *History of Art in Chaldæa and Assyria.* 2 vols. Lond. 1884.

Ragozin, Z. A. *Story of Assyria.* N. Y. 1891.

— *Story of Chaldæa.* N. Y. 1891.

— *Story of Media, Babylon and Persia.* N. Y. 1891.

Rogers, R. W. *Babylonia and Assyria.* 2 vols. N. Y. 1900.

Sayce, A. H. *Babylonians and Assyrians.* N. Y. 1889.

— *Assyria; its Princes, Priests, and People.* Lond. 1890.

— *Social Life of Assyrians and Babylonians.* Lond. 1893.

(7) Egypt.

Breasted, J. H. *History of Egypt from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest.* N. Y. 1905.

Brugsch Bey, H. K. *History of Egypt under the Pharaohs.* 2 vols. Lond. 1881.

— Same, condensed and revised by M. Brodrick. N. Y. 1891.

Budge, E. A. W. *Book of the Dead.* 3 vols. Lond. 1901.

— *The Mummy: Chapters on Egyptian Archæology.* Camb. 1893.

Edwards, A. B. *Pharaohs, Fellahs, and Explorers.* N. Y. 1892.

Erman, A. *Life in Ancient Egypt.* Lond. 1894.

Mariette, A. E. *Outlines of Ancient Egyptian History.* N. Y. 1892.

Maspero, G. C. C. *Egyptian Archæology.* N. Y. 1891.

Perrot, G., and Chipiez, C. *History of Art in Ancient Egypt.* 2 vols. Lond. 1883.

Perry, W. S. *Egypt, the Land of the Temple Builders.* Bost. 1898.

Petrie, W. M. F. *Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh.* Lond. 1883.

— *Ten Years' Diggings in Egypt.* Lond. 1892.

— *History of Egypt.* 2 vols. N. Y. 1896.

Rawlinson, G. *History of Egypt.* 2 vols. Lond. 1881.

— *Story of Ancient Egypt.* N. Y. 1892.

Sharpe, S. *History of Egypt.* 2 vols. Lond. 1885.

Wilkinson, J. G. *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians.* 3 vols. Bost. 1883.

(8) Judæa.

Grätz, H. *History of the Jews.* 5 vols. Phil. 1891-95.

Hosmer, J. K. *Story of the Jews.* N. Y. 1891.

Josephus, F. *Antiquities of the Jews.*

- Kittel, R. History of the Hebrews. 2 vols. Lond. 1895.
 McCurdy, J. F. History, Prophecy, and the Monuments. 3 vols.
 N. Y. 1895-1901.
 Ottley, R. L. Short History of the Hebrews. N. Y. 1901.
 Renan, J. E. History of the People of Israel. 5 vols. Bost. 1890.
 Sayce, A. H. Early History of the Hebrews. N. Y. 1897.

(9) Phœnicia.

- Kenrick, J. Phœnicia. Lond. 1855.
 Perrot, G., and Chipiez, C. History of Art in Phœnicia. 2 vols.
 Lond. 1885.
 Rawlinson, G. Story of Phœnicia. N. Y. 1898.

3. GREEK HISTORY

I. GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

(10) Greek History, Compendis.

- Abbott, E. Skeleton Outline of Greek History, Chronologically
 arranged. Lond. 1900.
 Allcroft, A. H., and Masom, W. F. History of Greece. 6 vols.
 Lond.
 I. Early Grecian History. To 495 B.C.
 II. Making of Athens. 495-431 B.C.
 III. Peloponnesian War. 431-404 B.C.
 IV. Sparta and Thebes. 404-362 B.C.
 V. Decline of Hellas. 371-323 B.C.
 VI. History of Sparta. 490-289 B.C.
 Bury, J. B. History of Greece (one vol. edition). N. Y. 1900.
 Cox, G. W. General History of Greece. N. Y. 1894.
 Fyffe, C. A. Greece (Primer). Lond.
 Harrison, J. A. Story of Greece. N. Y. 1893.
 Mahaffy, J. P. Survey of Greek Civilization. Meadville, 1896.
 Joy, J. R. Grecian History. Chautauqua Press, 1900.
 Oman, C. W. C. History of Greece. N. Y. and Lond. 1901.
 Shuckburgh, E. S. Short History of the Greeks. Camb. 1901.
 Smith, W. Student's History of Greece. N. Y.

(11) General Treatises.

- Abbott, E. History of Greece. 2 vols. 1888-92.
 Curtius, E. History of Greece. 5 vols. N. Y. 1875.
 Duncker, M. W. History of Greece. 2 vols. Lond. 1883.

- Duruy, V. *History of Greece*. 8 vols. Bost. 1892.
 Felton, C. C. *Greece, Ancient and Modern*. 2 vols. in one.
 Bost. 1893.
 Grote, G. *History of Greece*. 12 vols. N. Y. 1849. Same, 10
 vols. Lond. 1888.
 Holm, A. *History of Greece*. 4 vols. Lond. and N. Y. 1894-98.
 Thirlwall, C. *History of Greece*. 8 vols. Lond. 1855.
 Timayenis, T. T. *History of Greece*. 2 vols. N. Y. 1883.

(12) Miscellaneous Works.

- Butcher, S. H. *Some Aspects of the Greek Genius*. N. Y. 1893.
 Freeman, E. A. *Historical Essays, Second Series*. N. Y. 1873.
 Mahaffy, J. P. *Problems in Greek History*. N. Y. 1892.
 Pater, W. *Greek Studies*. N. Y. 1895.

(13) Sources.

- Æschylus. *Tragedies*. Tr. by E. H. Plumptre. N. Y. 1868.
 Aristophanes. *Select Plays*. Tr. by J. H. Frere. N. Y. 1886.
 Aristotle. *Athenian Constitution*. Tr. by F. G. Kenyon.
 Lond. 1891.
 Arrian. *Anabasis of Alexander*. Tr. by E. J. Chinnock.
 Lond. 1893.
 Demosthenes. *Orations*. 5 vols. (Bohn.) . . . 2 vols. (Harpers'
Classical Library.)
 Euripides. *Tragedies*. Tr. by E. P. Coleridge. 2 vols. (Bohn.)
 Herodotus. Tr. by G. Rawlinson. 4 vols. N. Y. . . . Tr. by
 H. Cary. (Bohn.) . . . *Analysis and Summary*, by J. T.
 Wheeler. (Bohn.)
 Homer. *Iliad*. Tr. by W. C. Bryant. Bost. 1870. . . . Tr. by
 Lang, Leaf, and Myers. Lond. 1893.
 — *Odyssey*. Tr. by W. C. Bryant. Bost. 1872. . . . Tr.
 by Butcher and Lang. Lond. 1893.
 Pausanias. *Description of Greece*. Tr. by J. G. Fraser. 6 vols.
 N. Y. 1898. . . . Tr. by A. R. Shilleto. 2 vols. (Bohn.)
 Pindar. *Extant Odes*. Tr. by E. Myers. N. Y. 1877.
 Plato. *Dialogues*. Tr. by B. Jowett. 5 vols. N. Y. 1875.
 Plutarch. *Lives*. Tr. by J. Dryden. 3 vols. N. Y. . . . Ed. by
 A. H. Clough. Bost. 1881. . . . Tr. by A. Stewart and G.
 Long. 4 vols. N. Y. 1889.
 Sophocles. *Tragedies*. Tr. by E. H. Plumptre. N. Y. 1871.
 Thucydides. Tr. by B. Jowett. 2 vols. N. Y. . . . *Analysis*
and Summary by J. T. Wheeler. (Bohn.)
 Xenophon. *Works*. Tr. by H. G. Dakyas. 4 vols. Lond. 1892.

II. SPECIAL PERIODS

(14) Mycenæan Age.

- Diehl, C. Excursions in Greece to Recently Explored Sites. Lond. and N. Y. 1893.
- Gardner, P. New Chapters in Greek History : Historical Results of Recent Excavations. Lond. and N. Y. 1892.
- Hall, H. R. The Oldest Civilization of Greece. Lond. and Phil. 1901.
- Perrot, G., and Chipiez, C. History of Art in Primitive Greece ; Mycenæan Art. 2 vols. Lond. 1894.
- Ridgeway, W. Early Age of Greece. 2 vols. Camb. 1901-1903.
- Schliemann, H. Mycenæ. Lond. and N. Y. 1878.
- Tiryns. Lond. and N. Y. 1886.
- Troja. Lond. and N. Y. 1891.
- Schuchhardt, C. Schliemann's Excavations. Lond. 1891.
- Tsountas, C., and Manatt, J. I. The Mycenæan Age. Bost. 1897.

(15) Homer and the Homeric Age.

- Collins, W. L. Homer's Iliad. Phil. 1870. (Anc. Classics.)
- Homer's Odyssey. Phil. 1875. (Anc. Classics.)
- Jebb, R. C. Introduction to Homer. Bost. 1869.
- Keller, A. G. Homeric Society. N. Y. 1902.
- Lang, A. Homer and the Epic. N. Y. 1893.
- Leaf, W. Companion to the Iliad. Lond. and N. Y. 1892.
- Perry, W. C. Women of Homer. N. Y. 1898.
- Timayenis, T. T. Greece in the Time of Homer. N. Y. 1885.
- Warr, G. C. W. The Greek Epic. Lond. and N. Y. 1895.

(16) Athenian Empire. Its Rise and Fall.

- Cox, G. W. The Greeks and the Persians. N. Y. 1876. (Epochs of Anc. History.)
- The Athenian Empire. N. Y. 1890. (Epochs of Anc. History.)
- Grant, A. J. Greece in the Age of Pericles. N. Y. 1893.
- Grundy, G. B. The Great Persian War. N. Y. 1901.
- Lloyd, W. W. Age of Pericles. 2 vols. Lond. 1875.
- Sankey, C. Spartan and Theban Supremacies. N. Y. 1877. (Epochs of Anc. History.)

See also (27) *Pericles*.

(17) Græco-Macedonian Epoch.

- Bevan, E. R. House of Seleucus. 2 vols. Lond. 1902.
 Curteis, A. M. Rise of the Macedonian Empire. N. Y. 1887.
 (Epochs of Anc. History.)
 Mahaffy, J. P. Greek Life and Thought from the Age of Alexander to the Roman Conquest. Lond. and N. Y. 1887.
 — Empire of the Ptolemies. Lond. 1895.
 — and Gilman, A. Story of Alexander's Empire. N. Y. 1887.
 See also (27) *Alexander*.

III. SPECIAL TOPICS**(18) Antiquities, General.**

- Gardner, P., and Jevons, F. B. Manual of Greek Antiquities. N. Y. 1895.
 Gow, J. Companion to School Classics. N. Y. 1889.
 Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities. N. Y. 1897.
 Mahaffy, J. P. Greece and Greek Antiquities. (Primer.) Lond.
 Seyffert, O. Dictionary of Classical Antiquities. Lond. 1891.
 Smith, W. Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities. 2 vols. Lond. 1890.
 See also (22) *Life and Manners*.

(19) Archæology and Art.

- Butler, H. C. Story of Athens. N. Y. 1902.
 Collignon, M. Manual of Greek Archæology. Lond. 1886.
 Dyer, T. H. Ancient Athens. Lond. 1873.
 Furtwängler, A. Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture. Lond. 1895.
 Gardner, E. A. Greek Sculpture. Lond. and N. Y. 1897.
 — Ancient Athens. N. Y. 1902.
 Hamlin, A. D. F. Text-book of the History of Architecture. Chaps. 6, 7, "Greek Architecture." N. Y. 1897.
 Harrison, J. E. Introductory Studies in Greek Art. Lond. 1894.
 — and Verrall, M. de G. Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens. Lond. 1890.
 Mitchell, L. M. History of Ancient Sculpture. N. Y. 1883.
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INDEX

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- Abde'ra, Greek colony, 143.
A'braham, Jewish patriarch, 61.
Aby'dos, Greek colony, 143.
Academy at Athens, 259.
Acarna'nia, district of Greece, 75.
Acca'dians, their civilization, 33.
Aehæ'an league, formed, 336; its constitution, 337; conflict with Sparta, 338; reduction by Philip V., 339; revival under Philopœmen, 342; reduction by Rome, 345.
Aeha'ia, district of Greece, 76, 118.
Aehelo'us River, 74.
Aeh'eron River, 75.
Aehil'les, Greek hero, 86, 95.
Acrocorin'thus, 342.
Acrop'olis, citadel of Athens, 75, 229; of Attica, 121; captured by Cylon, 123; by Pisistratus, 130; adorned by Pericles, 232-236.
Æge'an Sea, 65, 72.
Ægi'na, temple at, 197; subdued by Athens, 211.
Æ'gospot'amī, battle at, 276.
Ænos, Greek colony, 143.
Æo'lians, Greek tribe, 79; migration to Asia Minor, 81.
Æs'ehylus, tragic poet, 195, 245.
Æto'lia, district of Greece, 75.
Æto'lian league, formed, 335; joins with Sparta, 338; war with the Achæans, 339; reduction by Rome, 343, 344.
Agamem'non, Greek hero, 84.
Agath'ocles, tyrant of Syracuse, 341.
Agesi-la'us, king of Sparta, 279, 280.
Agis III., king of Sparta, 338.
Agni, Hindu god, 28.
Ag'ora, early Greek assembly, 100, 109; market place of Athens, 230, 259.
Agrigen'tum, Greek colony, 147.
Ah'riman, Persian deity, 173.
Alcæ'us, lyric poet, 160.
Alcibi'adēs, Athenian statesman and traitor, 269, 270, 272-275.
Alc'man, lyric poet, 161.
Alcmeon'idæ, the, 124.
Alexan'der I., king of Macedonia, 301.
Alexander III. (the Great), 307-311, 320.
Alexan'dria, founded, 311; a center of culture, 330, 332, 337.
Alphabet, Phœnician, 59.
Ambra'cia, district of Greece, 145.
Amphictyon'ic League, 109, 150.
Amphip'olis, battle at, 268; captured by Philip II., 302.
Anac'reon, lyric poet, 160.
Anaxag'oras, Greek philosopher, 248.
Anaximan'der, Greek philosopher, 163.
Anaxim'i-nes, Greek philosopher, 163.
Antal'cidas, Peace of, 280; its renewal, 282.
Ante'nor, Greek sculptor, 197.
Antig'onus, successor of Alexander, 317.
Antigonus, king of Macedonia, 338.

- An'tioch, capital of Syria, 317; a center of culture, 329, 347.
- Anti'oehus I., king of Syria, 318.
- Antiochus III. (the Great), 344.
- Antiochus IV. (Epiphanes), 330.
- Apel'les, Greek painter, 321.
- Aphrodi'tē (Venus), 102.
- Apol'lo, 101; his oracle at Delphi, 75, 150.
- Apollodo'rus, Greek painter, 298.
- Apollo'nia, in Thrace, 144; in Epirus, 145.
- Ara'tus, 336, 338.
- Arbe'la, *see* Gaugamela.
- Arca'dia, district of Greece, 76.
- Arehela'us, king of Macedonia, 301.
- Arehil'oehus, iambic poet, 160.
- Architecture, Chinese, 23; Hindu, 30; Chaldean, 35; Assyrian, 38; Egyptian, 33; Mycenaean, 88, 89; Homeric, 98; of the Greek temple, 154; under Pericles, 230-236; at Pergamum, 324; at Antioch, 329; at Alexandria, 331.
- Archonship, established, 122; under Clisthenes, 133; under Pericles, 221.
- Areop'agus, hill of, 230. *See also* Council.
- A'res (Mars), 101.
- Arginu'sæ islands, battle at, 275.
- Ar'golis, district of Greece, 77, 112.
- Argonau'tic expedition, 86.
- Ar'gos, city of Argolis, 77, 79; opposes Sparta, 118; a democracy, 139; a center of art, 240.
- Ari'on, lyric poet, 161.
- Aristag'oras, tyrant of Miletus, 174.
- Aristi'des, Athenian statesman, 182, 183, 205-207.
- Aristocracy, at Sparta, 115; at Athens, 125; at Thebes, Chalcis, and Eretria, 139.
- Aristo'gi'ton, tyrannicide, 131.
- Aristo'phanēs, comic writer, 294, 295.
- Ar'istōtle, Greek philosopher, 292; teacher of Alexander, 306; quoted, 122, 124, 126, 130.
- Army organization, Spartan, 47; Persian, 172; Athenian, 223, 282; Macedonian, 301.
- Ar'rian, Greek historian, 347.
- Art, as an element of civilization, 13; comparison of Greek and Oriental, 71; beginning of Greek, 154; under Pisistratus, 130; after Persian wars, 196-199; under Pericles, 228-241; younger Attic school, 295-297; at Pergamum, 324; at Antioch, 329. *See also* Architecture, Sculpture, Painting.
- Artaphēr'nēs, Persian satrap, 174.
- Artaphernes, Persian general, 178.
- Ar'temis (Diana), 102.
- Ar'yan people, early culture, 26; settlement in India, 26, 27; in Greece, 77, 78.
- Asele'pius (Æsculapius), 253.
- Asia Minor, early nations of, 65; a part of Helias, 73; Greek migrations to, 81; a seat of culture, 94; Greek cities in, 167; conquered by Persia, 168; revolt of the Ionian cities, 174-176; their liberation by Athens, 205.
- Asshur-bani-pal', Assyrian king, 37, 41.
- Assyr'ian empire, 37-42.
- Astar'te, Phœnician goddess, 57.
- Athe'na (Minerva), 102.
- Ath'ens, early history, 120-134; aids the Ionian cities, 174; becomes a maritime power, 183; fortified by Themistocles, 202; head of the Delian confederacy, 206; Long Walls built, 210; a seat of empire, 211; a center of art, 228-230; enters the Peloponnesian war, 234; reduced by Lysander, 276; forms a new confederacy, 281; a seat of learning, 320, 347.

A'thos, Mt., 178, 185.

"A'treus, Treasury of," 90.

Bā'al, Phœnician deity, 57.

Bab'ylon, city of Babylonia, 33, 34; under Nebuchadnezzar, 43; captured by Cyrus, 169; by Alexander, 312.

Babylo'nian empire, early, 32-37; later, 42-45.

Ba'tis, defender of Gaza, 311.

Battles (chronologically arranged), Mar'athon, 179; Thermop'ylæ, 187; Artemis'ium, 188; Sal'amis, 188; Him'era, 284; Plata'e'a, 190; Myc'ale, 191; Eurym'edon, 208; Tan'agra, 211; Cænoph'ytæ, 211; Corone'a (447 B.C.), 213; De'lium, 268; Amphip'olis, 268; Arginn'sæ Is., 275; Ægospot'ami, 276; Cunax'a, 278; Cni'dus, 280; Leuc'tra, 282; Mantine'a, 283; Chærone'a (338 B.C.), 305; Grani'cus, 309; Is'sus, 310; Gaugame'la (Arbela), 312; Hydaspes, 314; Ip'sus, 317; Sella'sia, 338; Cynosceph'alæ, 343; Pyd'na, 344.

Behistun' inscription, 35.

Beller'ophon, Greek hero, 84.

Bema, platform on the Pnyx, 219.

Bero'sus, Chaldean historian, 34.

Bi'on, pastoral poet, 331.

Bithyn'ia, kingdom in Asia Minor, 319.

Black broth, Spartan dish, 117.

Bœo'tia (bē-ō'shī-a), district of Greece, 75; reduced by Athens, 211; ally of Sparta, 265; confederacy of, under Epaminondas, 281.

Book of the Dead, 56.

Bou'le, of the Homeric age, 99; of the early city state, 108. See also Council.

Brah'ma, Hindu god, 29.

Brah'mans, Hindu priests, 28, 29, 30.

Bud'dha, see Gautama.

Bulente'rium, council hall at Athens, 231.

Bŷzan'tium (-shī-um), a Greek colony, 143; a Persian stronghold taken by Pausanias, 205; revolts from Athens, 302; seat of later Greek culture, 302.

Cadme'a, citadel of Thebes, 84; seized by Sparta, 281.

Cad'mus, mythical founder of Thebes, 84.

Calli'nus, elegiac poet, 160.

Cambu'nian mountains, 74.

Camby'ses, Persian king, 169.

Cappado'cia, kingdom of Asia Minor, 319.

Ca'ria, district of Asia Minor, 208.

Carians, early Greek tribe, 78, note; 93.

Car'thage, a Phœnician colony, 58, 144; wars with Syracuse, 191, 284; driven from Sicily by Rome, 341.

Caryat'idēs, 236.

Cassan'der, king of Macedonia, 317.

Caste system of India, 28.

Cat'ana, Greek colony, 147; held by the Athenians, 270.

Ce'erops, mythical founder of Athens, 84, 121.

Census classes of Attica, 127.

Cephalle'nia, island of the Ægean, 75.

Chalçe'don, Greek colony, 143, 275.

Chalçid'i-çē, colonized, 142; campaign of Brasidas in, 267; confederacy of, 281; reduced by Philip II., 304.

Chal'çis, city of Eubœa, 139, 141, 142, 342.

Chalde'a, district of Babylonia, 33.

Chē'ops, see Khufu.

Chersone'sus (Taurica), 144; (Thracian), ruled by Miltiades, 176.

- China and its civilization, 21-26.
- Chi'os, island of the Ægean, 82 ; independent ally of Athens, 212 ; revolts, 302.
- Chi'ton, Greek dress, 255.
- Ci'mon, Athenian statesman, 205, 207-209, 212.
- Citizens of Athens, 219.
- City state, 71 ; its elements, 106 ; its government, 108.
- Clazom'enæ, city of Asia Minor, 82.
- Cleom'enēs I., Spartan king, 131.
- Cleomenes III., 338.
- Cleom'enic war, 342.
- Clē'on, Athenian statesman, 266-268.
- Cle'ruchies, Athenian colonies, 141.
- Clis'thenēs, Athenian statesman, 131.
- Cli'tus, murdered by Alexander, 313.
- Clubs, Athenian, 260.
- Cni'dus, city of Asia Minor, 82 ; battle near, 280.
- Coçy'tus River, 75.
- Cō'drus, "last of the kings," 121, 122.
- Col'ehis, 86, 144.
- Colonies, Phœnician, 58 ; Greek, 139-148.
- Col'ophon, city of Asia Minor, 82, 167.
- Comedy, Athenian, 293-295.
- Commerce, Babylonian, 43 ; Egyptian, 50 ; Phœnician, 57 ; early Greek, 98 ; Athenian, 253.
- Confu'cius, Chinese reformer, 24.
- Congress of Corinth (481 B.C.), 185 ; (338 B.C.), 305.
- Co'non, Athenian general, 280.
- Corçy'ra, Greek colony, 145 ; embroiled with Corinth, 264 ; sedition at, 267.
- Cor'inth, conquered by the Dorians, 113 ; an aristocratic city, 139 ; a colonizing center, 141 ; war with Athens, 211 ; enters the Peloponnesian war, 264 ; congresses at, 185, 305 ; destroyed by Rome, 345.
- Corinthian style of architecture, 157.
- Corinthian war, 280.
- Cos, island of the Ægean, 82 ; revolts from Athens, 302.
- Council, of the Areopagus, 123, 220 ; of Four Hundred and One, 124 ; of Four Hundred, 127 ; of Five Hundred, 133, 220.
- Crete, island of the Mediterranean, 73, 91.
- Crit'i-as, Athenian tyrant, 278.
- Crœ'sus, the king of Lydia, visited by Solon, 128 ; conquers the Ionian cities, 167 ; conquered by Cyrus, 168.
- Cro'ton, Greek colony, 146.
- Cu'mæ, Greek colony, 146.
- Cunax'a, battle at, 278.
- Cune'iform writing, 33, 35, 172.
- Cyc'la-des, islands of the Ægean, 78, 121.
- Cy'lon, conspiracy of, 123.
- Cy'me, city of Asia Minor, 81.
- Cŷnosceph'alæ, battle of, 343.
- Cynu'ria, district of Greece, 118.
- Cy'rus the Great, Persian king, 168, 169.
- Cyrus the Younger, Persian governor of Asia Minor, 276, 278.
- Cythe'ra, island of the Mediterranean, 73, 267.
- Cŷz'ieus, Greek colony, 143.
- Dari'us I., Persian king, 169 ; invades Greece, 177.
- Darius III., opposes Alexander, 310, 312, 313.
- Da'tis, Persian general, 178.
- Da'vid, Jewish king, 62.
- De'lian confederacy, its formation under Aristides, 206 ; extension by Cimon, 208 ; becomes the Athenian empire, 211.

- De'lium, battle at, 268.
 De'los, island of the Ægean, 73, 179.
 Del'phi, city of Phocis, 75.
 Del'phic oracle, 75, 140, 143, 150, 168.
 Deme, Attic township, 132.
 Deme'ter (Ceres), 102.
 Deme'trias, city of Thessaly, 342.
 Democracy, at Athens, 131-134, 217; at Argos and Elis, 139.
 Demos'thenēs, Athenian general, 267, 272, 273.
 Demosthenes, Athenian orator, 289; opposes Philip, 304; his death, 318.
 Dicas'teries, Athenian courts, 221.
 Diodo'rus of Sicily, Greek historian, 347.
 Dionys'ia, festival, 153.
 Dionys'ius (-nish'ius), the Elder and the Younger of Syracuse, 285.
 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Greek historian, 347.
 Diony'sus (Bacchus), 103, 195, 242, 293.
 Dioscu'rias, Greek colony, 144.
 Dodo'na, in Epirus, 75, 78, 100.
 Do'rians, migration to the Peloponnesus, 79, 83, 91; to Asia Minor, 82; characteristics of, 112.
 Dor'ic style of architecture, 155.
 Do'ris, district of Greece, 75.
 Dörp'feld, German archæologist, 87.
 Dra'co, Athenian reformer, 124.
 Drama, Athenian, rise of, 194-196; under Pericles, 245-247. *See also* Comedy.
 Dress, Greek, 255.
 Eeelē'sia, Athenian assembly, under Clisthenes, 133; under Pericles, 219.
 Education, at Sparta, 116; at Athens, 128, 248.
 Egypt, early civilization, 45-56; under the Ptolemies, 318, 330-332.
 E'lamites, 34.
 E'lea (Velia), 146, 163.
 Ele'giac poetry, 160.
 Eleusin'ian mysteries, 153, 270.
 Eleuthe'ria, festival, 191.
 Elgin marbles, 238.
 E'lis, district of Greece, 76; occupied by the Dorians, 81; subject to Sparta, 118; a democracy, 139; an ally of Philip II., 305; member of the Ætolian league, 336; joins the Achæans, 342.
 Epaminon'das, Theban patriot, 281, 283.
 Eph'esus, city of Asia Minor, 82; allied with Lydia, 167; taken by Alexander, 310.
 Ephial'tes, Athenian statesman, 209.
 Ephialtes, the "Judas of Greece," 188.
 Eph'ors at Sparta, 115.
 Epic poetry, its rise, 95; its decline, 159.
 Epicu'rus, Greek philosopher, 321.
 Epidam'nus, Greek colony, 145.
 Epip'olæ, heights of, 271.
 Epi'rus, district of Greece, 74, 81.
 Ereehthe'um, temple at Athens, 234.
 Ereeh'theus, mythical king of Athens, 121, 232.
 Ere'tria, city of Eubœa, seat of colonization, 139, 141, 142; captured by the Persians, 179.
 Er'ythræ, city of Asia Minor, 82.
 Eubœa, island of the Ægean, 139, 142, 156, 186.
 Eu'clid, mathematician at Alexandria, 332.
 Eu'menēs II., king of Pergamum, 324.
 Eu'patrids, Athenian nobles, 122, 125.
 Euphra'tes River, 32.
 Eurip'ides, tragic poet, 247.
 Eurym'edon River, battle near, 208.
 Eux'ine, or Black Sea, 143.

- Festivals, Greek, 152.
 "Fetters of Greece," 342, 343
 Finances, Athenian, 225.
 Five Years' Truce, 212.
 Flamini'nus, Roman general, 343.
 "Four Hundred" at Athens, 274, 275.
 Frieze of the Parthenon, 237.

 Games, Panhellenic, 151.
 Gan'ges River, 27.
 Gaugame'la (Arbela), battle of, 312.
 Gau'tama (Buddha), Hindu reformer, 30.
 Ga'za, city of Asia, 311.
 Ge'la, Greek colony, 147.
 Gens, Greek, 106.
 Gerou'sia, Spartan senate, 115.
 Gi'zeh, city of Egypt, 47, 54.
 Gor'dium, capital of Phrygia, 310.
 Government, Chinese, 24; Assyrian, 38; Egyptian, 50; Hebrew, 63; Persian, 171; Homeric, 99; of the early city state, 106; Spartan, 114; early Athenian, 121; under Draco, 124; under Solon, 126; under Clisthenes, 132; under Pericles, 217-223; of the Achæan league, 337.
 Grani'cus, battle of, 309.
 Grave reliefs at Athens, 239.
 Gÿ'gēs, king of Lydia, 167.
 Gylip'pus, Spartan general, 272.
 Gymnasia at Athens, 249, 259.

 Ha'des (Pluto), 103.
 Halicarnas'sus, city of Asia Minor, 82.
 Ha'lys River, 65, 168.
 Hammura'bi, Babylonian king, 34.
 Han'nibal, Carthaginian general, 339, 342.
 Harmo'dius, tyrannicide, 131.
 He'brews, *see* Judea.
 Heliæ'a, judicial body at Athens, 127, 222.
 Hel'las, extent of, 72, 139.
 Helle'nes, 77-82.
 Hellen'ic culture, *see* Art, Architecture, Sculpture, Painting.
 Hellenis'tic culture, 322-332.
 Hel'lespont, 142, 143.
 He'lots at Sparta, 114; revolt of, 209.
 Hephæ'stus (Vulcan), 102.
 He'ra (Juno), 102.
 Heracle'a (Pontica and Chersonesus), 144.
 Her'acles (Hercules), 85.
 "Heracli'dæ, Return of the," 79
 Heracli'tus, Greek philosopher, 195.
 Her'mes (Mercury), 102.
 Herod'otus, Greek historian, ~~in~~ relation to Babylonia, 34; to Egypt, 47; his work, 249; quoted, 175, 181, 184, 185, 187, 190.
 He'siod, epic poet, 83, 159.
 Hes'tia (Vesta), 102.
 Hima'tion, Greek dress, 256.
 Him'era, Greek colony, 147; battle at, 192.
 Hippar'chus, son of Pisistratus, 131.
 Hipparchus, Alexandrian scientist, 322.
 Hip'pias, son of Pisistratus, and tyrant of Athens, driven into exile, 131; befriended by Persia, 175; assists the Persians at Marathon, 179.
 Hissar'lik, site of 'Troy, 86.
 Hit'tites in Asia Minor, 66.
 Ho'ang River, 22.
 Homeric poems, 86, 93, 94-97, 130, 193.
 Hop'lites, heavy-armed troops, 222.
 House, Greek, 254.
 Hydas'pes, battle at the, 314.
 Hÿk'sōs, or Shepherd Kings, 48.
 Hymet'tus, mountain in Attica, 75.

 Icti'nus, Athenian architect under Pericles, 233.
 Il'iad, the, 95.

- In'dia, its people and its civilization, 26-31.
 Indra, Hindu god, 29.
 Indus River, 27.
 Industrial arts, primitive, 15; Chinese, 22; Assyrian, 42; Egyptian, 49; Mycenæan, 87; Homeric, 98; at Athens, 252.
 Io'nian revolt, 174-176.
 Ionians, Greek tribe; 79; migration to Asia Minor, 82; characteristics of, 120.
 Ion'ic style of architecture, 156.
 Ip'sus, battle of, 317.
 Isoc'ra-tes, Athenian orator, 289.
 Is'sus, battle of, 310.
 Isthmian games, 153.
 Is'trus, Greek colony, 144.
 Ith'aca, island in Ionian Sea, 75, 96.

 Jews, attempt to Hellenize the, 329.
 Jude'a and its civilization, 60-65.

 Khu'fu (Cheops), 48.
 Kings, of Babylon, 34, 43; of Assyria, 37; of Egypt, 48, 49, 50; of Judea, 62; of Homeric times, 99; of the early city state, 108; of Sparta, 114; of Athens, 121; of Persia, 171; of Macedonia, 300.

 Laco'nia, 77, 112, 118.
 Lam'aëhus, 270, 271.
 Lamian war, 318.
 Lamp'sacus, Greek colony, 143.
 Language, as an element of civilization, 12; classification, 18; Chinese, 25; Sanskrit, 28; Chaldean, 34; Egyptian, 55; Phœnician, 59; Greek, 158.
 La'o-tse, Chinese philosopher, 24.
 Lau'rium, silver mines at, 76, 184.
 Legends of early Greece, 83-86.
 Lel'eges, early Greek tribe, 78, 93.
 Leon'idæ, Spartan king, at Thermopylæ, 187; 188.
 Les'bos, island of the Ægean, independent ally of Athens, 212; revolt of, 266.
 Leuc'tra, battle of, 282.
 Library, of Asshur-bani-pal, 41; at Pergamum, 325; at Alexandria, 331.
 Literature, Chinese, 25; Hindu, 28; Assyrian, 41; Egyptian, 56; Hebrew, 64; early Greek, 158-161; after Persian wars, 193-196; under Pericles, 245-251; after Pericles, 287-290; at Pergamum, 325; at Alexandria, 331; later Greek, 347.
 Lo'cri, Greek colony, 146.
 Lo'cris, East and West, districts in Greece, 75.
 Long walls of Athens, built by Pericles, 210; razed by Lysander, 276; rebuilt by Conon, 280.
 Lu'cian, Greek satirist, 347.
 Lux'or, city of Egypt, 49, 54.
 Lyce'um, at Athens, 259.
 Lycur'gus, Spartan lawgiver, 113.
 Lyd'ia, kingdom of Asia Minor, 66; conquers the Greek cities, 167; conquered by Persia, 168.
 Lyric poetry, 159-161, 193, 194.
 Lysan'der, Spartan admiral, 276.
 Lys'ias, Athenian orator, 289.
 Lysim'achus, 317.
 Lysip'pus, Greek sculptor, 297.

 Macedo'nia, geography of, 300; its extension by Philip II., 302; later kingdom of, 318, 334, 340; wars with Rome, and reduction to a Roman province, 342-345.
 Magna Græcia (grē'she-a), 145; absorbed by Rome, 340.
 Magne'sia, city of Asia Minor, 81; conquered by Lydia, 167.
 Maha-bha'rata, Hindu poem, 29.
 Ma'lis, district of Greece, 75.
 Man'etho, Egyptian historian, 47, 331.

- Mantine'a, city of Arcadia, dismantled, 280; refortified, 283; battle at, 283.
 Ma'nu, Hindu code of, 29.
 Mar'athon, battle of, 179.
 Mardo'nius, Persian general, 177, 178, 190.
 Marone'a, Greek colony, 143.
 Marriage at Athens, 256.
 Maruts', Hindu gods, 29.
 Massil'ia, Greek colony, 147.
 Mausolus, governor of Caria, 302.
 Meg'aclês, archon of Athens, 123.
 Megalop'olis, city of Arcadia, 283.
 Meg'ara, city of Megaris, conquered by the Dorians, 113; an aristocratic city, 139; a colonizing center, 141, 143, 144; joins the Achæan league, 337.
 Meg'aris, district of Greece, 75.
 Mem'phis, city of Egypt, 46, 47.
 Menan'der, comic poet, 321.
 Men'cius, Chinese writer, 25.
 Men'de, Greek colony, 142.
 Mesem'bria, Greek colony, 144.
 Mesopota'mian valley, 32.
 Messe'nia, district of Greece, 77, 112, 118, 305.
 Metho'ne, Greek colony, 138.
 Metics, foreign residents of Athens, 219.
 Metro'um, public record office at Athens, 231.
 Mile'tus, city of Asia Minor, 82; a colonizing center, 141, 143, 144; leads the Ionian revolt, 174; reduced by Persia, 176.
 Milti'adês, Greek general, 176; at Marathon, 179, 180; his fall, 181.
 Mi'nos, king of Crete, 85.
 Min'yæ, early Greek tribes, 78, 93.
 Mne'siclês, Athenian architect, 234.
 Mœ'ris, Lake, 48.
 Mo'loch, Phœnician god, 57.
 Molos'sia, kingdom in Epirus, 285.
 Monarchy, *see* Kings.
 Money, Lydian, 67; Argive, 112; Athenian, 225.
 Mongo'lian settlements in China, 21.
 Mos'ehus, pastoral poet, 331.
 Mo'ses, Jewish lawgiver, 61.
 Music, Egyptian, 55; Greek, 160.
 Myc'alê, battle of, 191.
 Mÿçe'næ, city of Argolis, 79; ruins of, 89.
 Mycenæ'an civilization, 91-94.
 My'ron, Greek sculptor, 198.
 Mÿtile'ne, city of Asia Minor, 81.
 Nau'cratis, Greek settlement in Egypt, 145.
 Naupac'tus, 212; Peace of, 339.
 Navy, Persian, 172; Athenian, 224.
 Nax'os, Greek colony in Sicily, 146, 270.
 Naxos, island of the Ægean, 179, 208.
 Nebuchadnezzar, 43.
 Ne'mean games, 153.
 Nicias (nîsh'i-as), Athenian statesman, 266; Peace of, 268; at Syracuse, 270, 271-273.
 Nile River, 46.
 Nin'evêh, capital of Assyria, 33, 37.
 Nomes, Egyptian, 47, 50, 318.
 Odes'sus, Greek colony, 144.
 Ode'um of Pericles, 231.
 Ōdys'seus (Ulysses), Greek hero, 75, 86.
 Od'yssey, the, 95.
 Ol'bia, Greek colony, 144.
 Olympie'um at Athens, 231.
 Olym'pian games, 151.
 Olym'pus, Mt., 75, 100, 101.
 Olyn'thus, Greek colony, 143; head of the Chalcidian confederacy, 281; taken by Philip II., 302, 304.
 Orehom'enus, city of Bœotia, 75; monuments at, 90.
 Or'muzd, Persian deity, 173.

Os'sa, Mt., 75.

Os'tracism, instituted by Clisthenes, 133.

Pæo'nius, sculptor of Mende, 240.

Painting, Assyrian, 39; Egyptian, 339; Athenian, 239, 297.

Panathenæ'a, festival, 153.

Paphlago'nia, kingdom of Asia Minor, 319.

Parmen'idēs, Greek philosopher, 200.

Parme'nio, general of Alexander, 313.

Parnas'sus, Mt., 75.

Parrhā'sius (-shī'ūs), Greek painter, 298.

Parthenon at Athens, 233.

Pausā'nias, Spartan commander, his victory at Plataea, 190; his treachery at Byzantium, 205, 206.

Pediments of the Parthenon, 237.

Pelas'gians, early tribe of Hellas, 78, 93.

Pe'lion, Mt., 75.

Pelop'idas, Theban patriot, 281, 301.

Peloponne'sian league, 207, 264.

Peloponne'sus, 76, 84.

Pene'us River, 75.

Pentel'icus mountain, 75.

People, divisions of, at Sparta, 114; in Attica, 121, 127, 218.

Perdic'cas, successor of Alexander, 317.

Per'gamum, kingdom of, 319; a center of culture, 323, 347.

Per'iclēs, Athenian statesman, 209-213; his oratory, 240; his death, 265.

Periœ'ci at Sparta, 114.

Perin'thus, Greek colony, 143.

Perseph'onē (Proserpina), 102.

Per'seus, king of Macedonia, 344.

Per'sia, 67; its civilization, 168-173; its wars with Greece, 177-192; its later interference with Greece, 273, 274; its war with Sparta, 279; its conquest by Alexander, 312.

Phā'lanx, Greek, 224; under Epaminondas, 282; under the Macedonians, 301.

Phanagori'a, Greek colony, 144.

Pha'sis, Greek colony, 144.

Phil'ip II., king of Macedonia, 301-306.

Philip V., 339, 343.

Philip'pi, city of Thrace, founded, 302.

Philip'pidēs (Pheidippides), Athenian runner, 179.

Philœ'ratēs, Peace of, 304.

Philopœ'men, general of the Achæan league, 342.

Philosophy, early Greek, 161-164; after the Persian wars, 199-201; under Pericles, 248; its culmination at Athens, 290-293; Post-Aristotelian, 321, 322; at Alexandria, 332.

Phocæ'a, city of Asia Minor, 82, 141.

Pho'cians, in the Sacred war, 303, 305.

Pho'cion (-shī-on), Athenian statesman, 303.

Pho'cis, district of Greece, 75, 211, 265, 303, 305.

Phœni'cia and its civilization, 56-60.

Phra'try, Greek, 107.

Phryn'iehus, tragic poet, 195.

Phy'le, Greek, 107.

Pin'dar, lyric poet, 194.

Pin'dus mountains, 74.

Piræ'us, seaport of Athens, its fortification, 204; its commerce, 253.

Pisan'der, Athenian general, 274.

Pisis'tratus, tyrant of Athens, 129.

Platae'a, ally of Athens at Marathon, 179; battle of, 190; destroyed by Sparta, 266; rebuilt, 280.

Pla'to, Greek philosopher, 291.

Plu'tarch, Greek biographer, 347.

- Political parties in Greece, 110 ; at Athens, 129, 222.
- Polycli'tus, sculptor of Argos, 240.
- Polygno'tus, Athenian painter, 231, 239.
- Posei'don (Neptune), 102, 232.
- Posido'nia (Pæstum), Greek colony, 146.
- Potidæ'a, Greek colony, 143, 262, 302.
- Praxit'elēs, Athenian sculptor, 297.
- Propylæ'a, porch of the Acropolis, 234.
- Pryt'anēs, presiding section of the boule, 220.
- Prytane'um, abode of the prytanes, 220, 231.
- Psammet'iehus I., Egyptian king, 49, 145.
- Ptol'emy I. of Egypt, 317, 318.
- Pun'jab, district of India, 27.
- Pyd'na, city of Macedonia, taken by Alexander, 302 ; battle of, 344.
- Pyramids, Egyptian, 48, 53.
- Pythag'oras, Greek philosopher, 163.
- Rama'yana, Hindu poem, 29.
- Ram'esés II., Egyptian king, 49.
- Religion, Chinese, 24 ; Hindu, 29, 30 ; Chaldean, 35 ; Egyptian, 51 ; Hebrew, 64 ; Persian, 172 ; Homeric, 100 ; of the early Greek states, 140-153.
- Rhe'gium, Greek colony, 146.
- Rhodes, island of the Ægean, 82 ; revolts from Athens, 302 ; a republic, 319 ; a center of culture, 326, 347.
- Romans, their alliance with the Greek cities, 338 ; their absorption of Hellas, 340-345 ; their culture influenced by the Greeks, 348.
- Sacred war, 303, 305.
- Sa'is, city of Egypt, 48, 49.
- Sakka'rah, village of Egypt, 48.
- Sal'amis, battle of, 188.
- Sā'mos, island of the Ægean, 82, 142 ; independent ally of Athens, 212.
- San'skrit language, 28.
- Sap'pho, lyric poetess, 160.
- Sar'dis, capital of Lydia, 66 ; captured by Cyrus, 168 ; burned by the Athenians, 174, 175 ; taken by Alexander, 310.
- Sar'gon I., Babylonian king, 34.
- Sargon II., Assyrian king, 37, 63.
- Satrap, of Assyria, 38 ; of Persia, 171.
- Saul, Jewish king, 62.
- Schlie'mann, German archæologist, 86.
- Science, Hindu, 29 ; Chaldean, 36 ; Egyptian, 52 ; Greek at Pergamum, 325 ; at Alexandria, 332.
- Sco'pas, sculptor of Paros, 296.
- Sculpture, Assyrian, 39 ; Egyptian, 54 ; Greek, early, 158 ; after Persian wars, 196-199 ; under Pericles, 236-239 ; younger Attic school, 295-297 ; at Pergamum, 324 ; at Rhodes, 326.
- Seleu'cidæ, kingdom of the, 317.
- Seleu'eus I. of Syria, 317.
- Seli'nus, Greek colony, 147, 158.
- Sella'sia, battle of, 338.
- Sennach'erib, Assyrian king, 37.
- Se'ti I., Egyptian king, 49.
- Shalmane'ser, Assyrian king, 37.
- Sicily, Greek colonies in, 146 ; Athenian expedition to, 269-273 ; course of its history, 284-286 ; absorbed by the Romans, 341.
- Sicyon (sish'i-on), city of the Peloponnesus, 113, 139, 337.
- Si'don, city of Phœnicia, 57.
- Simon'idēs, lyric poet, 193.
- Sino'pe, Greek colony, 144.
- Si'va, Hindu god, 29.
- Slavery, Greek, 218, 254.

- Smyr'na (Asia Minor), 81, 167.
 Social customs, in Assyria, 42 ; in Homeric Greece, 104 ; in Sparta, 117 ; in Athens, 258-261.
 Social war (358-355 B.C.), 302 ; (220-217 B.C.), 339.
 Soc'ratēs, Greek philosopher, 290.
 Sol'omon, Jewish king, 62.
 So'lon, Athenian lawgiver, 125-129.
 So'ma, Hindu god, 29.
 Sophists as teachers, 248.
 Soph'oclēs, tragic poet, 245.
 Spar'ta, city of Laconia, early history, 112-120 ; united with Athens against Persia, 178 ; opposes the fortification of Athens, 203 ; hostility to Athens, 209 ; enters the Peloponnesian war, 264 ; supremacy in Greece, 277-281 ; war with Thebes, 282 ; relation to the Achæan league, 338, 339, 342.
 Sphaete'ria, capture of, 267.
 Stesieh'orus, lyric poet, 161.
 Sto'as, Pœcile (Painted Porch), 231, 239, 321 ; Basileos, 231 ; Eleutherios, 231.
 Strate'gi, 133, 221.
 Sumir'ians, the, 33.
 Syb'aris, Greek colony, 146.
 Symposium, Greek, 260.
 Syr'ia, 317, 328.

 Tan'agra, battle of, 211.
 Tan'a-is, Greek colony, 144.
 Ta'nis, city of Egypt, 48, 49.
 Ta'o-ism, Chinese religion, 24.
 Taren'tum, Greek colony, 146 ; conquered by Rome, 341.
 Te'gea, city of Arcadia, 118.
 Tem'pe, vale of, 75, 186.
 Temples, Hindu, 31 ; Chaldean, 36 ; Egyptian, 54 ; Greek, 154 ; see also Architecture.
 Ten Thousand, march of the, 278.
 Te'os, a colonizing city of Asia Minor, 143.
 Terpan'der, lyric poet, 160.
 Thā'les, Greek philosopher, 162.
 Tha'sos, island of the Ægean, revolt of, 208.
 Theater of Dionysus, 231, 242-244.
 Thebes (thēbz), city of Egypt, 47, 49.
 Thebes, city of Bœotia, 75, 84 ; an aristocratic city, 139 ; supremacy of, 281-284 ; in the Sacred war, 313 ; alliance with Athens, 305 ; destroyed by Alexander, 309.
 Themis'toclēs, Athenian statesman, 182 ; creates the maritime power of Athens, 183, 184 ; at the Congress of Corinth, 185 ; at Artemisium, 187 ; at the battle of Salamis, 188 ; fortifies Athens, 202-204 ; his character and exile, 204, 205.
 Theoc'ritus, pastoral poet, 331.
 Thermop'ylæ, pass of, 75, 186 ; battle of, 187 ; taken by Philip II., 305.
 These'um, temple at Athens, 230.
 The'seus, mythical king of Athens, 85, 121.
 Thesmoth'etæ, junior archons, 122, 222.
 Thes'pis, lyric poet, 195.
 Thes'saly, district of Greece, 75.
 "Thirty Tyrants" at Athens, 278.
 Thirty Years' Truce, 213, 263, 264.
 Thoth'mes III., Egyptian king, 48.
 Thrace, conquered by Darius, 189 ; by Alexander, 302 ; granted to Lysimachus, 319.
 Thrasybū'lus, Athenian patriot, 278.
 Thucyd'i-dēs, Greek historian, 264, 268 ; his history, 287, 288 ; quoted, 269, 270, 273.
 Tig'lath-Pilēser, Assyrian king, 37.
 Ti'gris River, 32.
 Timo'leon, the liberator of Sicily, 286.

- Ti'ryns, ancient city of Argolis, 79, 88.
 Tissapher'nes, Persian satrap, 274, 279.
 Toro'ne, Greek colony, 143.
 Trape'zus (Trebizond), Greek colony, 144.
 Tribes, the four Ionian, 122, 132 ; of Clisthenes, 132.
 Tributary districts of the Athenian Empire, 213.
 Trit'tys, Attic county, 132.
 Tro'as, district of Asia Minor, 87.
 Trojan war, 86, 96.
 Tyrannicides at Athens, 131 ; statues of, 197, 231.
 Tyrants, Greek, 110.
 Tyre, city of Phœnicia, 57 ; captured by Alexander, 311.
 Tyrtæ'us, elegiac poet, 160.
 Ur, city of Chaldea, 34, 61.
 Vaphi'o cups, 90.
 Ve'das, Hindu religious hymns, 28.
 Ve'lia (Elea), Greek colony, 146, 163.
 Vish'nu, Hindu god, 28, 29.
 Women, in Homeric times, 104 ; in time of Pericles, 257.
 Writing, picture, 17 ; in China, 25 ; in Chaldea, 34 ; in Egypt, 55 ; in Phœnicia, 59 ; in Crete, 91.
 Xen'ophon, Greek historian, 278, 279, 288.
 Xenoph'anēs, Greek philosopher, 163.
 Xer'xes, Persian king, 184, 188, 189.
 Yang'tze River, 22.
 Zan'clē (Messana), Greek colony, 147.
 Ze'no, Greek philosopher, 321.
 Zeus (Jupiter), 75, 101.
 Zeux'is, Greek painter, 298.
 Zoro-as'ter, Persian reformer, 172.

ROMAN HISTORY



THE ROMAN FORUM — LOOKING WEST

OUTLINES
OF
ROMAN HISTORY

*TO THE REVIVAL OF THE EMPIRE
BY CHARLEMAGNE*

BY

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ROMAN HISTORY.

E·F ·

PREFACE

THIS book is intended to be a guide and a help to the study and teaching of Roman history. Its purpose is to assist the teacher to do what Dr. Arnold regarded as the great work of every instructor of Roman history, namely, "to lodge in the mind of the pupil the concept of Rome." To this end, care has been taken to select and emphasize those facts and events which illustrate the real character of the Roman people, which show the progressive development of Rome as a world-power, and which explain the influence that Rome has exercised upon modern civilization.

The history of Rome has, in many respects, the unity of a great epic; and the interest in its study grows and becomes intensified to the extent that this unity is perceived. The attempt has been made, therefore, to keep before the mind of the pupil the real sequence of events,—to show the relation between successive periods, to place facts in their logical order, and to omit whatever might draw the mind away from the main lines of historical progress.

The early stages of Roman history are here presented according to what the author believes to be the most plausible and scientific views. The pupil should, of course, understand that the history of Rome, previous to the destruction of the city by the Gauls, is based largely upon traditions and upon inferences drawn from archæological investigations. He should know that there are different views regarding the significance of these traditions, and that many views which are accepted to-day may be rejected or modified to-morrow. But it can hardly be expected that the beginner can enter upon a critical

examination of the sources and credibility of early Roman history,—a work which must be reserved for more advanced students.

In tracing the growth of the Roman people, the effort has been made to keep clearly and prominently in view that which has given to this people their distinctive place in history,—the genius for organization. The kingdom, the republic, and the empire are seen to be successive stages in the growth of a policy to bring together and organize the various elements of the ancient world. Attention is paid to the life and customs of the Roman people—their houses, meals, dress, marriage and other customs, education, etc.; but these have not been made so prominent as to lead the pupil to believe that the study of antiquities can take the place of the study of history in the proper sense of the word.

Special attention is called to the maps, which are intended to show the location of every place mentioned in the text. The series of “progressive maps” shows in a clear way the gradual expansion of the Roman dominion. For the purpose of encouraging the reading of other books, each chapter is supplemented by two short lists of reading references, the one applying to the general subject-matter of the chapter, under the name of “Selections for Reading”; and the other constituting a “Special Study” upon some especially important or interesting topic. A classified list of the most valuable and available books in the English language upon Roman history will be found in the appendix to this volume. Every experienced teacher knows that history cannot be adequately taught by means of any single book, and that too much importance cannot be attached to the use of suitable bibliographical aids.

W. C. M.

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTION—The Land and the People	9
THE ROMAN KINGDOM	
PERIOD I. ROME UNDER THE EARLY KINGS (B.C. 753-509)	
II. The Beginnings of Rome	19
III. The Institutions of Early Rome	28
PERIOD II. ROME UNDER THE LATER KINGS (B.C. 616-509)	
IV. The Etruscan Kings of Rome	34
V. The Reorganization of the Kingdom	40
THE ROMAN REPUBLIC	
PERIOD III. THE STRUGGLES OF THE EARLY REPUBLIC (B.C. 510-343)	
VI. The Struggle against the Kingship	47
VII. The Struggle for Economic Rights	53
VIII. The Struggle for Equal Laws	59
IX. The Struggle for Political Equality	63
PERIOD IV. THE CONQUEST OF THE ITALIAN PENINSULA (B.C. 343-264)	
X. The Conquest of Latium	73
XI. The Conquest of Central Italy	77
XII. The Conquest of Southern Italy	85
XIII. Supremacy of Rome in Italy	91
PERIOD V. THE CONQUEST OF THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD (B.C. 264-133)	
XIV. The First Punic War	101
XV. The Second Punic War	111
XVI. The Conquests in the East	125
XVII. Reduction of the Roman Conquests	134
XVIII. Rome as a World Power	143

PERIOD VI. THE FALL OF THE REPUBLIC (B.C. 133-31)

CHAPTER	PAGE
XIX. The Times of the Gracchi	153
XX. The Times of Marius and Sulla	163
XXI. The Times of Pompey and Cæsar	189
XXII. The Times of Antony and Octavius	203

THE ROMAN EMPIRE

PERIOD VII. THE EARLY ROMAN EMPIRE (B.C. 31-A.D. 284)

XXIII. The Reign of Augustus	217
XXIV. The Julian Emperors — Tiberius to Nero	231
XXV. The Flavian Emperors — Vespasian to Domitian	244
XXVI. The Five Good Emperors — Nerva to Marcus Aurelius	259
XXVII. The Decline of the Empire	278

PERIOD VIII. THE LATER ROMAN EMPIRE (A.D. 284-476)

XXVIII. The Reorganization of the Empire	289
XXIX. The Extinction of the Western Empire	304
XXX. The Gifts of Rome to Civilization	311

XXXI. Transition from Roman to Mediæval History

(A.D. 476-800)	327
--------------------------	-----

APPENDIX — A Classified List of Books upon Roman History	345
--	-----

INDEX	355
-----------------	-----

LIST OF IMPORTANT MAPS

THE PROGRESSIVE MAPS

	PAGE
No. 1. B.C. 510	46
No. 2. B.C. 264	100
No. 3. B.C. 201	124
No. 4. B.C. 133	142
No. 5. B.C. 44	202
No. 6. A.D. 14	230
No. 7. A.D. 117	262, 263
No. 8. A.D. 337	296
No. 9. A.D. 476	308
No. 10. A.D. 800	342

MAPS OF THE CITY ROME

	PAGE
City of the Early Kings	27
City of the Later Kings	38
Rome under Augustus	221
Rome under the Later Em- perors	302, 303

MAPS OF ITALY

Divisions, etc., of Italy	13
Italy before the Social War	167
Italy under the Lombards	335

OUTLINES OF ROMAN HISTORY



CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION.—THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

I. THE CHARACTER OF ROMAN HISTORY

Importance of Roman History.—As we begin the study of Roman history, we may ask ourselves the question, Why is this subject important and worthy of our attention? It is because Rome was one of the greatest powers of the ancient world, and has also exercised a great influence upon nearly all modern nations. There are a few great peoples, like the Hebrews, the Greeks, and the Romans, who have done much to make the world what it is. If these peoples had never existed, our life and customs would no doubt be very different from what they are now. In order, then, to understand the world in which we live to-day, we must study these world-peoples, who may have lived many centuries ago, but who have given to us much that makes us what we are — much of our language, our literature, our religion, our art, our government and law.

Rome and the Ancient World.—We often think of the Romans as the people who conquered the world. But Rome not only conquered the most important countries of the old world; she also made of these different countries one united people, so that the ancient world became at last the Roman world. The old countries which bordered upon the Mediterranean Sea — Carthage and Egypt, Palestine and Syria, Greece

and Macedonia — all became parts of the Roman Empire. The ideas and customs, the art and institutions, of these countries were taken up and welded together into what we call Roman civilization. We may, therefore, say that Rome was the highest product of the ancient world.

Rome and the Modern World. — If Rome held such an important relation to the ancient world, she has held a still more important relation to the modern world. When the Roman



THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD

Empire fell and was broken up into fragments, some of these fragments became the foundation of modern states — Italy, Spain, France, and England. Rome is thus the connecting link between ancient and modern history. She not only gathered up the products of the ancient world, she also transmitted these products to modern times. What she inherited from the past she bequeathed to the future, together with what she herself created. On this account we may say that Rome was the foundation of the modern world.

Phases of Roman History. — As we approach the study of Roman history, we shall find that we can look at it from different points of view; and it will present to us different phases.

In the first place, we may look at the external growth of Rome. We shall then see her territory gradually expanding from a small spot on the Tiber, until it takes in the whole peninsula of Italy, and finally all the countries on the Mediterranean Sea. Our attention will then be directed to her generals, her armies, her battles, her conquests. We may trace on the map the new lands and new peoples which she gradually brought under her sway. Looked at from this point of view, Rome will appear to us as the great *conquering* nation of the world.

Again, we may look at the way in which Rome ruled her subjects, the way in which she built up, from the various lands and peoples that she conquered, a great state, with its wonderful system of government and law. We shall then see the work of her statesmen and lawgivers, her magistrates, her senate, and her assemblies. From this point of view she will seem to us the great *governing* nation of the world.

Finally, we may look at the way in which the Romans were themselves improved in their manners and customs, as they came into contact with other peoples — how they learned lessons even from those whom they conquered, and were gradually changed from a rude, barbarous people to a highly civilized and cultivated nation. We shall see the straw-thatched huts of early times giving place to magnificent temples and theaters and other splendid buildings. We shall see the rude speech of the early Romans growing into a noble language, capable of expressing fine, poetic feeling and lofty sentiments of patriotism. We shall also see Rome giving the fruits of her culture to the less favored peoples whom she takes under her control; and when she passes away, we shall see her bequeathing her treasures to future generations. From this point of view Rome will appear to us as the great *civilizing* nation of the world.

In order to understand the Romans well, we should look at them in all these phases: we should study their conquests, their government, and their civilization.

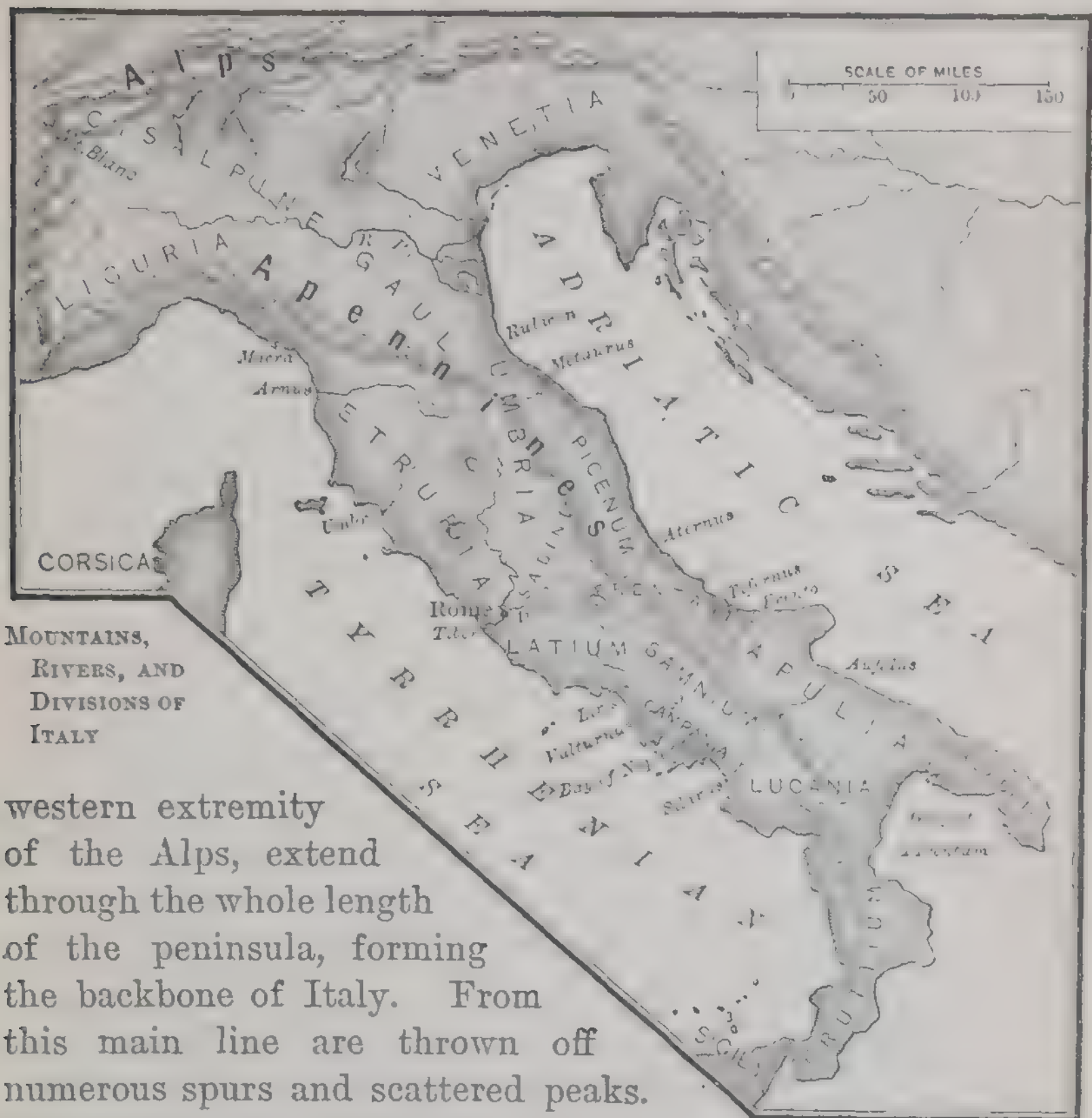
II. THE GEOGRAPHY OF ITALY

The Italian Peninsula. — The study of Roman history properly begins with the geography of Italy; because it was in Italy that the Roman people had their origin, and it was here that they began their great career. It was only when the Romans had conquered and organized Italy that they were able to conquer and govern the world. If we look at the map (p. 10), we shall see that the position of the Italian peninsula was favorable to the growth of the Roman power. It was situated almost in the center of the Mediterranean Sea, on the shores of which had flourished the greatest nations of antiquity — Egypt, Carthage, Phœni'cia, Jude'a, Greece, and Macedonia. By conquering Italy, Rome thus obtained a commanding position among the nations of the ancient world.

Boundaries and Extent of Italy. — In very early times, the name "Italy" was applied only to the very southern part of the peninsula. But from this small area it was extended so as to cover the whole peninsula which actually projects into the sea, and finally the whole territory south of the Alps. The peninsula is washed on the east by the Adriatic or Upper Sea, and on the west by the Tyrrhe'nian or Lower Sea. Italy lies for the most part between the parallels of thirty-eight degrees and forty-six degrees north latitude. It has a length of about 720 miles; a width varying from 330 to 100 miles; and an area of about 91,000 square miles.

The Mountains of Italy. — There are two famous mountain chains which belong to Italy, the Alps and the Ap'ennines. (1) The Alps form a semicircular boundary on the north and afford a formidable barrier against the neighboring countries of Europe. Starting from the sea at its western extremity, this chain stretches toward the north for about 150 miles, when it rises in the lofty peak of Mt. Blanc, 15,000 feet in height; and then continues its course in an easterly direction for about 330 miles, approaching the head of the Adriatic Sea, and disappearing along its coast. It is crossed by several passes,

through which foreign peoples have sometimes found their way into the peninsula. (2) The *Apennines*, beginning at the



western extremity of the Alps, extend through the whole length of the peninsula, forming the backbone of Italy. From this main line are thrown off numerous spurs and scattered peaks. Sometimes the Apennines have furnished to Rome a kind of barrier against invaders from the north.

The Rivers of Italy. — The most important river of Italy is the Po, which, with its hundred tributaries, drains the fertile valley in the north, lying between the Alps and the Apennines. The eastern slope of the peninsula proper is drained by a large number of streams, the most noted of which are the Ru'bicon, the Metau'rus, the Frento, and the Au'fidus. On the western slope the most important river is the Tiber, with its tributary, the A'nio.

Climate and Products. — The climate of Italy varies greatly as we pass from the north to the south. In the valley of the Po the winters are often severe, and the air is chilled by the neighboring snows of the Alps. In central Italy the climate is mild and agreeable, snow being rarely seen south of the Tiber, except on the ranges of the Apennines: while in southern Italy we approach a climate almost tropical, the land being often swept by the hot south wind, the *sirocco*, from the plains of Africa.

The soil of Italy is generally fertile, especially in the plains of the Po and the fields of Campania. The staple products in ancient times were wheat, the olive, and the vine. For a long period Italy took the lead of the world in the production of olive oil and wine. The production of wheat declined when Rome, by her conquests, came into commercial relation with more fertile countries, such as Egypt.

The Divisions of Italy. — For the purpose of convenience and to aid us in our future study, we may divide ancient Italy into three divisions: northern, central, and southern.

(1) **Northern Italy** comprised the whole continental portion from the Alps to a line drawn from the river Maera on the west to the Rubicon on the east. It contained three distinct countries: Liguria toward the west, Cisalpine Gaul in the center, and Venetia toward the east.

(2) **Central Italy** comprised the northern part of the peninsula proper, that is, the territory between the line just drawn from the Maera to the Rubicon, and another line drawn from the Sil'arnus on the west to the Frento on the east. This territory contained six countries, namely, three on the western coast, — Etruria, Latium (*Ag's-ti-on*), and Campania; and three on the eastern coast and along the Apennines, — Umbria, Pic'e-nam, and what we call the Sabellian country, which included many mountain tribes, chief among which were the Sa'bines, the Frenta'ni, and the Samnites.

(3) **Southern Italy** comprised the rest of the peninsula and contained four countries, namely, two on the western coast,

Lucania and Bruttium, extending into the toe of Italy; and two on the eastern coast, Apulia and Calabria (or Iapygia), extending into the heel of Italy.

III. THE PEOPLES OF ITALY

The Settlement of Italy. — Long before Rome was founded, every part of Italy was already peopled. Many of the peoples living there came from the north, around the head of the Adriatic, pushing their way toward the south into different parts of the peninsula. Others came from Greece by way of the sea, settling upon the southern coast. It is of course impossible for us to say precisely how Italy was settled. It is enough for us at present to know that most of the earlier settlers spoke an Indo-European, or Aryan, language, and that when they first appeared in Italy they were scarcely civilized, living upon their flocks and herds and just beginning to cultivate the soil.

The Italic Tribes. — The largest part of the peninsula was occupied by a number of tribes which made up the so-called Italic race.¹ We may for convenience group these tribes into four divisions, the Latins, the Oscans, the Sabelians, and the Umbrians.

(1) The *Latins* dwelt in central Italy, just south of the Tiber. They lived in villages scattered about Latium, tilling their fields and tending their flocks. The village was a col-



THE PEOPLES OF ITALY

¹ Remnants of other early peoples may be seen in the Lig'ures and the Ven'eti in the north, the Iapygians in the southeast, and the Sic'uli in Sicily.

lection of straw-thatched huts; it generally grew up about a hill, which was fortified, and to which the villagers could retreat in times of danger. Many of these Latin villages or hill-towns grew into cities, which were united into a league for mutual protection, and bound together by a common worship (of *Jupiter Latiaris*); and an annual festival which they celebrated on the Alban Mount, near which was situated Alba Longa, their chief city (see map, p. 46).



A TEMPORARY VILLAGE OF STRAW HUTS IN MODERN ITALY — SUPPOSED TO BE LIKE AN ANCIENT LATIN VILLAGE

(2) The *Oscans* were the remnants of an early Italic people which inhabited the country stretching southward from Latium, along the western coast. In their customs they were like the Latins, although perhaps not so far advanced. Some authors include in this branch the *Æquians*, the *Hernicans*, and the *Volscians*, who carried on many wars with Rome in early times.

(3) The *Sabellians* embraced the most numerous and warlike peoples of the Italic stock. They lived to the east and south of the Latins and Oscans, extending along the ridges and slopes of the Apennines. They were devoted not so much to farming as to the tending of flocks and herds. They lived also by

plundering their neighbors' harvests and carrying off their neighbors' cattle. They were broken up into a great number of tribes, the most noted of which were the Samnites, a hardy race which became the great rival of the Roman people for the possession of central Italy. Some of the Samnite people in very early times moved from their mountain home and settled in the fertile plain of Campania.

(4) The *Umbrians* lived to the north of the Sabellians. They are said to have been the oldest people of Italy. But when the Romans came into contact with them, they had become crowded into a comparatively small territory, and were easily conquered. They were broken up into small tribes, living in hill-towns and villages, and these were often united into loose confederacies.

The Etruscans.—Northwest of Latium dwelt the Etruscans, in some respects the most remarkable people of early Italy. Their origin is shrouded in mystery. In early times they were a powerful nation, stretching from the Po to the Tiber, and having possessions even in the plains of Campania. Their cities were fortified, often in the strongest manner, and also linked together in confederations. Their prosperity was founded not only upon agriculture, but also upon commerce.



ETRUSCAN TOMB

Their religion was a gloomy and weird superstition, in which they thought that they could discover the will of the gods by means of augury, that is, by watching the flight of birds and by examining the entrails of animals. The Etruscans were great builders; and their massive walls, durable roads, well-constructed sewers, and imposing sepulchers show the greatness of their civilization.

The Greeks in Italy. — But the most civilized and cultivated people in Italy were the Greeks, who had planted their colonies at Taren'tum, and on the western coast as far as Naples (*Neapolis*) in Campania. So completely did these coasts become dotted with Greek cities, enlivened with Greek commerce, and influenced by Greek culture, that this part of the peninsula received the name of *Magna Græcia*.¹

The Gauls. — If the Greeks in the extreme south were the most civilized people of Italy, the Gauls or Celts, in the extreme north, were the most barbarous. Crossing the Alps from western Europe, they had pushed back the Etruscans and occupied the plains of the Po; hence this region received the name which it long held, *Cisalpine Gaul*. They held this territory against the Ligurians on the west and the Ven'eti on the east; and for a long time were the terror of the Italian people.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Ihne, *Early Rome*, Ch. 1, "The Greatness of Rome" (5).²

Michelet, Ch. 2, "Description of Italy" (6).

Liddell, *Introduction*, "Physical Geography of Italy" (1).

How and Leigh, Ch. 2, "Peoples of Italy" (1).

Shuckburgh, Ch. 3, "Inhabitants of Italy" (1).

Mommsen, *Vol. I., Bk. I.*, Ch. 3, "Settlements of the Latins" (2).

Mommsen, *abridged*, Ch. 5, "The Etruscans — The Greeks in Italy" (2).

SPECIAL STUDY

SOURCES OF ROMAN HISTORY. — Liddell, Ch. 16 (1); Ihne, *Early Rome*, Ch. 2 (5); Shuckburgh, pp. 54–60 (1); Mommsen, *abridged*, pp. vii.–xviii. (2); Dyer, *Kings of Rome*, *Introductory Dissertation* (5).

¹ It may be noticed here that the early Phœnician traders touched upon the coasts of Italy and the neighboring islands, and that Sardinia and western Sicily came to be occupied by Carthage, the greatest of the Phœnician colonies. Eastern Sicily was colonized by the Greeks.

² The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

THE ROMAN KINGDOM

PERIOD I. ROME UNDER THE EARLY KINGS (B.C. 753-616 ?)

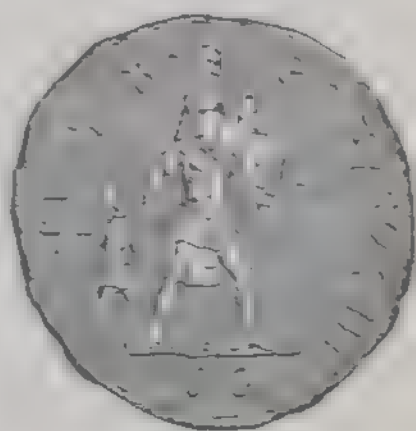
CHAPTER II

THE BEGINNINGS OF ROME

I. TRADITIONS OF THE EARLY KINGS

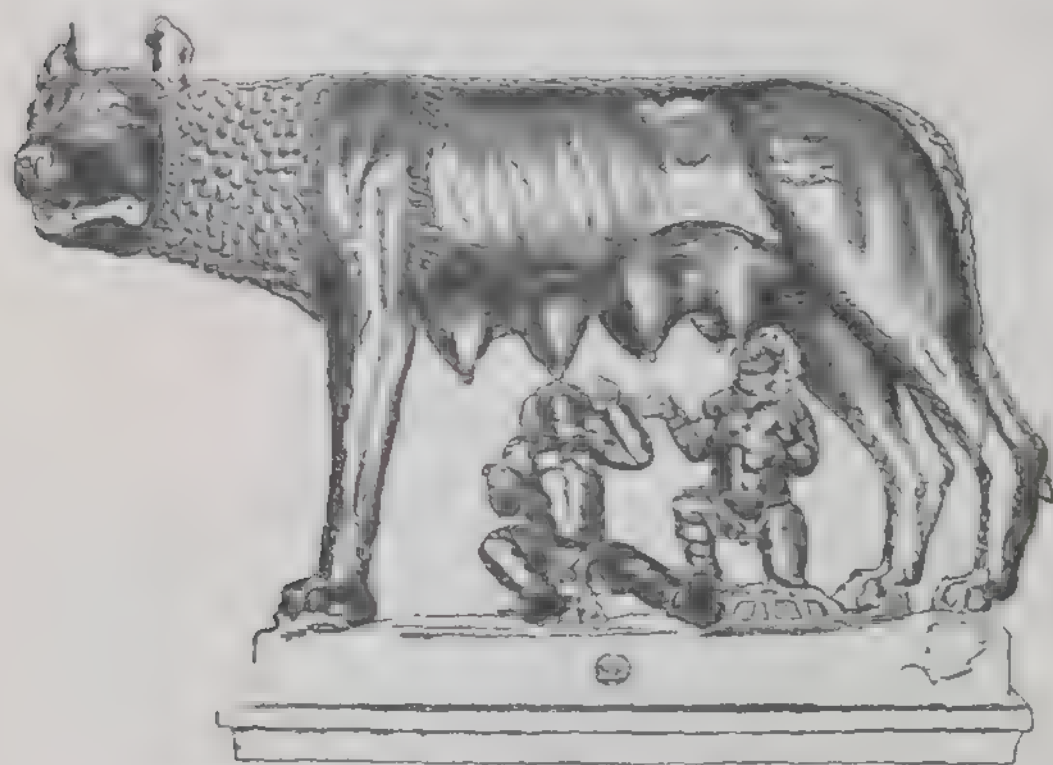
The Early Legendary History. — In its beginnings, the history of Rome, like that of all other ancient peoples, is made up largely of traditions. But we must not suppose on this account that the early history of Rome is a mere blank. Like all other traditions, these stories have in them some elements of truth. They show to us the ideas and the spirit of the Roman people; and they show how the Romans used to explain the origin of their own customs and institutions. While we may not believe all these stories, we cannot ignore them entirely; because they have a certain kind of historical value, and have become a part of the world's literature.

Foundation of the City. — According to the Roman legends, the origin of the city was connected with Alba Longa, the chief city of Latium; and the origin of Alba Longa was traced to the city of Troy in Asia Minor. After the fall of that famous city, it is said that the Trojan hero, Æneas, fled from the



ÆNEAS (Coin)

ruins, bearing upon his shoulder his aged father, Anchi'ses, and leading by the hand his son, Ascanius. Guided by the star of his mother, Venus, he landed on the shores of Italy with a band of Trojans, and was assured by omens that Latium was to be the seat of a great empire. He founded the city of Lavinium, and after his death his son Ascanius transferred the seat of the kingdom to Alba Longa. Here his descendants ruled for three hundred years, when the throne was usurped by a prince called Amu'tius. To secure himself against any possible rivals, this usurper caused his brother's daughter, Rhea Silvia, to take the



ROMULUS AND REMUS AND THE WOLF
(Bronze statue, Rome)

vows of a vestal virgin. But she became the mother of twin children, Rom'ulus and Remus; their father was Mars, the god of war. The wicked Amulius caused the children to be thrown into the Tiber; but they remained under the guardianship of the gods. Drifting

ashore at the foot of the Pal'atine hill, they were nursed by a she-wolf, and were brought up at the home of a neighboring shepherd. And when they had grown to manhood, they founded (b.c. 753?) the city of Rome on the Palatine, where they had been providentially rescued. In a quarrel between the two brothers, Remus was killed, and Romulus became the king of the new city.

The Reign of Romulus. — Romulus was looked upon by the Romans not only as the founder of their city, but as the creator of their social and political institutions. He is said to have peopled his new town by opening an asylum for refugees; and when he wanted wives for his people he captured them from

the Sabines. After a war with the Sabines peace was made; and the two peoples became bound together into one city under the two kings, Romulus and Titus Tatius. After the death of Titus, Romulus reigned alone and gave laws to the whole people. He made many wars upon the neighboring towns, and after a reign of thirty-seven years he was translated to heaven and worshiped under the name of Quiri'nus.

Numa Pompilius. — After a year's interregnum a Sabine named Numa Pompil'ius was elected as the second king of Rome. He is said to have been a very wise and pious man, and to have taught the Romans the arts of peace and the worship of the gods. Numa is represented in the legends as the founder of the Roman religion. He appointed priests and other ministers of religion. He divided the lands among the people, placing boundaries under the charge of the god Terminus. He is also said to have divided the year into twelve months, and thus to have founded the Roman calendar. After a peaceful reign of forty-two years, he was buried under the hill Janic'ulum, across the Tiber.

Tullus Hostilius. — The third king, Tullus Hostil'ius, was chosen from the Romans. His reign was noted for the conquest of Alba Longa. In accounts of this war with Alba Longa, the famous story is told of the Hora'tii and the Curia'tii, three brothers in each army, who were selected to decide the contest by a combat, which resulted in favor of the Horatii, the Roman champions. Alba Longa thus became subject to Rome. Afterward, Alba Longa was razed to the ground, and all its people were transferred to Rome. Tullus, it is said, neglected the worship of the gods, and was at last, with his whole house, destroyed by the lightnings of Jove.

Ancus Marcius. — After the reign of Tullus the people elected Ancus Marcius, a Sabine and a grandson of Numa Pompilius.



TERMINUS

He is said to have published the sacred laws of his grandfather, and to have tried to restore the arts of peace. But, threatened by the Latins, he conquered many of their cities, brought their inhabitants to Rome, and settled them upon the Av'entine hill. He fortified the hill Janiculum, on the other side of the Tiber, to protect Rome from the Etruscans, and built across the river a wooden bridge (the *Pons Sublicus*). He also conquered the lands between Rome and the sea and built the port of Ostia at the mouth of the Tiber.

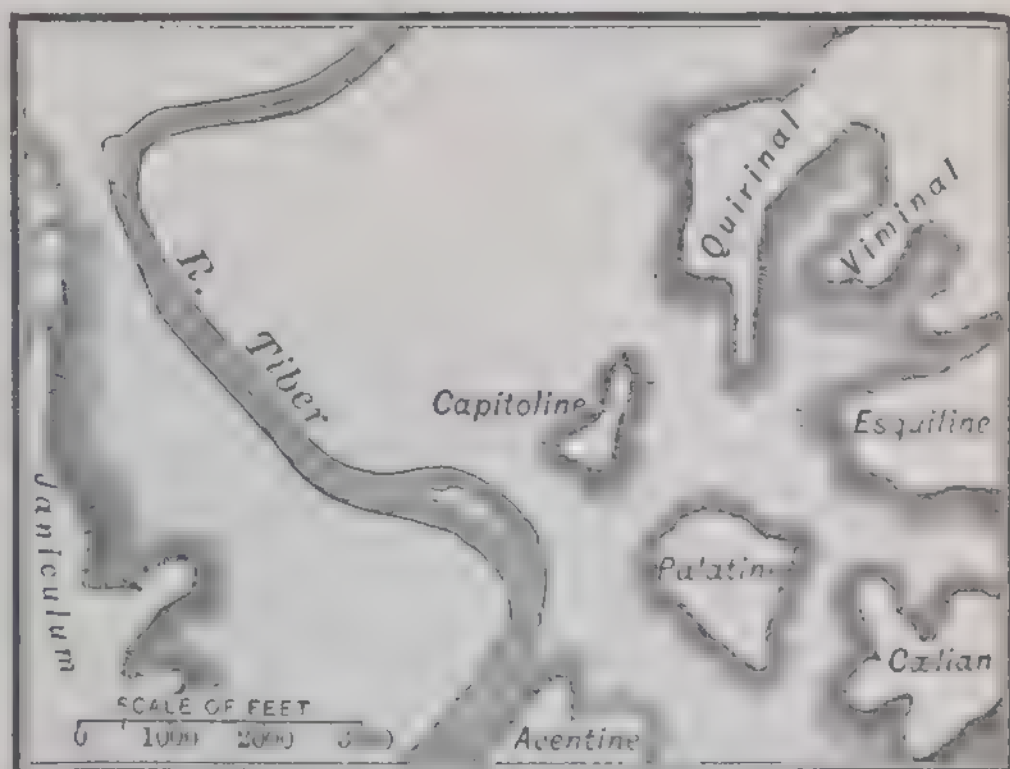
Credibility of the Legends. — These are in substance the stories which, decorated by many fanciful and miraculous incidents, the Romans were proud to relate as explaining the beginnings of their city and the work of their early kings. These traditions have been shown to be unworthy of belief in many particulars. It is of course impossible, in a small book like this, even to suggest the many and various opinions which have been expressed regarding the credibility of early Roman history. It is enough to say that, while we need not believe all the incidents and details contained in these stories, we may find in them references to facts and institutions which really existed; and with the aid of other means, we may put these facts together so as to explain in a rational way the origin and growth of the famous city on the Tiber.

II. THE SITUATION OF ROME

The Hills of Rome. — To obtain a more definite knowledge of the birth of Rome than we can get from the traditional stories, we must study that famous group of hills which may be called the "cradle of the Roman people." By looking at these hills, we can see quite clearly how Rome must have come into being, and how it became a powerful city. The location of these hills was favorable for defense, and for the beginning of a strong settlement. Situated about eighteen miles from the mouth of the Tiber, they were far enough removed from the sea to be secure from the attacks of the pirates that infested these

waters; while the river afforded an easy highway for commerce.

Their Relation to One Another. — To understand the relation of these hills to one another, we may consider them as forming two groups, the northern and the southern. The southern group comprised three hills—the Palatine, the Cælian, and the Aventine—arranged in the form of a triangle, with the Palatine projecting to the north. The northern group comprised four hills, arranged in the form of a crescent or



THE HILLS OF ROME

semicircle, in the following order, beginning from the east: the Esquiline, the Viminal, the Quir'inal, and the Cap'itoline—the last being a sort of spur of the Quirinal. These two groups of



LANDS ABOUT THE TIBER

hills became, as we shall see, the seats of two different settlements. Of all the hills on the Tiber, the Palatine occupied the most central and commanding position. It was, therefore, the people of the Palatine settlement who would naturally become the controlling people of the seven-hilled city.

Their Relation to Neighboring Lands. — By looking at the neighboring lands about the Tiber, we see that Rome was

located at the point of contact between three important countries. On the south and east was Latium, the country of the Latins, already dotted with a number of cities, the most important of which was Alba Longa. On the north was the country of the Sabines, a branch of the Sabellian stock. On the northwest was Etruria, with a large number of cities organized in confederacies and inhabited by the most civilized and enterprising people of central Italy. The peoples of these three different countries were pushing their outposts in the direction of the seven hills. It is not difficult for us to see that the time must come when there would be a struggle for the possession of this important locality.

III. THE ORIGIN OF THE CITY

The Latin Settlement on the Palatine. — So far as we know, the first people to get a foothold upon the site of Rome were the Latins, who formed a settlement about the Palatine hill. This Latin settlement was at first a small village. It consisted of a few farmers and shepherds who were sent out from Latium (perhaps from Alba Longa) as a sort of outpost, both to protect



HUT-SHAPED URN

the Latin frontier and to trade with the neighboring tribes. The people who formed this settlement were called *Romnes*. They dwelt in their rude straw huts on the slopes of the Palatine, and on the lower lands in the direction of the Aventine and the Cælian. The outlying lands furnished the fields which they tilled and used for pasturage. In order to protect them from attacks, the sides of the Palatine hill were strengthened by a wall built of rude but solid masonry. This fortified place was called *Roma Quadra'ta*,¹ or "Square Rome." It formed the citadel of the colony, into which the

¹ This has been the generally accepted view; but some authorities say that the name was applied only to a square altar in the center of the city.

settlers could drive their cattle and conduct their families when attacked by hostile neighbors. What some persons suppose to be the primitive wall of the Palatine city, known as the Wall of Romulus, has in recent years been uncovered, showing the general character of this first fortification of Rome.

The Sabine Settlement on the Quirinal. — Opposite the Palatine settlement there grew up a settlement on the Quirinal hill.

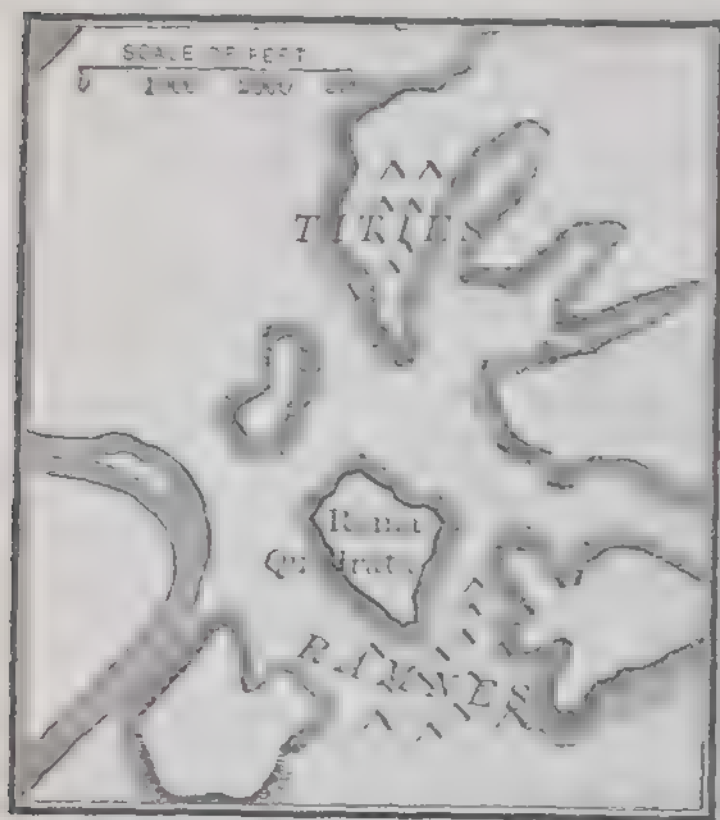


"WALL OF ROMULUS"

This Quirinal settlement seems to have been an outpost or colony of the Sabine people, just as the Palatine settlement was a Latin colony. The Sabines were pushing southward from beyond the Anio. The settlers on the Quirinal were called *Tit'i-es*; their colony formed a second hill-town, similar in character and nearly equal in extent to the Palatine town.

Union of the Romans and the Sabines. — The two hill-towns which thus faced each other naturally became rivals for the possession of the lands near the Tiber; but being so nearly of

equal strength, neither could conquer the other. If these settlements had not been so close together, they might have indulged in occasional strife and still remained separate; but



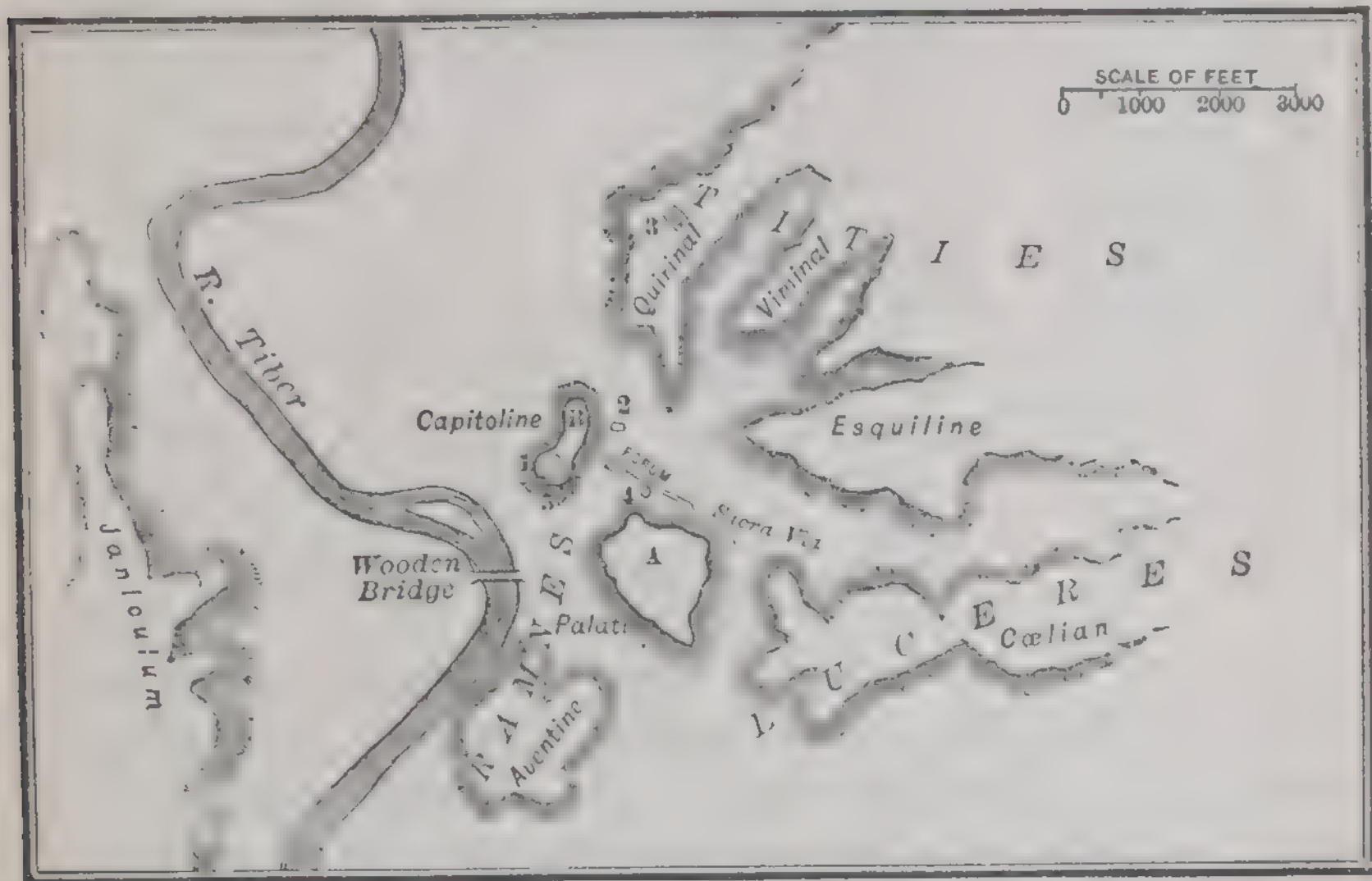
THE EARLIEST SETTLEMENTS ON THE
TIBER

being near to each other, they were obliged to be constantly at war, or else to come to some friendly understanding. They chose the latter course, and after forming an alliance, were united by a permanent league, and really became a single city. To celebrate this union, the intervening space was dedicated to the two-faced god, Janus, who watched the approaches of both towns, and whose temple was said to have been built by

Numa. The Capitoline hill was chosen as the common citadel. The space between the two towns was used as a common market place (*forum*), and also as a place for the common meeting of the people (*comitium*). This union of the Palatine and Quirinal towns into one community, with a common religion and government, was an event of great importance. It was, in fact, the first step in the process of "incorporation" which afterward made Rome the most powerful city of Latium, of Italy, and finally of the world.

The Third Settlement, on the Cælian. — The union of the Romans (*Romnes*) and the Sabines (*Tities*) was followed by the introduction of a third people, called the *Lu'ceres*. This people was probably a body of Latins who had been conquered and settled upon the Cælian hill — although they are sometimes regarded as having been Etruscans. Whatever may have been their origin, it is quite certain that they soon came to be incorporated as a part of the whole city community. The city of the early Roman kings thus came to be made up of three divisions, or "tribes" (*tribus*, a third part, from *tres*, three).

The evidence of this threefold origin was preserved in many institutions of later times. The three settlements were gradually united into a single city-state with common social, politi-



THE CITY OF THE EARLY KINGS—THE THREE TRIBES

A, Roma Quadrata. B, Arx, or Citadel.

Temples, Altars, etc.: 1, Jupiter Capitolinus; 2, Janus; 3, Quirinus; 4, Vesta; 5, Tarpeian Rock.

cal, and religious institutions. By this union the new city became strong and able to compete successfully with its neighbors.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

- Merivale, Gen. Hist., Ch. 3, "The Earliest Legends" (1).¹
 How and Leigh, Ch. 3, "Legends of the Kings" (1).
 Pelham, Bk. I., Ch. 1, "The Traditions" (1).
 Parker, Arch. Hist., Ch. 2, "Roma Quadrata" (9).
 Shuckburgh, Ch. 4, "Origin of Rome" (1).
 Mommsen, Vol. I., Bk. I., Ch. 4, "Beginnings of Rome" (2).
 Plutarch, "Romulus," "Numa" (11).
 Livy, Bk. I., Chs. 24-26, The Horatii and Curiatii (4).

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

SPECIAL STUDY

CRITICALITY OF EARLY ROMAN HISTORY. — LARSEN, Ch. 5 (1); DENN, Early Rome, Ch. 4 (5); HOW and LEIGH, pp. 34-37 (1); LEIGHTON, Ch. 1 (1); MILLER, pp. 40-42 (20); LEWIS, Criminology, 2d. edition (2).

CHAPTER III

THE INSTITUTIONS OF EARLY ROME

I. THE EARLY ROMAN SOCIETY

The Social Institutions. — We have thus far traced the origin of the Roman city, according to what seem to be the most reasonable and generally accepted views. Various writers on early Roman history, of course, differ upon many matters of detail: but they are fairly well agreed that the Roman city grew out of a settlement of Latin shepherds and farmers on the Palatine hill; and that this first settlement slowly expanded by taking in and uniting with itself the settlements established on the other hills. But to understand more fully the beginnings of this little city-state, we must look at the way in which the people were organized, that is, how they were arranged in social groups: how they were ruled; and how their society and government were held together and made strong by a common religion. Let us look first at the early social institutions.

The Roman Family. — The smallest group of Roman society was the family, which the early Romans regarded as the most important and sacred of all human institutions. At its head was the household father (*paterfamilias*). He was supreme ruler over all the members of the household; his power extended to life and death. He had charge of the family worship and performed the religious rites about the sacred

fire, which was kept burning upon the family altar. Around the family hearth were gathered the sons and daughters, grandsons and granddaughters, and also the adopted children,—all of whom remained under the power of the father as long as he lived. The family might also have dependent members, called “clients,” who looked up to the father as their “patron”; and also slaves, who served the father as their master. Every Roman looked with pride upon his family and the deeds of his ancestors; and it was regarded as a great calamity for the family worship to become extinct.



DOMESTIC ALTAR

The Roman Gens. — A number of families which were supposed to be descended from a common ancestor formed a clan, or *gens*. Like the family, the gens was bound together by common religious rites. It was also governed by a common chief or ruler (*decurio*), who performed the religious rites, and led the people in war.

The Roman Curia. — A number of *gentes* formed a still larger group, called a *curia*. In ancient times, when different people wished to unite, it was customary for them to make the union sacred by worshiping some common god. So the curia was bound together by the worship of a common deity. To preside over the common worship, a chief (*curio*) was selected, who was also the military commander in time of war, and chief magistrate in time of peace. The chief was assisted by a council of elders; and upon the most important questions he consulted the members of the curia in a common place of meeting (*comitium*). So that the curia was a small confederation of *gentes*, and made what we might call a little state.

The Roman Tribes. — There was in the early Roman society a still larger group than the curia; it was what was called the tribe. It was a collection of *curiae* which had united for purposes of common defense and had come to form quite

a distinct and well-organized community, like that which had settled upon the Palatine hill, and also like the Sabine community which had settled upon the Quirinal. Each of these settlements was therefore a tribe. Each had its chief, or king (*rex*), who was priest of the common religion, military commander in time of war, and civil magistrate to settle all disputes. Like the curia, it had also a council of elders and a general assembly of all people capable of bearing arms. Three of such tribes formed the whole Roman people.

II. THE EARLY ROMAN GOVERNMENT

The Growth of the Roman Government. — It will now be easy for us to understand how the government of the whole united city came into existence. Each of the tribes, as we have seen, had its own king, its council of elders, and its general assembly. When the tribes on the Palatine and Quirinal hills united and became one people, their governments were also united and became one government. For example, their two kings were replaced by one king chosen alternately from each tribe. Their two councils of one hundred members each were united in a single council of two hundred members. Their two assemblies, each one of which was made up of ten curiæ, were combined into a single assembly of twenty curiæ. And when the third tribe is added, we have a single king, a council of elders made up of three hundred members, and an assembly of the people composed of thirty curiæ.

The Roman King. — The Roman king was the chief of the whole people. He was elected by all the people in their common assembly and inaugurated under the approval of the gods. He was in a sense the father of the whole nation. He was the chief priest of the national religion. He was the military commander of the people, whom he called to arms in time of war. He administered law and justice, and like the father of the household had the power of life and death over all his subjects.

The Roman Senate. — The council of elders for the united city was called the senate (from *senex*, an old man). It was composed of the chief men of the gentes, chosen by the king to assist him with their advice. It comprised at first one hundred members, then two hundred, and finally three hundred — the original number having been doubled and tripled, with the addition of the second and third tribes. The senate at first had no power to make laws, only the power to give advice, which the king might accept or not, as he pleased.

The Comitia Curiata. — All the people of the thirty curiæ, capable of bearing arms, formed a general assembly of the united city, called the *comitia curiata*. In this assembly each curia had a single vote, and the will of the assembly was determined by a majority of such votes. In a certain sense the *comitia curiata* was the ultimate authority in the state. It elected the king and passed a law conferring upon him his power. It ratified or rejected the most important proposals of the king regarding peace and war. The early city-state of Rome may then be described as a democratic monarchy, in which the power of the king was based upon the will of the people.

III. THE EARLY ROMAN RELIGION

The Growth of the Early Religion. — Like the Roman government, so the early Roman religion grew up with the union of the various settlements into one community. When the different tribes came together into the Roman city, they selected Jupiter and Mars as their common gods to be worshiped upon the Capitoline hill, together with Quirinus on the Quirinal. As the fire was kept burning on the family hearth, so the sacred fire of the city was kept burning in the temple of Vesta. The Roman people were filled with religious ideas. All power, from that of the household father to that of the king, was



TEMPLE OF JUPITER CAPITOLINUS (Medallion)

believed to come from above. In peace and in war they lived in the presence of the gods, and sought to remember them by worship and festivals.

The Early Roman Deities. — To the ancestral gods which were worshiped in the family and gens, were added the gods of nature, which the Romans saw everywhere. These earliest deities were those which naturally sprang from the imagination of a pastoral and agricultural people. In their gods they saw the protectors of their flocks and herds, and the guardians of the weather, the seasons, and the fruits of the soil. Jove (Jupiter) was the god of the sky and the elements of the air, the thunder and the lightning. Tellus was the goddess of the earth, and the mother of all living things; Saturn, the god of sowing; and Ceres, the goddess of the harvest; Minerva, the goddess of olives; Flora, of flowers; and Liber, the god of wine.

The Religious Officers. — The king was the supreme religious officer of the state; but he was assisted by other persons, whom he appointed for special religious duties. To each of the three great national gods — Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus — was assigned a special priest, called a *flamen*. To keep the fires of Vesta always burning, there were appointed six vestal virgins, who were regarded as the consecrated daughters of the state. Special pontiffs, under the charge of a *pontifex maximus*, had charge of the religious festivals and ceremonies; and the *fetiales* were intrusted with the formality of declaring war.



THE SIX VESTALS
(Medallion)

The Religious Observances. — The Romans showed their remembrance of the gods in their prayers, offerings, and festivals. The prayers were addressed to the gods for the purpose of obtaining favors, and were often accompanied by vows. The religious offerings consisted either of the fruits of the earth, such as flowers, wine, milk, and honey; or the sacrifices of domestic animals, such as oxen, sheep, and swine. The festi-

vals which were celebrated in honor of the gods were very numerous and were scattered through the different months of the year. The old Roman calendar contained a long list of these festival days. The new year began with March and was consecrated to Mars and celebrated with war festivals. Other religious festivals were devoted to the sowing of the seed, the gathering of the harvest, and similar events which belonged to the life of an agricultural people such as the early Romans were.



A ROMAN SACRIFICE

SELECTIONS FOR READING

- Arnold, Hist., Ch. 2, "Early History of Rome" (2).¹
 How and Leigh, Ch. 4, "The Regal Period" (1).
 Pelham, Bk. I., Ch. 2, "The City and the Commonwealth" (1).
 Mommsen, Vol. I., Bk. I., Ch. 5, "Original Constitution of Rome" (2).
 Mommsen, abridged, Ch. 3, "Rome's Original Constitution" (2).

SPECIAL STUDY

THE ROMAN RELIGION. — Leighton, Ch. 4 (1); Ihne, Early Rome, Ch. 6 (5); Mommsen, Vol. I., Bk. I., Ch. 12 (2); Ramsay and Lanciani, Ch. 10 (8); Eschenburg, pp. 229-248 (8); Harper's Dict. Antiqq., "Religio," "Sacerdos," "Sacrificium" (8); Coulanges, Bk. I. (20).

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

PERIOD II. ROME UNDER THE LATER KINGS (B. C. 616-510?)

CHAPTER IV

THE ETRUSCAN KINGS OF ROME

I. THE TRADITIONS OF THE LATER KINGS

The Later Kingdom. — As we come to the later kingdom, we shall see that many changes took place which made Rome quite different from what it was in the early period. The history is still based upon legends; but these legends are somewhat more trustworthy than the older ones. We shall see that Rome now came under foreign princes; and that the city was greatly improved, and its institutions were changed in many respects. These new kings, instead of being Romans or Sabines, were Etruscans, who gave to Rome something of the character of an Etruscan city.

Tarquinius Priscus. — The first of these new kings, it is said, came from the Etruscan city of Tarquinii, from which he de-

rived his name. The story is told that, as he approached the city, an eagle came from the sky, and, lifting his cap from his head, replaced it. His wife, who was skilled in the Etruscan art of augury, regarded the eagle as a messenger from heaven, and its act as a sign that her husband was to acquire honor



ROMAN EAGLE

and power. At the death of Ancus Marcius, Tarquinius became king. He carried on many wars with the neighboring peoples,

the Latins and the Sabines. He was great in peace as well as in war. He drained the city, improved the Forum, and founded a temple to Jupiter on the Capitoline hill. After a reign of thirty-eight years, he was treacherously slain by the sons of Ancus Marcius.

Servius Tullius. — The next king was Servius Tullius, who is said to have been the son of a slave in the royal household, and whom the gods favored by mysterious signs. He proved a worthy successor to the first Tarquin. He made a treaty with the Latins, by which Rome was acknowledged as the head of Latium; and as a sign of this union, he built a temple to Diana on the Aventine hill. He enlarged the city and inclosed the seven hills within a single wall. After a reign of forty-four years, he was murdered by his own son-in-law, who became the next king.

Tarquinius Superbus. — Tradition represents the last king, Tarquinius Superbus, as a cruel despot. He obtained the throne by murder, and ruled without the consent of the senate or the people. He loved power and pomp. He continued the wars with the Latins. He also waged war with the Volscians on the southern borders of Latium; and with the spoils there obtained he finished the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline hill. Although he scorned religion, it is related that he was induced to buy the Sibylline books from the inspired prophetess of Cumæ. It is also said that later in life he was frightened by strange dreams, and sent his two sons, with his nephew Brutus, to consult the Greek oracle at Delphi. To one question asked the oracle, the response was given that the person who first kissed his mother should succeed to the power of Tarquin. Brutus showed that he was the person intended, by falling and kissing the earth, the common mother of all. The traditions tell us how at last the proud Tarquin was driven from the throne and the kingdom was ended.

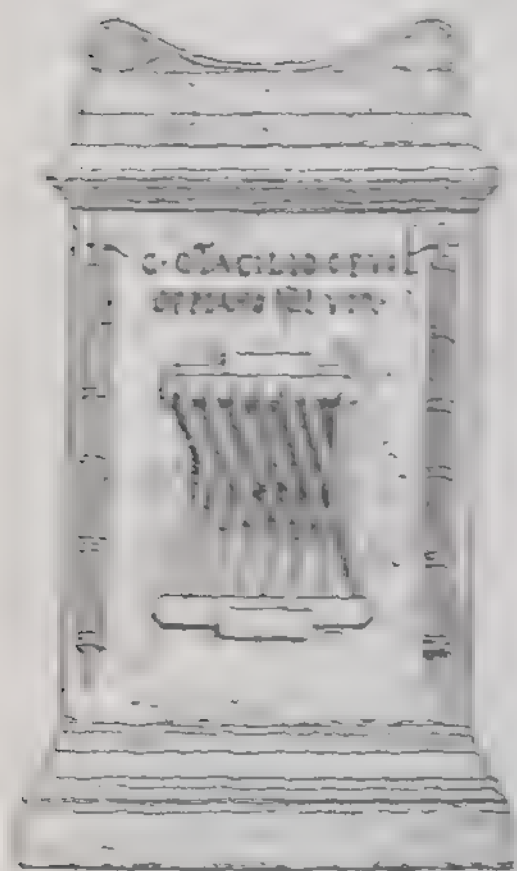
Significance of the Legends. — We cannot of course accept these stories as real history. We can yet see in them the evidence that Rome was becoming different from what it had been

under the early kings. We can see that Rome came under the power of the Etruscans: that it was much improved by the construction of great public works and buildings: and that it acquired a dominant power over the neighboring land of Latium.

II. THE ETRUSCAN INFLUENCE

The Kingly Power.—One of the most important features of the Etruscan dynasty was the increase of the kingly power. All the Etruscan kings were represented as powerful rulers. Although they could not change the spirit and character of the people, they gave to Rome a certain kind of strength and influence which it did not have before. This great power of the

Etruscan kings was at first used for the good of the people; but finally it became a tyranny which was oppressive and hateful.



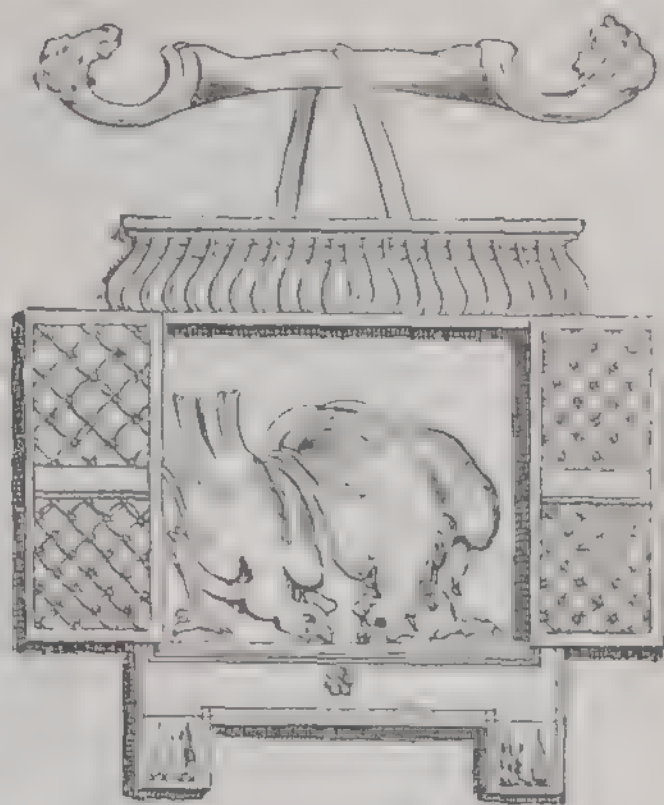
CURULE CHAIR AND FASCES

The Insignia of Power.—From the Etruscans came the royal insignia, that is, the symbols of power which were intended to make the person of the king more dignified and respected. These insignia consisted of a golden crown, an ivory scepter, an ivory chair called the "curule chair," a white robe with a purple border (*toga prætexta*), and twelve lictors, or royal attendants, each carrying a bundle of rods (*fascēs*) inclosing an ax. This last symbol was a sign of the absolute power of the king.

The Haruspices.—From Etruria also came the art of the haruspices, or soothsayers, who interpreted the will of the gods. These persons were supposed to ascertain the divine will by observing the lightning and other phenomena of nature, and also by examining the internal organs of animals

offered in sacrifice, and even by watching the sacred chickens as they ate their food. The Etruscan soothsayers were supposed to be better versed in divine things than the Roman augurs; and the senate is said to have provided for the perpetual cultivation of the Etruscan ritual.

Public Works. — The buildings and other public works of the later kings bear the marks of Etruscan influence. The massive and durable style of architecture, especially as seen in the walls and the sewers constructed at this time, shows that they were the works of great and experienced builders. The name of the "Tuscan Street" (*vicus Tuscus*) which opened into the Forum, preserved the memory of this foreign influence in the Roman city.



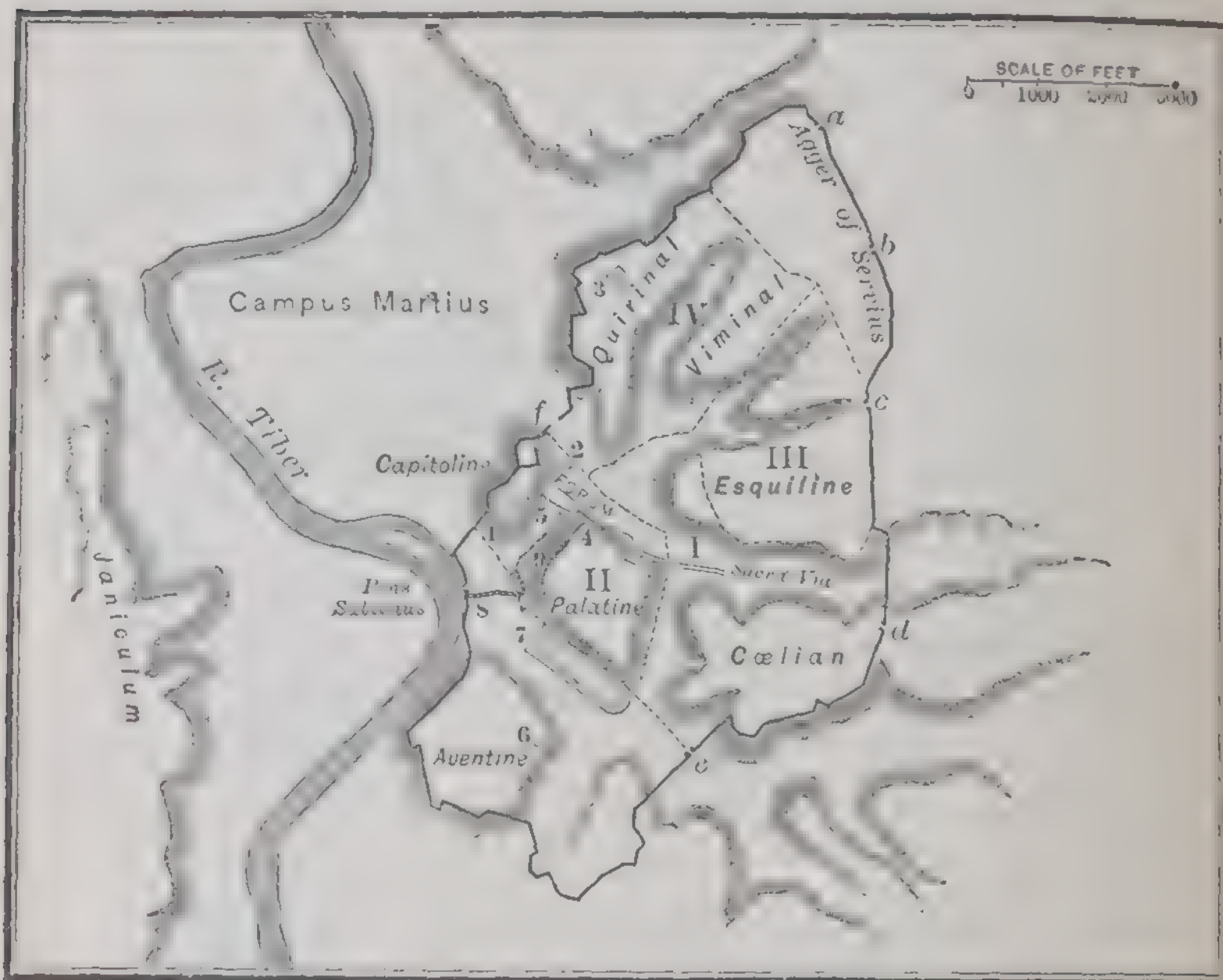
SACRED CHICKENS
(From an ancient cameo)

III. THE GROWTH OF THE CITY

The Servian Walls. — The expansion of the city under the Tarquins is shown, in the first place, by the construction of the new and larger walls which are ascribed to Servius Tullius, and which received his name. Previous to this time the principal city wall was on the Palatine. Some of the other hills were partly fortified. But now a single fortification was made to encircle all the seven hills, by joining the old walls and by erecting new defenses. The walls were generally built of large, rectangular blocks of stone, and so durable were they that they remained the only defenses of the city for many hundreds of years; and parts of them may be seen at the present day.

The New Temples. — Under the Tarquins, the temples of the city assumed a more imposing architectural appearance. Be-

fore this the places of worship were generally altars, set up on consecrated places, and perhaps covered with a simple roof. The Etruscan kings gave a new dignity to the sacred build-



THE CITY OF THE LATER KINGS — WALLS OF SERVIUS

The four Servian regions : I, Suburana; II, Palatina; III, Esquilina; IV, Collina.

The chief gates of Rome : a, Collina; b, Viminalis; c, Esquilina; d, Querquetulana; e, Capena; f, Ratumena.

The chief buildings, etc. : 1, Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus; 2, Janus; 3, Quirinus; 4, Vesta; 5, Saturn; 6, Diana; 7, Circus Maximus; 8, Cloaca Maxima; 9, Vicus Tuscus.

ings. The most imposing example of the new structures was the temple dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, on the Capitoline hill, which contained shrines set apart for the worship of Juno and Minerva. Other new temples were the one dedicated to Saturn at the foot of the Capitoline near the Forum, and one dedicated to Diana on the Aventine.

The Cloaca Maxima. — Among the most remarkable works of the Tarquins were the sewers which were constructed to drain the city. The most important of these was the famous *Cloaca*

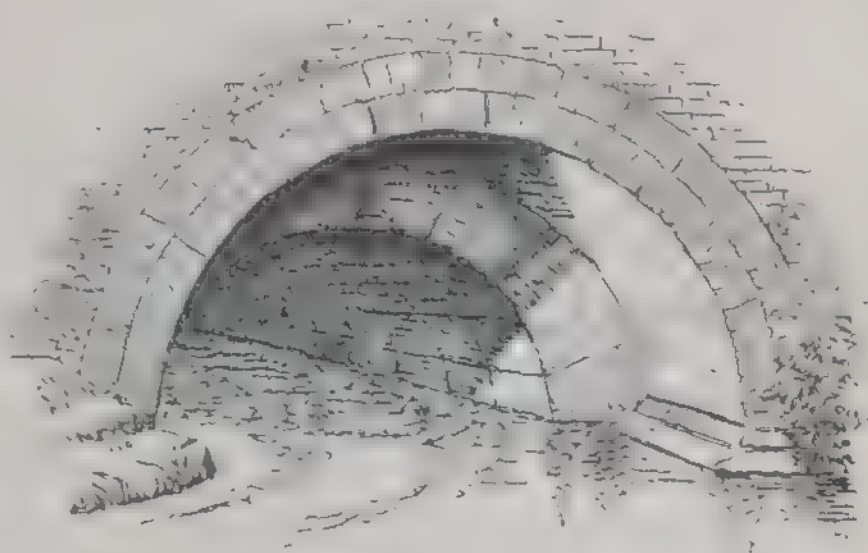
Maxima, or great drain, which ran under the Forum and emptied into the Tiber. It was said to be large enough to admit a hay-



CAPITOLINE HILL (Restoration)

cart, and one could sail down it in a boat. It was strongly built of stone, in the form of a semicircular arch, such as the Etruscans had used, and its mouth is still visible on the shore of the Tiber.

The Circus Maximus. — For the amusement of the people, games were introduced from Etruria, and a great circus, called the *Circus Maximus*, was laid out between the Aventine and the Palatine hill.



CLOACA MAXIMA

Here the people assembled once every year, to witness chariot races and boxing and other sports, which were



GAMES OF THE CIRCUS (An ancient mosaic)

celebrated in honor of the gods who were worshiped on the Capitoline.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

- Merivale, Gen. Hist., Ch. 4, "The Three Later Kings" (1).¹
 Liddell, Ch. 3, "Tarquinius Priscus and Servius Tullius" (1).
 Parker, Arch. Hist., Ch. 5, "The City on the Seven Hills" (9).
 Abbott, Ch. 2, "Monarchical Institutions" (13).
 Livy, Bk. I., Chs. 34-39, Stories of Tarquinius Priscus (4).

SPECIAL STUDY

THE CITY UNDER THE KINGS. — Dyer, pp. 1-61 (9) ; Parker, Chs. 2-5 (9) ; Liddell, pp. 52-55 (1) ; Arnold, Chs. 3, 5 (2) ; Merivale, Gen. Hist., Ch. 78 (1).

CHAPTER V

THE REORGANIZATION OF THE KINGDOM

I. THE INTRODUCTION OF THE PLEBEIANS

The Reforms of the Tarquins. — We must not suppose that the work of the Etruscan kings was simply to give to Rome better buildings and more durable public works. However important these may have been, the Tarquins did something which was of still greater benefit to the Roman people. The first Tarquin and Servius Tullius are described as great reformers, who made the little Roman state stronger and more compact than it had been before. Let us see why the Roman state needed to be reformed, and how this reform was brought about.

The Patrician Aristocracy. — We have already seen that the early Roman people was made up of three tribes, that is, the three old communities which were settled on the Roman hills. We have also seen that these tribes were made up of *curiæ*; and these *curiæ* of *gentes*; and lastly, that these *gentes* were composed of the old families. It is therefore evident that no person could be a member of the state unless he was a

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

member of some old Roman family. It was only the descendants of the old families who could vote in the assembly or could be chosen to the senate. And it was they only who were called upon to serve in the army. These old families and their descendants were called patricians; and the state was in reality a patrician state. As all other persons were excluded from political rights and privileges, the patricians formed an aristocratic class, exclusive and devoted to their own interests.

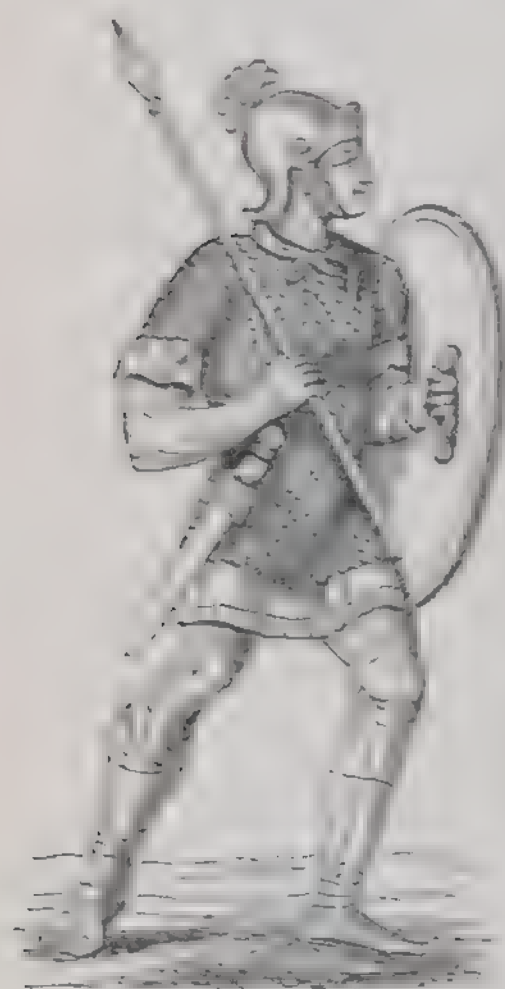
The Growth of the Plebeians.—But in the course of time there grew up by the side of the patricians a new class of persons. Though living at Rome, they were not members of the old families, and hence had no share in the government. These persons were called plebe'ians. There were no doubt many of these persons under the early kings; but they became more numerous under the later kings. They consisted largely of people of other cities who had been conquered and brought to Rome, and of people who had escaped from other cities and found refuge at Rome. They thus became subjects, but not citizens. They could not hold office, nor vote; nor could they marry into the patrician families; although they were allowed to hold property of their own. But as they became more numerous, and as some of them became wealthy, they desired to be made equal with the patricians.

The New Plebeian Gentes.—It was Tarquinius Priscus, the first Etruscan king, who, it is said, took the first step toward introducing the plebeians into the state. He did this by introducing into each one of the tribes a number of the more wealthy plebeian families, under the name of lesser gentes (*gentes minores*); while the old patrician gentes were called by the more honorable name of greater gentes (*gentes maiores*). In this way the line of separation between the patricians and the plebeians began to be broken down, but it was many years after this time before the two classes became entirely equal.

II. THE REFORMED CONSTITUTION

The New Local Tribes. — More important than the reforms of Tarquinius Priscus were the reforms which are said to have been made by Servius Tullius. The previous changes had affected only a small part of the plebeian class: the great body of the plebeians remained just where they were before. Now Servius saw that Rome would be stronger and more able to compete with her enemies if the plebeians were called upon to serve in the army and pay taxes, just like the patricians. He therefore made a new division of the people, based not upon their birth and descent, like the old division into tribes, but upon their domicile, that is, the place where they lived. He divided the whole Roman territory, city and country, into local districts, like wards and townships. There were four of these in the city, and sixteen in the country, the former being called "city tribes" (*tribus urbanae*), and the latter

"rural tribes" (*tribus rusticæ*). All persons, whether patricians or plebeians, who had settled homes (*assidui*), were enrolled in their proper tribes and were made subject to military service and the tribal tax (*tributum*).



SOLDIER WITH FULL ARMOR

The New Classes and Centuries. — The next step which Servius took was to reorganize the Roman army, so that it should include all persons who resided in the Roman territory and were enrolled in the new local tribes. First came the cavalry (*eq'uites*), made up of young wealthy citizens, and arranged in eighteen centuries, or companies. Next came the infantry (*ped'ites*), which comprised all the rest of the men capable of bearing arms. In ancient times every man was obliged to furnish his own weapons. Now as all the people could not afford

to obtain the heavier armor, they were subdivided into "classes" according to their wealth, and according to the armor it was supposed they could afford to furnish. The first class consisted of eighty centuries, and was made up of the wealthiest men, who could afford a full armor—a brass shield carried on the left arm, greaves which covered the legs, a cuirass to protect the breast, and a helmet for the head, together with a sword and a spear. The second class had in place of the brass shield a wooden shield, covered with leather. The third class omitted the greaves, and the fourth class omitted also the cuirass and the helmet, carrying only the wooden shield, spear, and sword. The fifth class was made up of the poorest citizens, who fought only with darts and slings. Each of these classes, except the first, was arranged in twenty centuries, or companies. One half of the centuries in each class were composed of the younger men (*iuniores*), who might be called out at any time. The other half were composed of the older men (*seniores*), who were called out only in times of great danger. Besides, there were fifteen centuries of musicians, carpenters, and substitutes. We may perhaps get a clearer idea of this new military arrangement by the following table:—



SLINGER

I. Cavalry (<i>Equites</i>)				18 centuries.
II. Infantry (<i>Pedites</i>)				
1st class	(40 <i>iuniores</i> ,	40 <i>seniores</i>)		80 "
2d	" (10	" 10	")	20 "
3d	" (10	" 10	")	20 "
4th	" (10	" 10	")	20 "
5th	" (10	" 10	")	20 "
Musicians, Carpenters, Substitutes . . .				15 "
Total				193 centuries.

The New Assembly, Comitia Centuriata.— This arrangement of the people was first intended for a military purpose; but it soon came to have a political character also. There was every reason why the important questions relating to war, which had heretofore been left to the old body of armed citizens, should now be left to the new body of armed citizens. As a matter of fact, the new fighting body became a new voting body; and there thus arose a new assembly, called the assembly of the centuries (*comitia centuriata*). But this new assembly did not lose its original military character. For example, it was called together, not by the voice of the lictor, like the old assembly, but by the sound of the trumpet. Again, it did not meet in the Forum, where the old assembly met, but in the Field of Mars (*Campus Martius*), outside of the city. It also voted by centuries, that is, by military companies. After a time the *comitia centuriata* acquired the character of a real political and legislative body, of greater importance than the old *comitia curiata*.

III. THE SUPREMACY OF ROME IN LATIUM

Conquests in Latium.— While Rome was thus becoming strong, and her people were becoming more united and better organized, she was also gaining power over the neighboring lands. The people with whom she first came into contact were the Latins. A number of Latin towns were conquered and brought under her power, and were made a part of the Roman domain (*ager Romanus*). She also pushed her conquests across the Anio into the Sabine country, and across the Tiber into Etruria. So that before the fall of the kingdom, Rome had begun to be a conquering power. But her conquests at present were limited, for the most part, to Latium, and it was from this conquered land in Latium that she had created the rural tribes already mentioned.

Rome and the Latin League.— Outside of this conquered territory were the independent Latin cities, united together into a strong confederacy. When Alba Longa was conquered, Rome

succeeded to the headship of this confederacy of thirty cities. The people of these cities were not made Roman citizens; but they were given the right to trade and to intermarry with Romans. The Latin league was bound to Rome by a treaty, which made it partly subject to her; because it could not wage war without her consent, and it must assist her in her wars.

Review of the Roman Kingdom. — In the various ways which we have described, Rome had come to be a strong city, and was growing into something like a new nation, with a kind of national policy. If we should sum up this policy in two words, these words would be *expansion* and *incorporation*. By “expansion” we mean the extension of Roman power over the neighboring territory, whether by conquest or by alliance. By “incorporation” we mean the taking of subject people into the political body. For example, Rome had first incorporated the Sabine settlement on the Quirinal; then the Latin settlement on the Cælian; and finally the plebeian class, which had grown up by the side of the patrician class. By pursuing this kind of policy, Rome had come to be, at the end of the kingdom, a compact and quite well-organized city-state with a considerable territory of her own (*ager Romanus*) about the Tiber, and having a control over the cities of Latium.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Ihne, *Early Rome*, Ch. 9, “People of the Regal Period” (5).¹

Shuckburgh, Ch. 5, “The Regal Period” (1).

Granrud, pp. 19–26, “The Later Royal Constitution” (13).

How and Leigh, Ch. 4, “The Regal Period” (1).

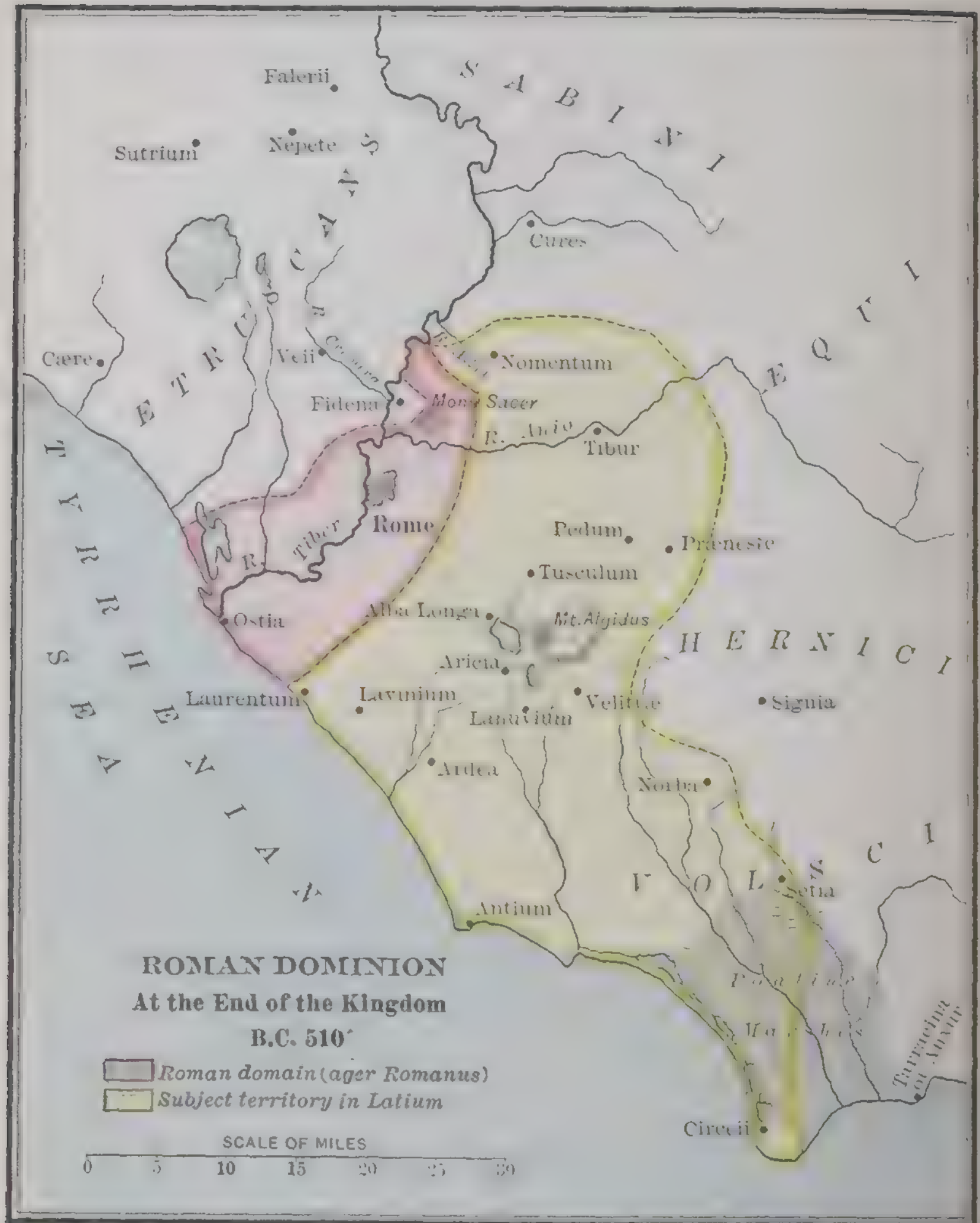
Mommsen, abridged, Ch. 4, “Reforms of Servius Tullius — Supremacy of Rome in Latium” (2).

SPECIAL STUDY

THE SERVIAN CLASSES AND CENTURIES. — Pelham, pp. 36–39 (1); Leighton, pp. 22–24 (1); Mommsen, Vol. I., pp. 132–141 (2); Ramsay and Lanciani, p. 96 *et seq.* (8); Niebuhr, *Hist.*, Vol. I., pp. 212–236; Taylor, pp. 25–36 (1).

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

PROGRESSIVE MAP No. 1



THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

PERIOD III. THE STRUGGLES OF THE EARLY REPUBLIC (B.C. 510-343)

CHAPTER VI

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE KINGSHIP

I. THE EXPULSION OF THE KINGS

The Transition to the Republic. — We have seen how Rome came into existence, and how it gradually grew in extent and power under the regal government. We are now to consider how the Roman kingdom was changed into a republic; and to look at the different struggles by which this change was brought about. The change from the Roman kingdom to the republic was due to the tyranny of the last Tarquin; so that the first struggle for Roman liberty was a struggle against the kingship. When the rule of Tarquinius Superbus became intolerable, he was expelled from Rome, with his whole family (B.C. 510). But with the aid of the Etruscans and Latins he tried to regain his lost power; and the first days of the republic were, therefore, days full of strife and trouble. The stories of this period tell us of many deeds of Roman virtue and patriotism. In them we see the heroic efforts made by a liberty-loving people to rid themselves of a despotic king, and to form a freer government.

The Story of Brutus and Collatinus. — The legends first tell how the king was driven from Rome. This was brought about



THE ELDER BRUTUS

by the efforts of two patriotic men, Brutus and Collati'nus, who determined to avenge the dishonorable deeds of Tarquinius Superbus and his family. These patriots aroused the Roman people, and led them to pass a law to banish Tarquin and his corrupt household. The gates of the city were ordered to be closed against him. The soldiers saluted Brutus as the deliverer of their country. The people declared that the kingship should be abolished forever; and they elected Brutus

and Collatinus to rule over them for a year.

The Conspiracy of Brutus's Sons. — The banished king then sent messengers to Rome to ask that his property be restored to him. While engaged on this mission, the messengers formed a plot to bring back the king to his throne; and the two sons of Brutus joined in the treacherous scheme. But a slave who happened to hear the plan of the conspirators exposed the whole affair. When Brutus found that his own sons were engaged in this act of treason, he did not allow his feelings as a father to prevent him from doing his duty as a patriot — but condemned them to death as traitors to their country.



SYLVANUS (Coin)

The Attempts of the Etruscans to restore Tarquinius. — When the plot at Rome failed, Tarquinius appealed for help to the Etruscan cities of Veii and Tarquinii, which raised an army to assist

him. In a fierce battle which followed, Brutus was slain by the king's son. The battle, which had been long in doubt, was decided by the god Sylva'nus, whose voice was heard in the forest proclaiming that the Romans had won. Tarquinius next appealed to Lars Porsen'na, king of Clusium, and the most powerful prince of Etruria. Collecting his army, Porsenna suddenly seized the Janiculum, the hill just across the Tiber, and Rome was saved only by the heroism of Horatius Cocles, who, with two companions, withstood the whole Etruscan army while the wooden bridge was destroyed. Porsenna was thus prevented from entering the city. After ravaging the surrounding country he soon made peace with the Romans and gave no further aid to the Tarquins.



HORATIUS COCLES (Medallion)

The Attempt of the Latins. — The Tarquins then turned for aid to the Latins. The thirty Latin cities revolted and joined the cause of the banished king. The danger was so great that the Romans appointed a dictator to lead their armies into the field. Then was fought the noted battle of Lake Regil'us,



CASTOR AND POLLUX (Coin)

which, according to the old story, was decided by the aid of two gigantic youths, who rode upon snow-white horses in the Roman ranks, and whom the Romans recognized as the twin gods Castor and Pollux. A temple

to these gods was built in the Forum in memory of this deliverance.

Significance of the Legends. — While we cannot believe everything contained in these romantic stories, we can yet see in them the record of a great historical event. We can see that the

government of the kings was overthrown. We can also see that this change was not a peaceful change, but was attended by a severe struggle. We can see, finally, that the Romans honored the heroic virtues of courage and patriotism; and that they believed their destiny was in the hands of the gods.

II. THE NEW REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT

The Two Consuls. — When the kingdom came to an end, the power of the kings was put into the hands of two consuls (at first called prætors), elected by the people. The consular power, though derived from the old kingly power, was yet different from it in many respects. In the first place, the power of the king had been a lifelong power; but the power of the consuls was limited to one year. Again, the royal power had been held by one person; but the consular power was held by two persons, so that each was a restraint upon the other. Moreover, the power of the king had been absolute, that is, it had extended to life and death over all citizens at all times; the power of the consuls, on the other hand, was limited, since they could not exercise the power of life and death, except outside of the city and over the army in the field. The consuls retained the old insignia of the king; but when in the city, the ax was withdrawn from the *fascēs*. In this way the chief authority, which was placed in the hands of the consuls, was shorn of its worst features. It must also be noted that the priestly power of the king was not given to the consuls, but to a special officer, called king of the sacrifices (*rex sacrorum*); and the management of the finances was put in charge of two *quæstors* elected by the people.

The Dictatorship. — The Romans were wise enough to see that in times of great danger the power of the consuls might not be strong enough to protect the state. To meet such an emergency a dictator was appointed, who was a sort of temporary king. He had entire control of the city and the army. He was even given the power of life and death over citizens;

and his lictors retained the ax in the *fascies*. But this extraordinary power could be held for only six months, after which time the consuls resumed their regular authority as chief magistrates. With the dictator there was generally appointed another officer, who was second in authority, called the master of horse; but over him, as over every one else, the dictator was supreme.

The New Senators. — When the consuls were elected, it is said that one of their first acts was to fill up the senate to the number of three hundred members. The last king had practically ruled without the senate, and he had no reason to fill the vacancies when they occurred. But the new consuls wished the help of the senate, and therefore desired to keep its numbers complete. The new senators who were enrolled were called *conscripti*; and the whole body of senators became known as *patres conscripti*.



LICTORS

The Popular Assemblies. — With the establishment of the republic, the two assemblies with which we are already acquainted, the *comitia curiata* and the *comitia centuriata*, both remained. But the former lost a great deal of its old power, which became transferred to the latter. The assembly of the centuries was therefore the body in which the people generally expressed their will. Here they elected the officers, and passed the most important laws. It was this assembly which became the chief legislative body during the early republic.

The Laws of Valerius Poplicola. — It is said that after the death of Brutus, his colleague Valerius (who had succeeded Collatinus) did not call an assembly to elect another consul. This aroused the fear that Valerius wished to make himself king. But it was soon found that instead of aiming to be

king, he was preparing a set of laws which would prevent any one from becoming king, and would also protect the people from the arbitrary power of their magistrates. One of these laws declared that any person who assumed the chief power without the people's consent should be condemned as a traitor. Another law granted to every citizen the right of an appeal to the people, in case he was condemned for a crime. These laws, known as the Valerian laws, may be called the "first charter of Roman liberty," because they protected the people from the exercise of arbitrary power. So highly honored was Valerius that he was surnamed *Poplic'ola*, or the People's Friend.

The Loss of Roman Territory. — We remember how extensive were the lands which were acquired by the Romans under the kings. But they had lost many of these lands during the struggles against the last Tarquin. They had lost their conquests in Etruria, and much of their land in Latium; and the thirty Latin cities had reasserted their independence. So that the authority of the new government was now reduced to a comparatively small strip of territory south of the Tiber, together with the Janiculum on the Etruscan side.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Arnold, *Hist.*, Ch. 7, "Banishing of King Tarquinius" (2).¹

Shuckburgh, Ch. 6, "Expulsion of the Kings" (1).

Pelham, pp. 45-51, "Foundation of the Republic" (1).

Liddell, Ch. 6, "Decline of Roman Power" (1).

Mommsen, abridged, Ch. 6, "Change of the Constitution" (2).

Taylor, Ch. 2, "Foundation of the Republic" (1).

Plutarch, "Poplicola" (11).

Livy, Bk. II., Chs. 9-14, Wars of Lars Porsenna (4).

SPECIAL STUDY

THE OFFICE OF CONSUL. — Gow, p. 174 (8); How and Leigh, pp. 47-50 (1); Shuckburgh, pp. 203-205 (1); Ilne, *Early Rome*, pp. 117-122 (5); Mommsen, Vol. I., pp. 323-329 (2); Ramsay and Lanciani, pp. 166-174 (8); Harper's *Dict. Antiqq.*, "Consules" (8).

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

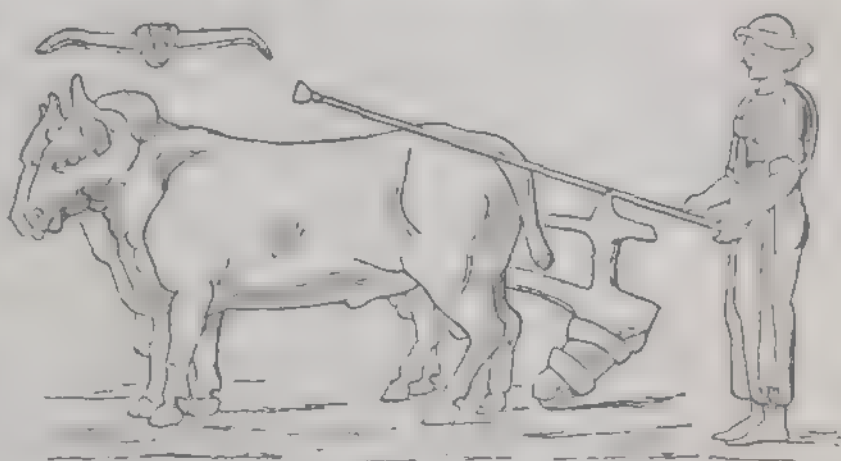
CHAPTER VII

THE STRUGGLE FOR ECONOMIC RIGHTS

I. THE GRIEVANCES OF THE PLEBS

The Power of the Patricians. — The patricians and plebeians had united in their efforts to drive out the kings; but when the struggle against the kingship was ended, the chief fruits of the victory fell to the patricians. The plebeians could, it is true, still vote in the *comitia centuriata*; but they could not hold any of the new offices, nor could they sit in the senate. Rome became a republic, but it was an aristocratic, and not a democratic republic; that is, the chief power rested not in the whole people, but in a particular class. The plebeians might perhaps have submitted to the government of the patricians, if it had not been exercised in a selfish and oppressive manner. But the patrician rule proved to be as despotic as that of the kings; and a long and fierce struggle ensued between the two orders. As the patricians were generally more wealthy than the plebeians, the conflict became at first a struggle between the rich and the poor, a contest for a more equal distribution of wealth.

Poverty and Distress of the Plebeians. — The late wars had left the plebeians in a very dependent and deplorable condition. The wealthy patricians, for the most part, lived in the city; and their property was protected by the city walls. But the homes of the plebeians were generally in the country. Accordingly, when they were serving in the army, their little farms were neglected, or ravaged by the enemy, their families were driven away, and their property



ROMAN FARMER

was destroyed. In this way, while serving their country, they were deprived of their houses and fields, and of the means of subsistence, and so were reduced to a condition of poverty and great distress.

The Unjust Law of Debt. — The sorest burden which now rested upon the plebeians was the harsh law of debt. Having lost their property by the misfortunes of war, they were obliged to borrow money of the rich patricians; and they were thus reduced to the condition of a debtor class. But a debtor in the early days of Rome was especially wretched. If he could not pay his debt, he was liable to be arrested, thrown into a dungeon, and made the slave of his creditor. His lot was chains, stripes, and slavery.

The law of debt was not only harsh in itself, but its effect was to keep the poor in a continual state of poverty, from which they could not easily escape.

The Unequal Division of the Public Land. — Another cause which kept the plebeians in a state of poverty was the unjust distribution of the public land (*ager publicus*) which had been acquired in war. This land properly belonged to all the people, and might have been used to relieve the distress of the poor. But the government was in the hands of the patricians, and they disposed of this land for their own benefit; they allowed it to be "occupied," at a nominal rent, by members of their own order. As long as the land remained public, it could not be sold by the occupants; but the longer the rich patricians retained the occupation of this land, the more they would look upon it as their own property, and ignore the fact that it belonged to the whole Roman people. So that the common people were deprived of their just share of the land which they had helped to conquer.

II. FIRST SECESSION AND ITS RESULTS

First Secession of the Plebeians. — It was the hard law of debt which first drove the plebeians to revolt. As there was no

legal way to redress their wrongs, they decided that they would no longer serve in the army, but leave the patricians to fight their own battles. They therefore deserted their general, marched in full array to a hill beyond the Anio, which they called the Sacred Mount (*Mons Sacer*), and proposed to form an independent city (B.C. 494). The patricians saw that the loss of the plebeian army would be the destruction of Rome. They were therefore compelled to make a solemn compact to the effect that the debts of all persons who were insolvent should be canceled; and that those who had been imprisoned on account of debt should be released.

The Tribunes of the People. — But the most important result of the first secession was the creation of a new office, that of tribune of the people. In order to protect the plebeians from any further oppressive acts on the part of the patrician magistrate, it was agreed to appoint two tribunes from among the plebeians themselves. These new officers were given the power to “veto” — that is, to forbid — the act of any magistrate which bore unjustly upon any citizen. In order that the tribunes might exercise their authority without hindrance, their persons were made “inviolable,” — which means that they could not be arrested, and that any one who interfered with them in the exercise of their lawful duty could be put to death. The tribunes were assisted by two *ædiles*, who were also chosen from the plebeian body.

The Plebeian Assembly. — The meetings which the plebeians had occasionally held before this time now assumed the character of a permanent assembly (*concilium plebis*). This assembly could be called together by the tribunes, who were permitted to address the people in regard to their interests; and no magistrate was allowed to interrupt them while speaking or to disperse this assembly (*lex Icilia*, B.C. 492). The assembly could also pass resolutions (*plebiscita*), which were binding upon the plebeians, but not as yet upon the whole people. It was not many years before the plebeian assembly was given the right to elect their own tribunes and *ædiles* (*lex*

Publilia, B.C. 472). In this way the plebeians acquired a position in the state which they had never before held.

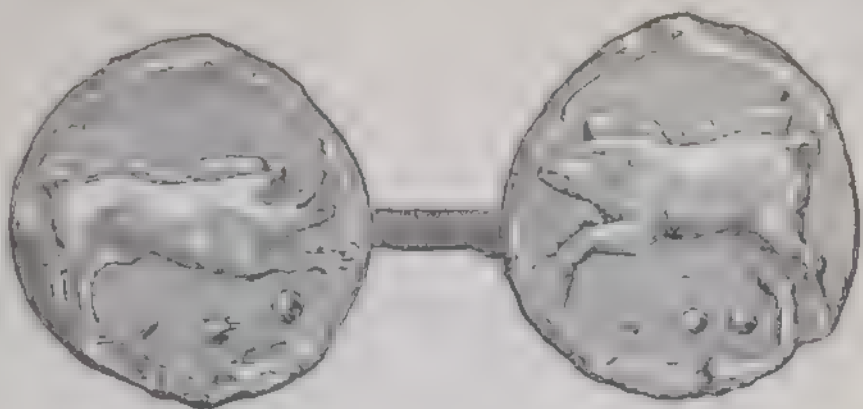
The Agrarian Law of Spurius Cassius. — The second great cause of complaint was, as we have seen, the unjust distribution of the public land. To remove this injustice was the effort of the consul Spurius Cassius. This man was both a patriot and a statesman. He loved the people, and he labored to protect their interests. In order to strengthen Rome against her foreign enemies, he first of all made a new treaty with the Latin towns, and also a treaty with the neighboring tribe of the Hernicans.

But the most famous act of Sp. Cassius was the proposal of the first "agrarian law," that is, a law intended to reform the division of the public land (B.C. 486). It was not his purpose to take away any private land which legally belonged to the patricians; but to make a more just distribution of the land which properly belonged to the whole state. When this law was brought forward, the patricians used their influence to prevent its passage. After his year of office had expired, Sp. Cassius was charged with treason and with the attempt to make himself king. He was tried, condemned, scourged, and beheaded; and thus one of Rome's greatest patriots suffered the doom of a traitor. But the people remembered Sp. Cassius, and his name was inscribed upon a tablet and placed in the Forum, where it remained for many generations.

III. WARS WITH THE VOLSCIANS, ÆQUIANS, AND ETRUSCANS

The Foreign Enemies of Rome. — While these struggles were going on to relieve the distress of the poor plebeians, the frontiers were continually threatened by foreign enemies. The chief enemies of Rome at this time were the Volscians, the Æquians, and the Etruscans. The Volscians occupied the southern plains of Latium, near the seacoast. The Æquians held the slopes of the Apennines on the northeast. The

Etruscans held all their original territory on the right bank of the Tiber, except the hill Janiculum. On every side Rome was beset by foes; and for many years her armies fought in defense of their homes, and almost within sight of the city. By the treaties which Sp. Cassius had formed, the Romans, the Latins, and the Herni-



VOLSCIAN COIN

cans made common cause in repelling these attacks. There is no continuous history of these frequent wars, but the Roman historians have preserved the memory of them in certain legends, which were sacred to the Romans themselves, and which we should not forget if we would understand the character and spirit of the Roman people.

Coriolanus and the Volscians. — The Volscian wars have left us the story of Coriola'nus, which tells us that this young patrician opposed the distribution of grain among the plebeians; that he was threatened by the common people and fled to the Volscians, and led an army against his native city; that his mother and his wife went to the Volscian camp and pleaded with him to cease his wars upon Rome; that Rome was thus saved, and a temple was built to commemorate the patriotism of the Roman women.

Cincinnatus and the Æquians. — The memory of the Æquian wars is preserved in the story of the Roman patriot Cincinna'tus, who was called from his country home to rescue the Roman army, which was surrounded by the Æquians, and threatened with destruction in a narrow defile in Mt. Al'gidus, near the Alban hills (see map, page 46); and who with great speed and skill defeated the Æquian army, compelling it to "pass under the yoke" as a sign of submission, and then returned the next evening to Rome in triumph. The "yoke" consisted of a spear supported in a horizontal position by two spears fixed upright in the ground.

The Fabii and the Etruscans. — With the Etruscan wars is linked the story of the Fabian gens, which was one of the greatest patrician houses of Rome; and which, having volunteered to carry on the war against the Etruscans at its own



COIN OF THE FABIAN GENS

expense, was, with the exception of one person, utterly destroyed by the enemy. The Fabian gens was therefore honored for having sacrificed itself in the defense of Rome.

These stories should be read, not as an accurate narration of facts, but because they show the kind of virtues that the early Romans most admired.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

- How and Leigh, Ch. 6, "First Struggle of the Plebeians" (1).¹
 Shuckburgh, Ch. 8, "Constitutional History from B.C. 509 to 390" (1).
 Mommsen, abridged, pp. 50-58, "Tribunate of the Plebs" (2).
 Ihne, Early Rome, Ch. 13, "Tribunes of the People" (5).
 Arnold, Hist., Ch. 9, "Spurius Cassius" (2).
 Plutarch, "Coriolanus" (11).
 Livy, Bk. II., Chs. 27-33, First Secession of the Plebs (4).

SPECIAL STUDY

THE PUBLIC LAND, *ager publicus*. — Leighton, pp. 60-62 (1); Liddell, p. 96 (1); How and Leigh, pp. 56-58 (1); Merivale, Gen. Hist., pp. 70-72 (1); Ihne, Early Rome, Ch. 14 (5); Ihne, Hist., Vol. I., Bk. 2, Ch. 7 (2); Mommsen, Vol. I., pp. 347-350 (2); Harper's Diet. Antiqu., "Agrariae Leges" (8); Niebuhr, Hist., Vol. II., p. 65 *et seq.* (2).

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

CHAPTER VIII

THE STRUGGLE FOR EQUAL LAWS

I. THE DEMAND FOR WRITTEN LAWS

Proposals of Terentilius Harsa (B.C. 462). — The conflict between the two orders had been going on for nearly fifty years; and yet no real solution had been found for their difficulties. The plebeians were at a great disadvantage during all this time, because the law was administered solely by the patricians, who kept the knowledge of it to themselves, and who regarded it as a precious legacy from their ancestors, too sacred to be shared with the lowborn plebeians. The laws had never been written down or published. The patricians could therefore administer them as they saw fit. This was a great injustice to the lower classes. It was clear that there was not much hope for the plebeians until they were made equal before the law. It was also clear that they could not be equal before the law as long as they themselves had no knowledge of what the law was. Accordingly one of the tribunes, Gaius Terentilius Harsa, proposed that a commission be appointed to gather up the law, and to publish it to the whole people. This proposal, though both fair and just, was bitterly opposed by the patricians, and was followed by ten years of strife and dissension.

Concessions to the Plebeians. — To rescue the city from these troubles, the senate tried to conciliate the plebeians by making certain concessions to them. For example, the number of tribunes was increased from two to five, and then to ten. This was supposed to give them greater protection than they had had before. Then it was decided to give up to them the public land on the Aventine hill, and thus to atone for not carrying out the agrarian law of Sp. Cassius. Finally, the amount of fine which any magistrate could impose was limited to two sheep and thirty oxen. It was thought that such concessions

would appease the discontented people and divert their minds from the main point of the controversy.

Compromise between the Orders. — But these concessions did not satisfy the plebeians, who still clung to their demand for equal rights before the law. The struggle over the proposal of Terentilius, which lasted for nearly ten years, was ended only by a compromise. It was finally agreed that a commission of ten men, called decemvirs, should be appointed to draw up the law, and that this law should be published and be binding upon patricians and plebeians alike. It was also agreed that the commissioners should all be patricians; and that they should have entire control of the government while compiling the laws. The patricians were thus to give up their consuls and quæstors; and the plebeians were to give up their tribunes and ædiles. Both parties were to cease their quarrelling, and await the work of the decemvirs.

II. DECEMVIRS AND THE XII. TABLES

The Commission to Greece. — It is said that a commission of three men was sent to Greece, to consult the laws of Solon and other Greek codes. However true this story may be, it is not likely that the Romans intended to borrow the laws of another country by which to govern their own. The complaint of the plebeians was not that they did not have any laws, but that the laws which they had were unwritten and known only to the patricians. What they wanted was that the unwritten laws should be published; so that they could know what they were, and whether they were properly administered or not.

Formation of the XII. Tables (B.C. 450). — The first body of commissioners, or the First Decemvirate, entered upon the work assigned to it, gathered together the law which had hitherto been kept secret, and inscribed it on ten tables of brass. These tables were erected in the Forum, where they could be seen by every one, and were declared binding on all the people. At the close of the year, a Second Decemvirate

was appointed to complete the code, and two more tables were added. This whole body of law was called the Twelve Tables, and formed the basis of the most remarkable system of law that the world has ever seen. There was nothing strange, however, in the XII. Tables themselves. They contained nothing especially new. The old law of debt remained as it was, and the distinction between patricians and plebeians was not destroyed. The XII. Tables were important, because they put the law before the eyes of the people; and plebeians, as well as patricians, could know what were their rights. So highly valued was this code that it formed a part of Roman education, and the boys in school were obliged to commit it to memory.

Tyranny of the Second Decemvirate. — Although the second body of decemvirs had the honor of completing the XII. Tables, the way in which they exercised their power brought them into dishonor. With all their professed love of equal laws, they still hated the plebeians and used their authority in an oppressive manner. They appeared in the Forum each with twelve lictors, carrying the axes in the *fusces* as a sign that they claimed the power of life and death over every citizen. At the close of their year of office, they refused to resign, and continued their oppressive rule under the leadership of Appius Claudius. The story goes — whether true or not — that Appius Claudius attempted to gain possession of Virginia, who was the beautiful daughter of a plebeian soldier, and who was killed by her own father to save her from dishonor. The repeated acts of tyranny committed by the second body of decemvirs at last made their rule intolerable.

III. SECOND SECESSION AND ITS RESULTS

Second Secession of the Plebs. — The tragic death of Virginia, it is said, aroused the people to vengeance. With his bloody knife in hand, Virginius rushed to the camp outside of the city and called upon the soldiers to resist the infamous power of

the decemvirs. With the memory of the Sacred Mount still in mind, the army once more seceded from the city, and, followed by a multitude of citizens, took up their station again on this hill, determined no longer to fight in defense of tyranny. The Roman state seemed again on the point of ruin, and the decemvirs were forced to resign. The old government was restored. Two new consuls were elected, both of whom were friendly to the plebeians. These were Valerius and Horatius, names which the Roman people ever delighted to honor.

The Valerio-Horatian Laws (B.C. 448). — The second secession of the plebeians resulted in the overthrow of the decemvirate and the restoration of the consulship; but it also resulted in making the plebeians more respected than they had been before. The patricians were becoming more and more convinced that the plebeians were not only brave in fighting the enemies of Rome, but were also determined to defend their own liberties. The new consuls, Valerius and Horatius, came forward as their champions. Two of the rights of the people had been continually disregarded, namely, the right of appeal to the people, and the right of the tribunes to be sacredly protected in the exercise of their duties. These two rights were now solemnly reaffirmed. But what was quite as important, the assembly of the plebeians (*concilium plebis*) was now given power to make laws binding upon the whole people. It is supposed that this assembly had by this time been reorganized and based upon the tribal districts so as to include the patricians as well as the plebeians. This newly organized assembly came to be known as the *comitia tributa*, and we shall see it grow in influence and dignity, until it becomes the most important assembly of the republic. These laws of Valerius and Horatius we may call the "second charter of Roman liberty."

The Right of Intermarriage. — The patricians and plebeians had long lived side by side; but they had been kept socially distinct because it was not legal for them to intermarry. This prejudice was now passing away, as the plebeians were show-

ing a spirit worthy of the patricians themselves. A great step toward equalizing the classes was now taken by the passage of a law (*lex Canuleia*, B.C. 445) which granted the right of intermarriage between the two orders. This insured their social and civil equality, and paved the way for their political equality, and finally their union into a harmonious people.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

- Arnold, Hist., Ch. 13, "The Terentilian Law" (2).¹
 Ihne, Early Rome, Ch. 18, "Decemvirs and the XII. Tables" (5).
 Mommsen, abridged, pp. 58-61, "The Decemvirate" (2).
 Merivale, Gen. Hist., Ch. 8, "Efforts to obtain Equal Laws" (1).
 Livy, Bk. III., Chs. 36-38, Tyranny of the Second Decemvirate (4).

SPECIAL STUDY

THE TWELVE TABLES.—How and Leigh, p. 70 (1); Shuckburgh, pp. 101-104 (1); Mommsen, Vol. I., pp. 363-368 (2); Liddell, Ch. 11 (1); Harper's Diet. Antiqq., "Twelve Tables" (8); Morey, Roman Law, pp. 25-43 (15).

CHAPTER IX

THE STRUGGLE FOR POLITICAL EQUALITY

I. THE CONTEST FOR THE CONSULSHIP

Successes of the Plebeians.—Never before had the cause of the plebeians seemed so hopeful as it did at this time. The tyranny of the decemvirs had brought to their aid the better class of patricians. And the passage of the recent laws led them to look forward to still greater victories. They had already gained great successes, but there was still something else for them to obtain, in order to have full equality in the state. We may, perhaps, better understand just what the

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

plebeians had gained, and what was still to be gained, if we look at the following table, which contains a list of the various rights possessed by a full Roman citizen:—

The rights of citizenship (<i>civitas</i>).	Public rights (<i>iura publica</i>).	Right of holding office (<i>honores</i>).
		Right of voting (<i>suffragium</i>).
	Private rights (<i>iura privata</i>).	Right of intermarriage (<i>conubium</i>).
		Right of property and contract (<i>commercium</i>).

The plebeians already possessed the lowest right, the *commercium*; they could hold property and carry on trade just like any other Roman citizens. They had just now obtained the *conubium*, or the right of contracting a legal marriage with a patrician. They had also the *suffragium*, or the right of voting, in the assemblies of the centuries and of the tribes. As regards the *honores*, or the right of holding office, they could be elected to the lower offices, that is, could be chosen tribunes of the people and ædiles; but could not be elected to the higher offices, that is, could not be chosen consuls and quæstors. What the plebeians now wanted was a share in the higher offices, especially in the consulship.

The Military Tribunes, with Consular Power (B.C. 444).— Instead of allowing the plebeians a direct share in the consulship, the patricians agreed to the appointment of certain new officers, something like the consuls, who could be elected from either the patricians or the plebeians. These new officers were called “military tribunes with consular power,” and were to be elected in the *comitia centuriata*, where the plebeians as well as the patricians were allowed to vote. But it was also provided that consuls might still be elected instead of the new military tribunes, if the senate thought such a course was best for the state. We can easily see how this plan would work. The patricians, who had control of the senate, could decide at any time that consuls were needed; or else they might control the

election and choose the military tribunes from their own number. As a matter of fact, the senate, for some years after this, decided that consuls should be elected. But later the election of military tribunes became the rule, and the plebeians gradually grew in political influence and power.

The Censorship and the New Quæstors. — As the patricians saw that the plebeians were growing stronger, they resorted to a new plan to keep as much power as possible in their own hands. To do this, they created another new office, the censorship (B.C. 443), and transferred to the two censors some of the most important powers hitherto exercised by the consuls. The censors were to draw up the census, that is, to make an estimate of every man's property, to assign each man to a proper class in the centuries, whether he belonged to the *equites* or the *pedites*, and to designate who was entitled to sit in the senate. The new censors were to be elected every five years, from the patrician class. But to offset this advantage, the patricians agreed that there should be two new quæstors (B.C. 421), to be elected from the plebeians. So it was that the period following the decemvirate was a period full of adroit schemes and compromises; but the plebeians were steadily gaining new rights and privileges.

The Fate of Spurius Mælius. — That the patricians were not entirely reconciled to the growing influence of the plebeians, is shown by the story told of Sp. Mælius. While a severe famine was raging in Rome, and many poor citizens sought relief in suicide, Sp. Mælius, a wealthy plebeian, purchased grain at his own expense and distributed it to the suffering poor. His generosity so won the hearts of the people, that the patricians felt alarmed at his popularity, and charged him with the design of making himself king. It was claimed that secret meetings were held at his house, and that the republic was in danger. Hence a dictator was demanded. The aged Cincinnatus, who had rescued the beleaguered army at Mt. Algidus, was selected; and Servilius Ahala was appointed his second in command, or master of horse.

Mælius was then summoned to appear before the dictator, to answer the charge of treason. But foreseeing his danger, he implored the protection of the people; whereupon Servilius Ahala drew a dagger and stabbed him to the heart. The fate of Mælius at first terrified the people, but they were soon excited to vengeance, and Servilius was driven into exile. The name of Sp. Mælius was thus associated with that of Sp. Cassius, the author of the first agrarian law. These men were accused of aiming to be king; and both suffered death as the reward of their generous deeds.

II. WARS WITH VEII AND THE GAULS

Recovery of Roman Territory.—The reforms which had been carried on since the fall of the decemvirs gave fresh hope to the plebeians, and inspired the whole Roman people with new life and vigor. The armies in the field also began to be successful, and Rome recovered much of her lost ground in Latium. The triple league formed by Spurius Cassius between the Romans, Latins, and Hernicans, had resulted in checking the Volscians and Equians. The Romans now felt encouraged to attack the Etruscans in the hope of recovering the territory which they had lost years before, when the Tarquins were expelled. Fidenæ, the Etruscan city a few miles north of Rome, was captured, and the way was opened to attack Veii, the strongest city of Etruria.

Siege and Capture of Veii (B.C. 405–396).—The people of Veii were not disposed to meet the Romans in the open field, but retreated within their walls. It therefore became necessary to lay siege to the city. The great Etruscan walls were too strong to be taken by assault; and the Roman armies stationed themselves around the city for the purpose of starving the people into submission. The Roman soldiers were not permitted to return home and cultivate their farms, as they were wont to do; and so, for the first time, they were given regular pay for their services. For ten years the siege continued, when

it was brought to a close by Camillus, who was appointed dictator. Veii was deprived of its inhabitants, and its walls inclosed a vacant city. The capture of Veii was the greatest victory which the Romans had yet achieved, and Camillus was given a splendid triumph, when he returned to Rome. The lands of southern Etruria also fell into the hands of the Ro-

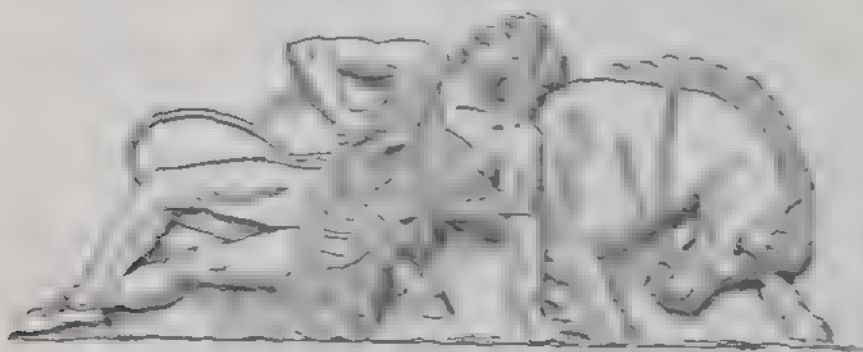


CITY OF VEII (Restoration)

mans; and four new rural tribes were added to the Roman domain.

Destruction of Rome by the Gauls (B.C. 390). — If the capture of Veii was the greatest victory which the Romans had ever achieved, we now approach one of the greatest disasters which they ever suffered. One reason why Rome was able to capture Veii was the fact that the great body of the Etruscans were obliged to face a new enemy on the northern frontier, an enemy whom they feared more than the Romans on the south. This

enemy was the Gauls, the barbarous nation which held the valley of the Po, and which now swept south across the Apennines like a hurricane. News of this invasion reached Rome, and it was resolved to aid the Etruscans in repelling the common foe. The Roman army met the Gauls near the little river Allia, about eleven miles north of Rome, and suffered a terrible defeat. The Gauls pressed on to Rome. They entered, plundered, and burned the city. Only the Capitol remained. This was besieged for seven months, and, according to the legend, was at one time saved by M. Manlius, who was aroused by the cackling of the sacred geese just in time to resist a night



WOUNDED GAUL

assault. At last the Gauls, sated with plunder, and induced by a large bribe, retreated unmolested—or, as one legend says, were driven from the city by Camillus, the hero of

the Veientine war. The destruction of Rome by the Gauls was a great disaster, not only to Rome, but to all the world; because in it the records of the ancient city perished, leaving many things in the early history of ancient Rome dark and obscure.

The Restoration of Rome.—Such a disastrous event as the Gallic invasion would have disheartened almost any other people; but Rome bent before the storm and soon recovered after the tempest was past. Many of the people desired to abandon the city of ashes, and transfer their homes to the vacant town of Veii. But it was decided that Rome was the place for Romans. The city rose so quickly from its ruins that little care was taken in the work of rebuilding, so that the new streets were often narrow and irregular.

The Romans seemed to be in haste to resume the work of extending their power, which had been so favorably begun with the conquest of Veii, but which had been interrupted by the defeat on the Allia. Rome raised new armies and quickly

defeated her old enemies, the Volscians, Æquians, and Etruscans, who tried to take advantage of her present distress. The hero Camillus added fresh laurels to his fame. The southern part of Etruria was recovered, and its towns garrisoned by military colonies. Many towns of Latium also were brought into subjection, and they afforded homes for the poor people. Rome seemed almost ready to enter upon a career of conquest; but the recurrence of poverty and distress demanded the attention of the government, and showed the need of further reforms.

III. THE EQUALIZATION OF THE ORDERS

Desire for Union. — It became more and more evident that the power of Rome depended upon the union of her people; that harmony, and not discord, was the source of her strength. The two orders had begun to feel that their interests were one and the same. There had been of late little severity in the application of the law of debt; there had been a disposition even to give the plebeians some right in the conquered land; and some progress had been made in opening to them the public offices. But the great loss of property and the devastation resulting from the Gallic invasion were sorely felt by the poorer classes, and led once more to a general state of poverty and distress. The old grievances were revived, and a new set of reformers appeared.

The Attempt of M. Manlius. — The first attempt to relieve the distress of the poor was that of Marcus Manlius, the defender of the Capitol. It is said that he rescued more than four hundred of his fellow-citizens from imprisonment by lending them money without interest. He sold his estates and devoted the proceeds to the relief of debtors. But from being a philanthropist, Manlius soon became a social agitator, and by his harangues sought to inflame the people against the government. The patricians therefore sought to crush him. He was charged with conspiracy against the state, and was finally condemned to death. Although his motives and methods were not

above reproach, his admirers placed him by the side of Sp. Cassius and Sp. Maelius as a friend of the people who was unjustly condemned on the charge of aspiring to be king.

The Licinian Laws (B.C. 367). — The continuation of distress among the lower classes showed how useless it was to try to abolish poverty by mere acts of charity, or by exciting the populace. A more thorough mode of reform was adopted under the able leadership of the two tribunes, C. Licinius Stolo and L. Sextius.¹ These men were able and broad-minded statesmen. It was not mere relief, but reformation, which they sought.

In the first place, they saw that some relief must be given to the helpless debtor class. But instead of confiscating all debts, they proposed that the interest already paid upon debts should be deducted from the principal; and that for the payment of the rest of the principal three years' time should be allowed.

In the next place, they saw that some definite regulation should be made in the distribution of the public land, which by right belonged to the plebeians as well as to the patricians. They therefore provided that the occupation of the public land should be thrown open equally to all classes; that no person should receive and hold more than five hundred *iugera* (about three hundred acres); and that the number of slaves employed on estates should be limited, thus giving an opportunity for the poor freemen to earn something for themselves.

Finally, they saw that the plebeians could not receive full justice until they were admitted to the highest offices of the state. They provided that the new "military tribunate" (p. 64) should be done away with, and that consuls should hereafter always be elected, one of whom must be a plebeian.

It was natural that such an important scheme of legislation as this should meet with much opposition, but after a few

¹ The abbreviations for the most common Latin proper names are the following: C. for Gaius; Cn. for Gnaeus; L. for Lucius; M. for Marcus; P. for Publius; Q. for Quintus; Sp. for Spurius; T. for Titus.

years of strife, these proposals became laws. This noble body of law may be called the "third charter of Roman liberty."

The Prætor and Curule Ædiles. — The patricians were yet loath to lose everything; and so the judicial power was taken away from the consuls and given to a new officer, called the prætor (B.C. 367), who must still be a patrician; also it was provided that there should be two patrician ædiles (called curule ædiles), to police the city, and to offset the plebeian ædiles. Although complete equality was not even yet reached, the struggle was practically ended; and the great Camillus, who had been appointed dictator and had done much to reconcile the people, consecrated a temple to Concord.



CONCORD

Final Equality of the Orders. — After the passage of the Licinian laws, there were a few offices which still remained in the possession of the patricians. These were the dictatorship, the censorship, the prætorship, and the curule ædileship. But it was not many years before these offices also were open to the plebeians,¹ and the last barrier between the two orders was thus broken down. There was then no longer any civil or political distinction between the patrician and the plebeian. The old Roman aristocracy, which depended upon family relationship, passed away with the Licinian legislation and the laws which soon followed it. The union of patricians and plebeians into

¹ The distinction between the plebeian and the curule ædileship gradually passed away. The dictatorship was opened to the plebeians in B.C. 356; the censorship by the law of Publilius Philo, in B.C. 351; and the prætorship in B.C. 337. The legislative power of the *comitia tributa* was confirmed by the Hortensian law in B.C. 286.

one compact body of citizens was a triumph for Rome greater than the conquest of Veii, or any other foreign victory. By it she conquered herself. She destroyed for a time the elements of discord within her own borders, and prepared herself to become the ruler of the world.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

- Pelham, pp. 52-67, "Struggle between the Orders" (1).¹
 Ihne, *Early Rome*, Ch. 21, "Invasion of the Gauls" (5).
 How and Leigh, Ch. 12, "The Licinian Laws" (1).
 Abbott, Ch. 4, "The Struggle between the Orders" (13).
 Mommsen, Vol. I., Bk. II., Ch. 3, "Equalization of the Orders" (2).
 Taylor, Chs. 3-5, "Struggle between the Orders" (1).
 Plutarch, "Camillus" (11).
 Livy, Bk. V., Chs. 20-22, Capture of Veii (4).

SPECIAL STUDY

TABLE OF THE REPUBLICAN MAGISTRATES, giving their names, when created, mode of election, and powers. — Gow, pp. 172-184 (8); Shuckburgh, Ch. 16 (1); Ramsay and Lanciani, Ch. 5 (8); Eschenburg, pp. 248-252 (8); Harper's Dict. Antiqq., "Consules," "Tribunus," etc. (8).

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

PERIOD IV. THE CONQUEST OF THE ITALIAN PENINSULA (B.C. 343-264)

CHAPTER X

THE CONQUEST OF LATIUM

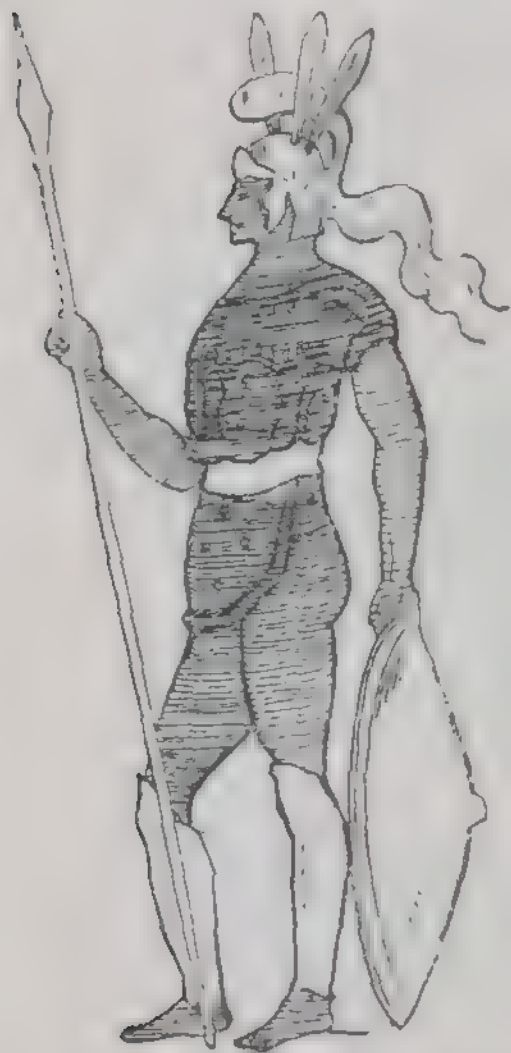
I. BEGINNING OF THE ROMAN CONQUEST

Character of the New Period. — The next period of Roman history is that in which Rome began her great career of conquest, in which she extended her dominion from the banks of the Tiber to the shores of the Italian peninsula. We are now to see how Rome became the great conquering nation of the world. The years which lie before us are therefore years which are filled with the clash of arms and the stories of battles. But they are also years in which Rome learned new lessons of government and law; and in which she came into contact with more civilized peoples, and became herself more civilized.

Roman Territory about the Tiber. — To understand the course of the Roman conquests, we should first keep in mind the extent of her territory at the beginning of this period. Much of the land about the Tiber, which she had lost with the expulsion of the kings, she had gradually recovered. So that now her territory included lands not only in Latium, but also in Etruria toward the north, and in the Volscian country toward the south. The Roman territory at the beginning of this period was not large, but it was compact and well organized into twenty-seven local tribes — twenty-three in the

country and four in the city. The most formidable and dangerous neighbors of Rome at this time were the Etruscans on the north and the Samnites on the south.

The First Samnite War in Campania (B.C. 343-341).—In extending their territory, the Romans first came into contact



SAMNITE WARRIOR

with the Samnites, the most warlike people of central Italy. But the first Samnite war was, as we shall see, scarcely more than a prelude to the great Latin war and the conquest of Latium. The people of Samnium had from their mountain home spread to the southwest into the plains of Campania. They had already taken Cap'ua from the Etruscans, and Cumæ from the Greeks. Enamored with the soft climate of the plains and the refined manners of the Greeks, the Samnites in Campania had lost their primitive valor, and had become estranged from the old Samnite stock. In a quarrel which broke out between the old Samnites of the mountains and the

Campanians, the latter appealed to Rome for help, and promised to become loyal Roman subjects. Although Rome had previously made a treaty with the Samnites, she did not hesitate to break this treaty, professing that she was under greater obligations to her new subjects than to her old allies. In this way began the first contest between Rome and Samnium for supremacy in central Italy—a contest which took place on the plains of Campania.

Battles of Mt. Gaurus and Suessula.—Very little is known of the details of this war. According to a tradition, which is not very trustworthy, two Roman armies were sent into the field—the one for the protection of Campania, and the other for the invasion of Samnium. The first army, it is said, met

the Samnites at Mt. Gaurus, near Cumæ, and gained a decisive victory. The Samnites retreated toward the mountains, and rallied at Sues'sula, where they were again defeated by the two Roman armies, which had united against them. So brilliant was the success of the Romans that the Carthaginians, it is said, sent to them a congratulatory message and a golden crown. Although these stories may not be entirely true, it is quite certain that the Romans obtained control of the northern part of Campania.



CAMPANIA — FIRST SAMNITE WAR

Mutiny of the Roman Legions. — This success, however, was marred by a mutiny of the Roman soldiers, who were stationed at Capua for the winter, and who threatened to take possession of the city as a reward for their services. They submitted only on the passage of a solemn law declaring that every soldier should have a just share in the fruits of war, regular pay, and a part of the booty; and that no soldier should be discharged against his will.

Rome withdraws from the War. — The discontent of the soldiers in the field soon spread to the Latin allies. The Latins had assisted the Romans and had taken a prominent part in the war; and while the Roman army was in a state of mutiny, they were the chief defenders of Campania against the Samnites. The Campanians, therefore, began to look to the Latins instead of the Romans, for protection; and they too shared in the general defection against Rome. Under these circumstances, Rome saw the need of subduing her own allies before undertaking a war with a foreign enemy. She therefore made a treaty with the Samnites, withdrew from the war, and prepared for the conquest of Latium.

II. THE GREAT LATIN WAR (B.C. 340-338)

The Demands of the Latins.—The relations between Rome and the Latin cities had been different at different times. In very early times, we remember, Rome was at the head of the Latin confederacy. Later she was united to the Latin league by a treaty of equal alliance, formed by Sp. Cassius. This treaty had been dissolved, and was afterward renewed. But the Latins believed that Rome wished to resume her old position as head of Latium; and this they were not willing to permit. They therefore decided that the time had now come to demand absolute equality with Rome; and if this were refused, to declare their independence. They at first sent an embassy to Rome, demanding that Romans and Latins should be united in one republic, on terms of perfect equality, and that one consul and half of the senate be chosen from the Latins. This proposal was scornfully rejected. One senator, Manlius, declared that he would stab the first Latin who was admitted to the senate. Meeting with such a rebuff, the Latins renounced their allegiance to the "Roman Jupiter" and commenced their war for independence.

The Parties to the War.—When Rome withdrew from the first Samnite war, and formed a treaty with Samnium, the Latins continued to fight in behalf of the Campanians. The Latins and Campanians, therefore, continued their friendly relations, and became the common enemies of Rome and Samnium. By such a curious turn of fortune, Rome was able to fight her previous allies, the Latins, with the aid of her previous enemy, the Samnites.

Battle of Mt. Vesuvius and the Defeat of the Latins.—As Latium was now a hostile country, the Roman armies, under Manlius Torquatus and Decius Mus, were obliged to march around the northeastern boundaries of Latium, to join the Samnite forces. When they had formed a union in Samnium, they invaded Campania. They soon gained a decisive victory near Mt. Vesuvius. Driven from Campania, the Latins con-

tinued the war with resolute courage, but without avail. Tibur, Praeneste, Aricia, Lanuvium, Velitrae, and Antium were conquered in succession; and in the third year the last city, Pedum, also surrendered, and the Latin revolt was at an end. (For these cities see map, p. 46.)

Stories of Manlius and Decius. — There are two famous stories which are told in connection with this war, and which illustrate two traits of the Roman character — stern authority and patriotic devotion. The first story is told of Titus Manlius, the son of the consul commanding the army. The young Manlius, contrary to his father's orders, left the ranks to fight a single combat with one of the enemy's champions. The enemy was slain, and Manlius carried the spoils in triumph to his father. But the father, instead of congratulating his son on his success, condemned him to death for disobedience of orders. From this time the "Manlian orders" became a synonym for the severest discipline. The other story is told of Decius Mus, the consul, who, in response to a miraculous vision, sacrificed his own life that the Roman army might prevail.



COIN OF DECIUS MUS

III. THE PACIFICATION OF LATIUM

Rome's Policy of Pacification. — The chief result of the great Latin war was the breaking up of the Latin confederacy, and the adoption of a more efficient method of governing the Latin towns. The repeated revolts of the Latins had shown the danger of dealing with a number of towns united in a league, or confederacy. The only safety seemed to lie in destroying the league and dealing with each city by itself. This was the Roman policy of *isolation*. It was also evident that all the cities were not equally fit to exercise the right of Roman citizenship; and upon this was based the distinction between perfect and imperfect citizenship. The subject towns

of Latium and those of Campania were thus treated in various ways.

Towns fully Incorporated. — In the first place, many of the towns of Latium were fully adopted into the Roman state. Their inhabitants became full Roman citizens, with all the private and public rights, comprising the right to trade and intermarry with Romans, the right to vote in the assemblies at Rome, and the right to hold any public office. Their lands became a part of the Roman domain. The new territory was organized into two new tribes, making now the total number twenty-nine.

Towns partly Incorporated. — But most of the towns of Latium received only a part of the rights of citizenship. To their inhabitants were given the right to trade and the right to intermarry with Roman citizens, but not the right to vote or to hold office. This imperfect, or qualified, citizenship (which had before been given to the town of Cære) now became known as the "Latin right."

Latin and Roman Colonies. — In order to keep in subjection a refractory town, or to form an outpost on the frontier, it was customary to send out a body of citizen soldiers, who occupied the town. These were known as military, or Latin, colonies, and were made up of persons who possessed the Latin right. At the same time Rome established on the seacoast maritime, or Roman, colonies, as they were called, composed entirely of full Roman citizens.

Dependent Allies. — There were certain other towns which were not incorporated with Rome at all. They were allowed to retain their local government, but were compelled to make a treaty, by which they were obliged to cede their public lands to Rome, and to lend their support in time of war.

This wise method of treating the various subject communities cemented more closely the Latin cities to Rome; and was the beginning of an important policy, which was more fully carried out in the subsequent organization of Italy and of the Mediterranean world.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

- Arnold, Hist., Ch. 29, "The Great Latin War" (2).¹
 How and Leigh, Ch. 13, "Subjugation of Latium" (1).
 Liddell, Ch. 20, "Great Latin War" (1).
 Ihne, Hist., Bk. III., Ch. 6, "Great War with the Latins" (2).
 Mommsen, Vol. I., Bk. II., Ch. 5, "Subjugation of the Latins" (2).

SPECIAL STUDY

MAP OF LATIUM AND CAMPANIA after the Latin conquest, locating the chief towns, and distinguishing between (*a*) towns fully incorporated, (*b*) towns partly incorporated, (*c*) subject allies, (*d*) Latin colonies, and (*e*) Roman colonies. — How and Leigh, p. 103, also map between pp. 402 and 403 (1); Shuckburgh, maps on pp. 30 and 128 (1); Liddell, p. 193 (1); Pelham, pp. 81, 82 (1).

CHAPTER XI

THE CONQUEST OF CENTRAL ITALY

I. THE SECOND SAMNITE WAR (B.C. 326-304)

Renewal of the Struggle for Central Italy. — The question as to who should be supreme in central Italy, Rome or Samnium, was not yet decided. The first struggle had been interrupted by the Latin war; and a twelve years' peace followed. The Samnites saw that Rome was becoming stronger and stronger. But they could not prevent this, because they themselves were threatened in the south by a new enemy. Alexander of Epi'rus, the uncle of Alexander the Great, had invaded Italy to aid the people of Taren'tum, and also with the hope of building up a new empire in the West. Rome also regarded Alexander as a possible enemy, and hastened to make a treaty with him against the Samnites. But the death of Alexander left the Tarentines to shift for themselves, and left

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

the Samnites free to use their whole force against Rome in the decisive struggle now to come for the mastery of central Italy.

Cause of the War again in Campania. — The direct cause of the second Samnite war, like that of the first, grew out of troubles in Campania. Here were situated the twin cities of Palæp'olis (the old city) and Neap'olis (the new city), which were still in the hands of the Greeks, but under the protection of the Samnites. Many disputes arose between the people of



CENTRAL ITALY — SECOND AND THIRD SAMNITE WARS

these cities and the Roman settlers in Campania. Palæp'olis appealed to the Samnites for help, and a strong garrison was given to it. The Romans demanded that this garrison should be withdrawn. The Samnites refused. The Romans then declared war and laid siege to Palæp'olis, which was soon captured by Q. Publilius Philo.

Battle at the Caudine Forks (B.C. 321). — In the early part of the war the Romans were nearly everywhere successful. They formed alliances with the Apulians and Lucanians on the south, and they also took the strong city of Luce'ria in Apulia; so that the Samnites were surrounded by the Roman army

and their allies. But in spite of these successes, the great Samnite general, Pontius, inflicted upon the Romans one of the most humiliating defeats that they ever suffered. The Roman consuls in Campania, deceived by the false report that Luceria was besieged by the whole Samnite force, decided to hasten to its relief by going directly through the heart of the Samnite territory. In passing through a defile in the mountains near Caudium, called the "Caudine Forks," the whole Roman force was entrapped by Pontius and obliged to surrender. The army was compelled to pass under the yoke; and the consuls were forced to make a treaty, yielding up all the territory conquered from the Samnites. But the Roman senate refused to ratify this treaty, and delivered up the offending consuls to the Samnites. Pontius, however, refused to accept the consuls as a compensation for the broken treaty; and demanded that the treaty should be kept, or else that the whole Roman army should be returned to the Caudine Forks, where they had surrendered. Rome refused to do either, and the war was continued.

Uprising of the Etruscans. — After breaking this treaty and recovering her army, Rome looked forward to immediate success. But in this she was disappointed. Everything seemed now turning against her. The cities in Campania revolted, the Samnites conquered Luceria in Apulia and Fregel'lae on the Liris,



WAR IN ETRURIA

and gained an important victory in the south of Latium near Anxur. To add to her troubles, the Etruscans came to the aid of the Samnites and attacked the Roman gar-

rison at Sutrium. The hostile attitude of the Etruscans aroused Rome to new vigor. Under the leadership of Q. Fabius Maximus Rullia'nus, the tide was turned in her favor. Many victories were gained over the Etruscans, closing with the decisive battle at Lake Vadimo'nis, and the submission of Etruria to Rome.

Capture of Bovianum and End of the War. — Rome now made desperate efforts to recover her losses in the south. Under the consul L. Papir'ius Cursor, who was afterward appointed dictator, the Romans recaptured Luceria and Fregellæ. The Samnites were defeated at Capua and driven out of Campania. The war was then carried into Samnium, and her chief city, Bovia'num, was captured. This destroyed the last hope of the Samnites. They sued for peace and were obliged to give up all their conquests and to enter into an alliance with Rome.

II. THE THIRD SAMNITE WAR (B.C. 298-290)

The Italian Coalition against Rome. — Although Rome was successful in the previous war, it required one more conflict to secure her supremacy in central Italy. This war is known as the third Samnite war, but it was in fact a war between Rome and the principal nations of Italy — the Samnites, the Umbrians, the Etruscans, and the Gauls. The Italians saw that either Rome must be subdued, or else all Italy would be ruled by the city on the Tiber. This was really a war for Italian independence.

Cause of the War in Lucania. — Rome and Samnium both saw the need of strengthening themselves for the coming conflict. Rome could depend upon the Latins, the Volscians, and the Campanians in the south. She also brought under her power the Æquians and the Marsians on the east. So that all her forces were compact and well in hand. The Samnites, on the contrary, were obliged to depend upon forces which were scattered from one end of the peninsula to the other. They determined first to win over to their side the Lucanians, who were

their nearest neighbors on the south, but who had been the allies of Rome in the previous war. This attempt of the Samnites to get control of Lucania led to the declaration of war by Rome.

The War carried into Etruria. — The Samnites now made the most heroic efforts to destroy their hated rival. Three armies



LUCANIAN SOLDIERS

were placed in the field, one to defend Samnium, one to invade Campania, and the third to march into Etruria. This last army was expected to join the Umbrians, the Etruscans, and the Gauls, and to attack Rome from the north. This was a bold plan, and alarmed the city. Business was stopped, and all Roman citizens were called to arms. The Roman forces moved into Etruria under the consuls Q. Fabius Rullianus and Decius Mus, the son of the hero who sacrificed himself in the battle at Mt. Vesuvius. The hostile armies were soon scattered, and the Samnites and Gauls retreated across the Apennines to Senti'num (map, p. 81).

Battle of Sentinum (B.C. 295). — Upon the famous field of Sentinum was decided the fate of Italy. Fabius was opposed to the Samnites on the right wing; and Decius Mus was opposed to the Gauls on the left. Fabius held his ground; but the Roman left wing under Decius was driven back by the terrible charge of the Gallic war chariots. Decius, remembering his father's example, devoted himself to death, and the Roman line was restored. The battle was finally decided in favor of the Romans; and the hope of a united Italy under the leadership of Samnium was destroyed.

End of the Italian Coalition. — After the great battle of Sentinum, the Gauls dispersed: Umbria ceased its resistance; and the Etruscans made their peace in the following year. But the

Samnites continued the hopeless struggle in their own land. They were at last compelled to submit to Curius Denta'tus, and to make peace with Rome. Another attempt to form a coalition against Rome, led by the Lucanians, failed; and Rome was left to organize her new possessions.

III. RESULTS OF THE SAMNITE WARS

Rome's Position in Central Italy. — The great result of the Samnite wars was to give Rome the controlling position in central Italy. The Samnites were allowed to retain their own territory and their political independence. But they were compelled to give up all disputed land, and to become the subject allies of Rome. The Samnites were a brave people and fought many desperate battles; but they lacked the organizing skill and resources of the Romans. In this great struggle for supremacy Rome succeeded on account of her persistence and her great fortitude in times of danger and disaster; but more than all else, on account of her wonderful ability to unite the forces under her control.

Increase of the Roman Territory. — As a result of these wars, the Roman territory was extended in two directions. On the west side of the peninsula, the greater part of Campania was brought into the Roman domain; and the Lucanians became the subject allies of Rome. On the east side the Sabines were incorporated with Rome, receiving the partial right of citizenship, which in a few years was extended to full citizenship. Umbria was also subdued. The Roman domain now stretched across the Italian peninsula from sea to sea. The inhabitants of Picenum and Apulia also became subject allies.

The New Colonies. — In accordance with her usual policy, Rome secured herself by the establishment of new colonies. Two of these were established on the west side — one at Mintur'nae at the mouth of the Liris River, and the other at Sinuessa in Campania (map, p. 80). In the south a colony was placed at Venusia, which was the most powerful garrison

that Rome had ever established, up to this time. It was made up of twenty thousand Latin citizens, and was so situated as to cut off the connection between Samnium and Tarentum.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Pelham, Bk. II., Ch. 2, "Conquest of Italy" (1).¹

Michelet, Bk. II., Ch. 2, "Conquest of Central Italy" (6).

How and Leigh, Ch. 15, "Conquest of the Italians" (1).

Arnold, Hist., Ch. 33, "Third Samnite War" (2).

Mommsen, Vol. I., Bk. II., "Struggle of the Italians against Rome" (2).

SPECIAL STUDY

ROMAN ROADS. — How and Leigh, p. 555 (1) ; Leighton, p. 111 (1) ; Ramsay and Lanciani, pp. 76-78 (8) ; Guhl and Koner, pp. 341-344 (16) ; Harper's Dict. Antiqq., "Via" (8).

CHAPTER XII

THE CONQUEST OF SOUTHERN ITALY

I. RUPTURE BETWEEN ROME AND TARENTUM

Greek Cities in Southern Italy. — All the peninsular portion of Italy was now under the practical dominion of Rome, except the Greek cities in the south. These cities were the centers of Greek art and culture. Situated upon the coast, they had engaged in commerce, and on account of their wealth they were subject to the depredations of their less civilized neighbors, the Lucanians and Bruttians. With no great capacity for organization, they were accustomed, when assailed, to appeal to some stronger power for help. They had sometimes looked to Greek princes, as in the case of Alexander of Epirus. But now, when Thu'rii was threatened by the Lucanians, this city

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

threw itself upon the mercy of Rome. Rome promptly interfered, and placed garrisons not only in Thurii, but also in other cities along the coast, as Croton, Locri, and Rhe'gium (see map, p. 88).

Rome and Tarentum.—The most important of the Greek cities of Italy was Tarentum. This city was now alarmed at the rapid advances made by Rome on the southern coast. Hemmed in on all sides by the Roman outposts, Tarentum found it necessary to decide whether she should open her gates to Rome, or maintain her independence with the aid of some Greek ally. She had already a commercial treaty with Rome, which prevented the ships of the latter power from passing the Lacinian promontory. But this treaty would not prevent the Roman armies from threatening the city by land.



PYRRHUS

Cause of the Rupture.—While this question was yet undecided, a Roman war fleet, on its way to the coast of Umbria, anchored in the harbor of Tarentum. The people were angered by this breach of the treaty, and immediately attacked the fleet. Five of the Roman vessels were captured, and the crews were either put to death or sold into slavery. A Roman embassy which was sent to Tarentum to demand reparation was grossly insulted. The Romans thereupon declared war, and sent an army to subdue the insolent city.

Tarentum calls upon Pyrrhus.—There was now but one course open to the people of Tarentum, and that was to appeal to Greece for protection. Pyrrhus was at this time king of Epirus. He was a brilliant and ambitious leader, and aspired to found an empire in the West. When Tarentum appealed to him for help, he

was ready not only to aid this city, but to rescue all the Greek cities of Italy from Rome, and also all the cities of Sicily from the power of Carthage. The war which the Romans began against Tarentum was thus turned into a war against Pyrrhus, who was the ablest general of his time.

II. WAR WITH PYRRHUS (B.C. 280-275)

Pyrrhus lands in Italy. — Pyrrhus landed in Italy, bringing with him a mercenary army raised in different parts of Greece, consisting of twenty-five thousand men and twenty elephants. Tarentum was placed under the strictest military discipline. Rome, on her part, made the greatest preparations to meet the invader. Her garrisons were strengthened. One army was sent into Etruria, to prevent an uprising in the north; and the main army, under the consul Valerius Lævi'nus, was sent to southern Italy.

Battle of Heraclea (B.C. 280). — The first battle between the Italian and Greek soldiers occurred at Heracle'a, not far from Tarentum. It was here that the Roman legion first came into contact with the Macedonian phalanx. The legion was drawn up in three separate lines, in open order; and the soldiers, after hurling the javelins, fought at close quarters with the sword. The phalanx, on the other hand, was a solid mass of soldiers in close order, with their shields touching, and twenty or thirty ranks deep. Its weapon was a long spear, so long that the points of the first five ranks all projected in front of the first rank. Pyrrhus selected his ground on the open plain. Seven times the Roman legions charged against his unbroken phalanxes. After the Roman attack was exhausted, Pyrrhus turned his elephants upon the Roman cavalry, which fled in confusion, followed by the rest of the Roman army. The Romans, though defeated in this battle, displayed wonderful courage and discipline, so that Pyrrhus exclaimed, "With such an army I could conquer the world!"

Embassy of Cineas. — The great losses which Pyrrhus suf-

ferred convinced him that the Romans could not be conquered with the forces which he had under his command; and that he had better turn his attention to the Carthaginians in Sicily. He therefore resolved to use his victory as a means of obtaining an honorable peace with the Romans. His most trusted



MAGNA GRÆCIA — THE WAR WITH PYRRHUS

minister, Cin'eas, who is said to have conquered more nations with his tongue than Pyrrhus had with his sword, was sent to Rome with the proposal to make peace, on condition that the Romans should relinquish their conquests in southern Italy. So persuasive were the words of Cineas, that the Roman senate seemed ready to consider his offer. But the charm of

his speech was broken by the stern eloquence of Appius Claudius, the blind old censor, who called upon the senate never to make peace with an enemy on Roman soil. Failing in his mission, Cineas returned to his master with the report that the Roman senate was "an assembly of kings." To give force to the claims of Cineas, Pyrrhus had pushed his army into Campania, and even into Latium; but finding the cities loyal to Rome, he withdrew again to Tarentum.

Battle of Asculum (B.C. 279). — In southern Italy, Pyrrhus received the support of the Greek cities, of the Bruttians, the Lucanians, and even the Samnites. In the next year he marched into Apulia, in the direction of the Roman stronghold Luceria. The hostile armies met at Asculum, a few miles south of Luceria. The battle of Asculum was a repetition of Heraclea. The Roman legions charged in vain against the Greek phalanxes; and were then routed by the elephants, which they could not withstand. But again, although the Romans were defeated, the great losses of Pyrrhus prevented him from following up his victory.

Pyrrhus in Sicily (B.C. 278–276). — Pyrrhus resolved to turn his back upon Italy, where his victories had been so barren, and go to the rescue of the Greek cities in Sicily, which were subject to Carthage. Leaving his general, Milo, at Tarentum, he crossed over to Syracuse, and gained many victories over the Carthaginians. He drove them to their stronghold in Lilybæum, at the western extremity of the island; but this city he failed to capture. He then called upon the people of Sicily to build a fleet, but they murmured at his severe command. Believing that such a people was unworthy of his aid, he returned to Tarentum. In the meantime the Romans had recovered nearly all their lost ground in southern Italy.

Battle of Beneventum and Departure of Pyrrhus (B.C. 275). — Before abandoning Italy, Pyrrhus determined once more to try the fortunes of war. One of the consular armies, under Curius Dentatus, lay in a strong position near Beneventum in the hilly regions of Samnium. Pyrrhus resolved to attack

this army before it could be reënforced. He stormed the Roman position, and was repulsed. The Roman consul then pursued him to the plains and gained a complete victory. Baffled and disappointed, Pyrrhus retreated to Tarentum; and leaving a garrison in that city under his lieutenant, Milo, he led the remnants of his army back to Greece.

III. FINAL REDUCTION OF ITALY

Fall of Tarentum (B.C. 272). — After the departure of Pyrrhus, Rome had no real rival left in Italy. The complete reduction of the peninsula speedily followed. Tarentum was besieged, and after a stubborn resistance of four years, Milo agreed to surrender, on condition of being allowed to withdraw his garrison to Epirus (B.C. 272). The city was allowed to retain its local government, but was obliged to pay an annual tribute to Rome.

The Lucanians, Bruttians, and Samnites. — Some of the people in the south of Italy were still loath to accept the supremacy of Rome, and kept up a kind of guerrilla warfare for some time. But the Lucanians and Bruttians were soon obliged to submit, and all the cities on the coast finally came under the Roman power. A temporary revolt of the Samnites was also crushed. The Roman power in the south was secured by strong colonies, planted at Pæstum in Lucania (B.C. 273) and at Beneventum in Samnium (B.C. 268).



ETRUSCAN VASE

Picenum and Umbria. — With the south pacified, Rome soon brought into submission the Italian remnants on the eastern coast. The chief city of Picenum, Anco'na (see map, p. 81), was taken by storm (B.C. 268), and the whole country was reduced. Farther to the north, the chief city of Umbria, Arim'inum, was also taken (B.C. 266), and the territory yielded to Rome.

Reduction of Etruria. — A spirit of defection still existed in some parts of Etruria. The most haughty of the Etruscan cities was Volsin'ii, which was selected as an example. Its walls were razed to the ground, and its works of art were transferred to Rome. After the fall of this city, all the other towns not already allied to Rome were willing to submit; and Rome ruled supreme from the Rubicon and Macra to the Sicilian strait.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Liddell, Ch. 26, "Pyrrhus in Italy" (1).¹

How and Leigh, Ch. 16, "War with Tarentum and Pyrrhus" (1).

Shuckburgh, Ch. 15, "Rome and Tarentum" (1).

Mommsen, Vol. I., Bk. II., Ch. 7, "Struggle between Pyrrhus and Rome" (2).

SPECIAL STUDY

THE ROMAN ARMY. — How and Leigh, pp. 135-141 (1); Leighton, Ch. 29 (1); Liddell, pp. 187-189 (1); Shuckburgh, pp. 214-218 (1); Beesly, Ch. 6 (6); Ramsay and Lanciani, Ch. 12 (8); Eschenburg, pp. 270-285 (8); Guhl and Koner, pp. 567-591 (16); Harper's Dict. Antiqq., "Legio," "Exercitus" (8).

CHAPTER XIII

SUPREMACY OF ROME IN ITALY

I. THE SOVEREIGN ROMAN STATE

The Sovereign and Subject Communities. — To understand properly the history of Rome, we must study not only the way in which she conquered her territory, but also the way in which she organized and governed it. The study of her wars and battles is less important than the study of her policy. Rome was always learning lessons in the art of government. As

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix where a fuller title of the book will be found.

she grew in power, she also grew in political wisdom. With every extension of her territory, she was obliged to extend her authority as a sovereign power. If we would comprehend the political system which grew up in Italy, we must keep clearly in mind the distinction between the people who made up the sovereign body of the state, and the people who made up the subject communities of Italy. Just as in early times we saw two distinct bodies, the patrician body, which ruled the state, and the plebeian body, which was subject to the state; so now we shall see, on the one hand, a ruling body of citizens, who lived in and outside the city upon the Roman domain (*ager Romanus*), and on the other hand, a subject body of people, living in towns and cities throughout the rest of Italy. In other words, we shall see a part of the territory and people incorporated into the state, and another part unincorporated—the one a sovereign community, and the other comprising a number of subject communities.

Extent of the Roman Domain.—The Roman domain proper, or the *ager Romanus*, was that part of the territory in which the people became incorporated into the state, and were admitted to the rights of citizenship. It was the sovereign domain of the Roman people. This domain land, or incorporated territory, had been gradually growing while the conquest of Italy was going on. It now included, speaking generally, the most of Latium, northern Campania, southern Etruria, the Sabine country, Picenum, and a part of Umbria. There were a few towns within this area, like Tibur and Præneste, which were not incorporated, and hence not a part of the domain land, but retained the position of subject allies.

The Thirty-three Tribes.—Within the Roman domain were the local tribes, which had now increased in number to thirty-three. They included four urban tribes, that is, the wards of the city, and twenty-nine rural tribes, which were like townships in the country. All the persons who lived in these tribal districts and were enrolled, formed a part of the sovereign body of the Roman people, that is, they had a

share in the government, in making the laws, and in electing the magistrates.

The Roman Colonies. — The colonies of citizens sent out by Rome were allowed to retain all their rights of citizenship, being permitted even to come to Rome at any time to vote and help make the laws. These colonies of Roman citizens thus formed a part of the sovereign state; and their territory, wherever it might be situated, was regarded as a part of the *ager Romanus*. Such were the colonies along the seacoast, the most important of which were situated on the shores of Latium and of adjoining lands.

The Roman Municipia. — Rome incorporated into her territory some of the conquered towns under the name of *municipia*, which possessed all the burdens and some of the rights of citizenship. At first, such towns (like Cære) received the private but not the public rights (*civitas sine suffragio*), — see page 64, — and the towns might govern themselves or be governed by a prefect sent from Rome. In time, however, the municipia obtained not only local self-government but also full Roman citizenship; and this arrangement was the basis of the Roman municipal system of later times.

II. THE SUBJECT COMMUNITIES

The Subject Territory. — Over against this sovereign body of citizens living upon the *ager Romanus*, were the subject communities scattered throughout the length and breadth of the peninsula. The inhabitants of this territory had no share in the Roman government. Neither could they declare war, make peace, form alliances, or coin money, without the consent of Rome. Although they might have many privileges given to them, and might govern themselves in their own cities, they formed no part of the sovereign body of the Roman people.

The Latin Colonies. — One part of the subject communities of Italy comprised the Latin colonies. These were the military garrisons which Rome sent out to hold in subjection a

conquered city or territory. They were generally made up of veteran soldiers, or sometimes of poor Roman citizens, who were placed upon the conquered land and who ruled the conquered people. But such garrisons did not retain the full rights of citizens. They lost the political rights, and generally the *conubium* (p. 64), but retained the *commercium*. These colonies, scattered as they were throughout Italy, carried with them the Latin language and the Roman spirit, and thus aided in extending the influence of Rome.

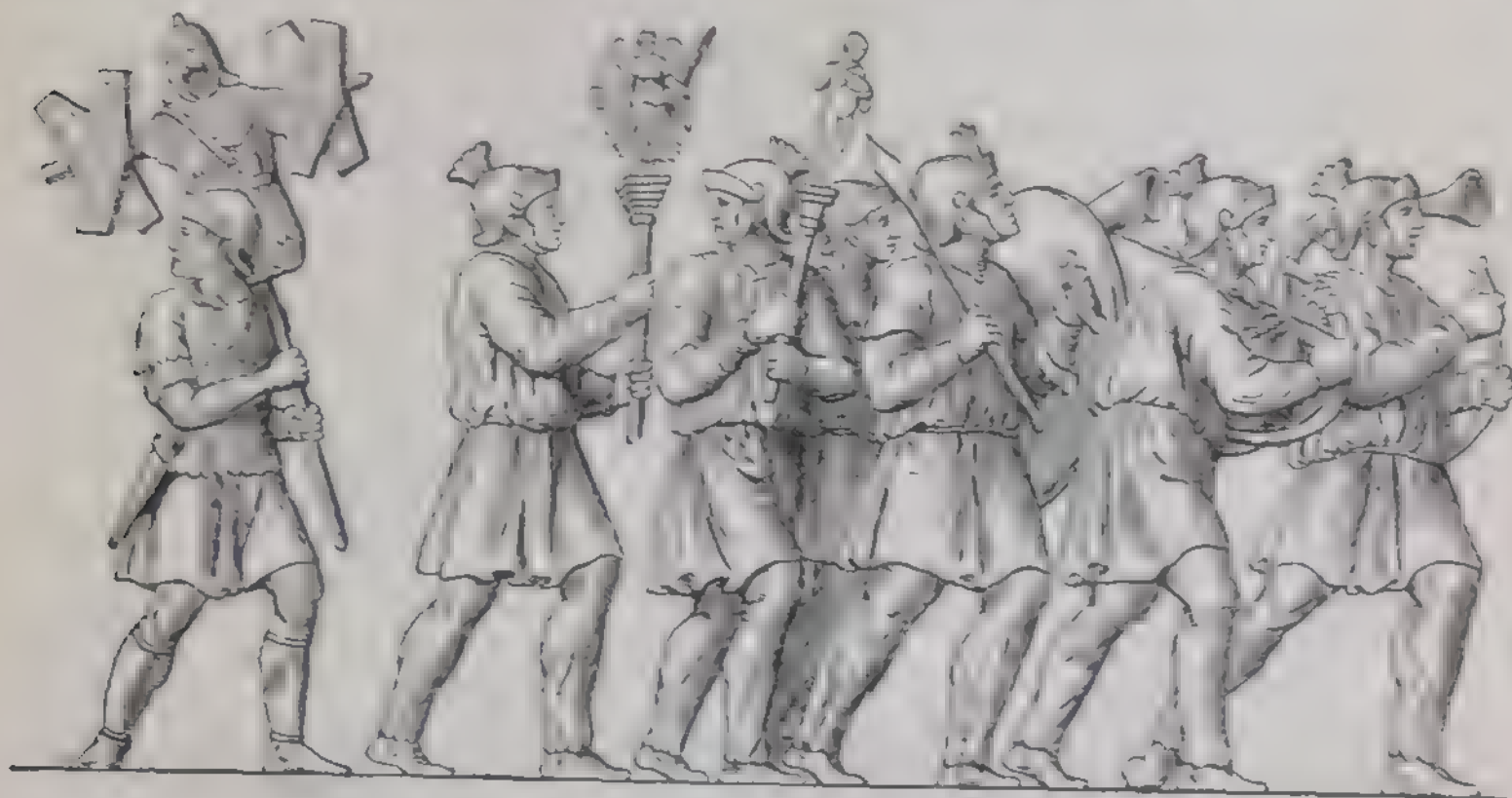
The Italian Allies. — The largest part of the subject communities were the Italian cities which were conquered and left free to govern themselves, but which were bound to Rome by a special treaty. They were obliged to recognize the sovereign power of Rome. They were not subject to the land tax which fell upon Roman citizens, but were obliged to furnish troops for the Roman army in times of war. These cities of Italy, thus held in subjection to Rome by a special treaty, were known as federated cities (*civitates foederatae*), or simply as allies (*socii*); they formed the most important part of the Italian population not incorporated into the Roman state.

This method of governing Italy was, in some respects, based upon the policy which had formerly been adopted for the government of Latium (see p. 77). The important distinction between Romans, Latins, and Italians continued until the "social war" (consult map, p. 167).

III. THE MILITARY SYSTEM

The Roman Army. — The conquest of Italy was due, in great measure, to the efficiency of the Roman army. The strength of the Roman government, too, depended upon the army, which was the real support of the civil power. By their conquests the Romans became a nation of warriors. Every citizen between the ages of seventeen and forty-five was obliged to serve in the army, when the public service required it. In early times the wars lasted only for a short

period, and consisted in ravaging the fields of the enemy; and the soldier's reward was the booty which he was able to capture. But after the siege of Veii, the term of service became longer, and it became necessary to give to the soldiers regular pay. This pay, with the prospect of plunder and of



SOLDIERS AND THEIR BOOTY

a share in the allotment of conquered land, furnished a strong motive to render faithful service.

Divisions of the Army. — In case of war it was customary to raise four legions, two for each consul. Each legion was composed of thirty maniples, or companies, of heavy-armed troops. — twenty maniples consisting of one hundred and twenty men each, and ten maniples of sixty men each, — making in all three thousand heavy-armed troops. There were also twelve hundred light-armed troops, not organized in maniples. The whole number of men in a legion was therefore forty-two hundred. To each legion was usually joined a body of cavalry, numbering three hundred men. After the reduction of Latium and Italy, the allied cities were also obliged to furnish a certain number of men, according to the terms of the treaty.

Order of Battle. — In ancient times the Romans fought in the manner of the Greek phalanx, in a solid square. This

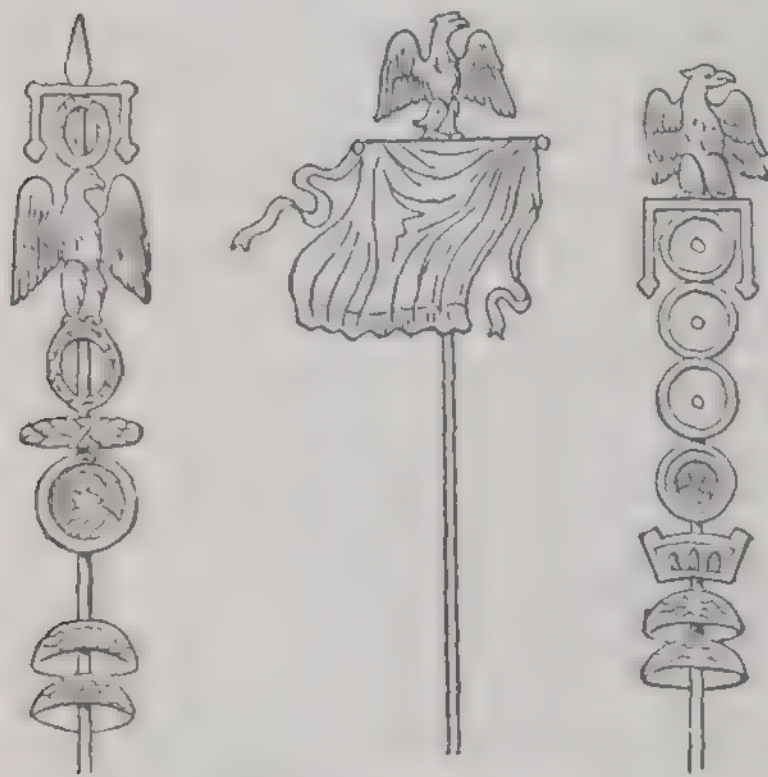
arrangement was well suited to withstand an attack on a level plain, but it was not adapted to aggressive warfare. About the time of Camillus, the Romans introduced the more open order of "maniples." When drawn up in order of battle, the legion was arranged in three lines: first, the *hastati*, made up of young men; second, the *prin'cipes*, composed of the more experienced soldiers; and third, the *triarii*, which comprised the veterans, capable of supporting the other two lines. Each line was composed of ten maniples, those of the first two lines consisting of one hundred and twenty men each, and those of the third line consisting of sixty men each; the maniples, or companies, in each line were so arranged that they were opposite the spaces in the next line, as follows:—

- | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. <i>Hastati</i> | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 2. <i>Principes</i> | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| 3. <i>Triarii</i> | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |

This arrangement enabled the companies in front to retreat into the spaces in the rear, or the companies in the rear to advance to the spaces in front.

Behind the third line usually fought the light-armed and less experienced soldiers (*rorarii* and *accensi*). Each maniple carried its own ensign; and the legion carried a standard surmounted with a silver eagle.

Armor and Weapons.—The defensive armor of all the three lines was alike—a coat of mail for the breast, a brass helmet for the head, greaves for the



ROMAN STANDARDS

legs, and a large oblong shield carried upon the left arm. For offensive weapons, each man carried a short sword, which could be used for cutting or thrusting. The soldiers in the first two lines each had also two javelins, to be hurled at the enemy before coming into close quarters; and those of the third line

each had a long lance, which could be used for piercing. It was with such arms as these that the Roman soldiers conquered Italy.

Military Rewards and Honors. — The Romans encouraged the soldiers with rewards for their bravery. These were bestowed by the general in the presence of the whole army. The highest individual reward was the "civic crown," made of oak leaves, given to him who had saved the life of a fellow-citizen on the battlefield. Other suitable rewards, such as golden crowns,



MILITARY REWARDS

banners of different colors, and ornaments, were bestowed for singular bravery. When a general slew the general of the enemy, the captured spoils (*spolia opima*) were hung up in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. The highest military honor which the Roman state could bestow was a triumph. — a solemn procession, decreed by the senate, in which the victorious general, with his army, marched through the city to the Capitol, bearing in his train the trophies of war.

Military Roads. — An important part of the military system

of Rome was the network of military roads by which her armies and munitions of war could be sent into every part of Italy. The first military road was the Appian Way (*via Appia*), built



APPIAN WAY

by Appius Claudius during the Samnite wars. It connected Rome with Capua, and was afterward extended to Beneventum and Venusia, and finally as far as Brundisium. This furnished a model for the roads which were subsequently laid out to other points in Italy. The Latin Way (*via Latina*) ran south into the Samnite country and connected with the Appian Way near Capua and at Beneventum. The Flaminian Way (*via Flaminia*) ran north through eastern Etruria and Umbria to Ariminum. From this last-mentioned place, the Æmilian Way (*via Æmilia*) extended into Cisalpine Gaul as far as Placentia on the river Po. Another important road, the Cassian Way (*via Cassia*) ran through central Etruria to Arretium, and connected with the Æmilian Way in Cisalpine Gaul. Along

the western coast of Etruria ran the Aurelian Way (*via Aurelia*). These were the chief military roads constructed during the time of the republic. So durable were these highways that their remains exist to the present day (see "special study," p. 85).

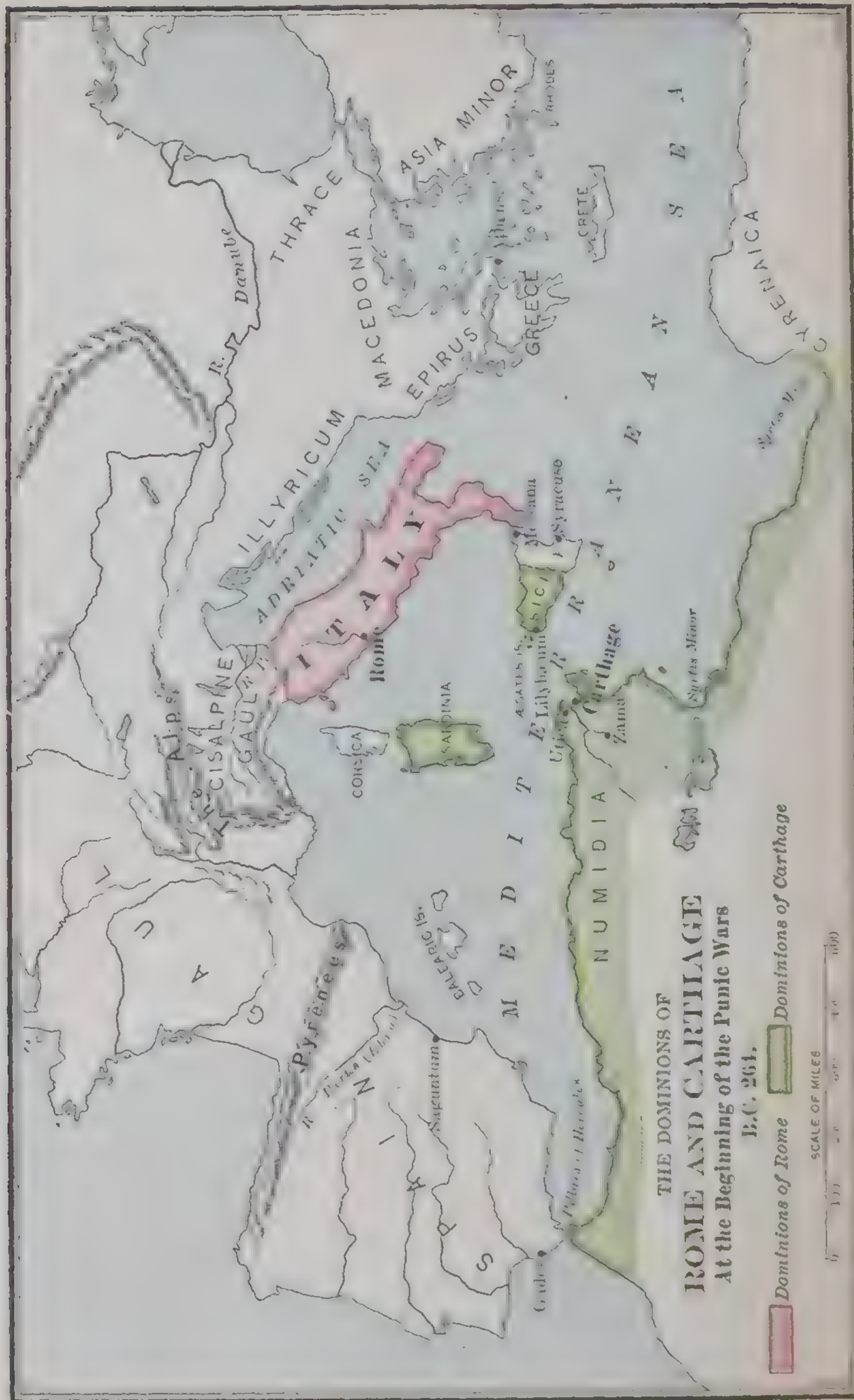
SELECTIONS FOR READING

- Merivale, Gen. Hist., Ch. 16, "Survey of Roman Institutions" (1).¹
Mommsen, Vol. I., Bk. II., Ch. 7, "Union of Italy" (2).
Liddell, Ch. 27, "Settlement of Italy" (1).
Pelham, pp. 97-107, "Rome as Mistress of Italy" (1).
Leighton, Ch. 19, "Roman Supremacy in Italy" (1).
Taylor, Ch. 6, "Rome and Italy" (1).
Duruy, Vol. I., Ch. 17, "Organization of Italy" (2).

SPECIAL STUDY

ROMAN AND LATIN COLONIES. — Shuckburgh, p. 164, note 2 (1); Liddell, pp. 254-257 (1); Arnold, Hist., Ch. 41 (2); Ramsay and Lanciani, pp. 118-120 (8); Harper's Diet. Antiqq., "Colonia" (8); Niebuhr, Vol. III., pp. 240-252 (2).

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.



PERIOD V. THE CONQUEST OF THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD (B.C. 264-133)

CHAPTER XIV

THE FIRST PUNIC WAR (B.C. 264-241)

I. CARTHAGE AND ROME

Beginning of Foreign Conquests. — The ambition and the resources of Rome were not exhausted with the conquest of Italy. It was but a step from the Greek cities of Italy to the Greek cities of Sicily. But when Rome ventured to cross the Sicilian Strait, she was drawn into a struggle which was not ended until she was mistress of the Mediterranean. In passing beyond the limits of her own peninsula, she became one of the great world powers. The strength which she had acquired in her wars with the Latins and Etruscans and Samnites, she was now to use in the greater conflicts with Carthage and Macedonia and Syria.

The Origin of Carthage. — The first foreign power with which Rome came in contact, outside of Italy, was Carthage. This city was originally a colony of Tyre, and had come to be the capital of a great commercial empire on the northern coast of Africa. The origin of Carthage, like that of Rome, is almost lost in the clouds of tradition. An old story tells us how Queen Dido was driven from Tyre and landed in Africa, as Æneas did in Italy, with a band of fugitives. It is said that Dido purchased from the African princes as much land as an oxhide would cover; and cunningly cut the hide into thin

strips and encircled enough land upon which to found a city. Vergil has told us the romantic story of Dido and Æneas, and the death of the queen. But all we really know of the origin of this city is that it was settled by Phœnicians from Tyre, and early acquired dominion over the native races of Africa, the Lydians and the Numidians.

Government of Carthage. — When Carthage came into conflict with Rome, it had in some respects the same kind of government as the Roman republic. It had two chief magistrates (called *suffetes*), corresponding to the Roman consuls. It had a council of elders, called the “hundred,” which we might compare to the Roman senate. It had also an assembly something like the Roman *comitia*. But while the Carthaginian government had some outward similarity to the Roman, it was in its spirit very different. The real power was exercised by a few wealthy and prominent families. The Carthaginians, moreover, did not understand the Roman method of incorporating their subjects into the state; and hence did not possess a great body of loyal citizens, as did Rome. But one great advantage of the Carthaginian government was the fact that it placed the command of the army in the hands of a permanent able leader, and not in the hands of its civil magistrates, who were constantly changing as were the consuls at Rome.

The Civilization of Carthage. — Carthage brought into the western Mediterranean the ideas and civilization which the



CARTHAGINIAN COIN

Phœnicians had developed in the East. Her power was based upon trade and commercial supremacy. She had brought under her control the trading colonies of northern Africa and many of the Greek cities

of Sicily. She was, in fact, the great merchant of the Mediterranean. She had grown wealthy and strong by buying and selling the products of the East and the West — the purple of

Tyre, the frankincense of Arabia, the linen of Egypt, the gold of Spain, the silver of the Balear'ic Isles, the tin of Britain, and the iron of Elba. She had formed commercial treaties with the chief countries of the world. She coveted not only the Greek cities of Sicily, but the Greek cities of Italy as well. We can thus see how Rome and Carthage became rivals for the possession of the countries bordering upon the western Mediterranean Sea.



CARTHAGINIAN COIN

Rome and Carthage Compared. — In comparing these two great rivals of the West, we might say that they were nearly equal in strength and resources. Carthage had greater wealth, but Rome had a better organization. Carthage had a more powerful navy, but Rome had a more efficient army. Carthage had more brilliant leaders, while Rome had a more steadfast body of citizens. The main strength of Carthage rested in her wealth and commercial resources, while that of Rome depended upon the character of her people and her well-organized political system. The greatness of the Carthaginians was shown in their successes, while the greatness of the Romans was most fully revealed in the dark hours of disaster and trial.

II. OPERATIONS OF THE FIRST PUNIC WAR

Outbreak of the War in Sicily (B.C. 264). — The first conflict between Rome and Carthage, which is known as the first Punic¹ war, began in Sicily; and really came to be a contest for the possession of that island. Sicily was at this time divided between three powers. (1) Carthage held all the western part of the island, with the important cities of Agrigen'tum on the south, Panormus on the north, and Lilybæum at the extreme point. (2) The southeastern part of the island was under the

¹ So called because the Latin word for Carthaginian is *Punicus*.

control of the king of Syracuse, who ruled not only this city, but also some of the neighboring towns. (3) The northeastern corner of the island was in the possession of a body of Campanian soldiers, who had been in the service of the king of



SICILY — THE FIRST PUNIC WAR

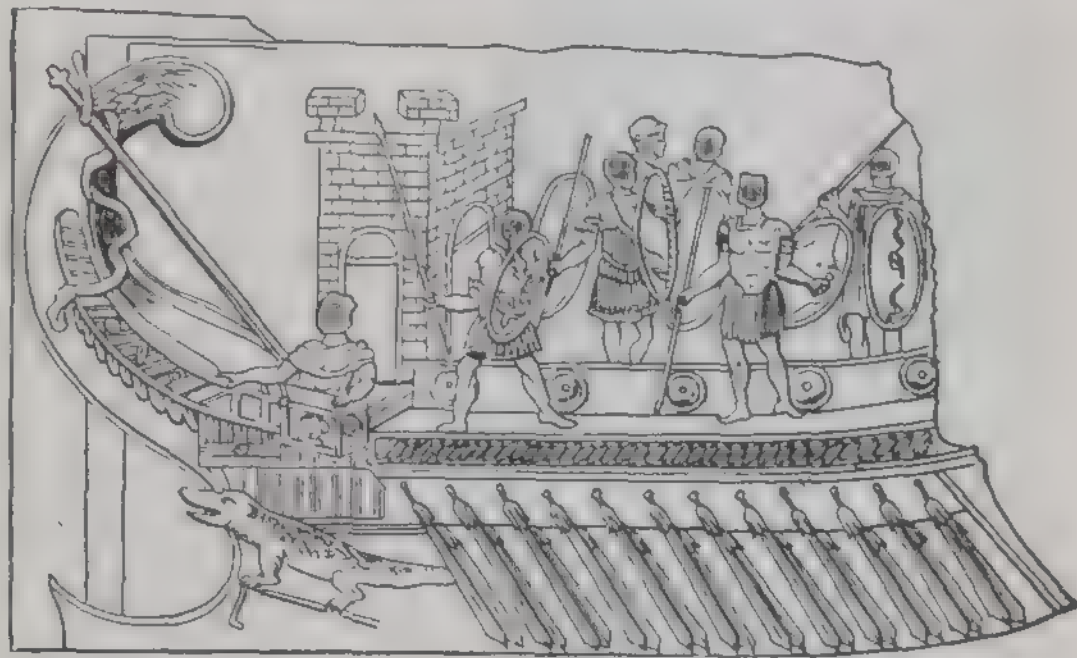
Syracuse, and who, on returning home, had treacherously seized the city of Messa'na.

These Campanian mercenaries, who called themselves Mam'ertines, or Sons of Mars, murdered the inhabitants and ravaged the surrounding country. The king of Syracuse attacked them, laid siege to their city, and reduced them to such an extremity that they felt obliged to look for help. The choice lay between Rome and Carthage. They finally decided to call upon Rome for help. The Roman senate hesitated to help these robbers against Syracuse, which was a friendly power. But when the question was left to the assembly, the people fearing that Carthage would be called upon if they refused, it was decided to help the Mamertines, and thus prevent the Carthaginians from getting possession of this part of Sicily. In this way began the first Punic war.

Capture of Messana and Agrigentum. — A Roman army, under Appius Claudius, was dispatched to Sicily, and gained a foothold upon the island. But the Mamertines, during the delay

of the Romans, had already admitted a Carthaginian garrison into the city. This seemed to the Roman general to be a breach of faith. He accordingly invited the Carthaginian commander, Hanno, to a friendly conference, and then treacherously ordered him to be seized. Whereupon the latter, in order to regain his liberty, agreed to give up the city. Thus the Romans got possession of Messana. The king of Syracuse then formed an alliance with the Carthaginians to drive the Romans out of the island; but both their armies were defeated. When the Romans had thus shown their superiority, the king of Syracuse changed his policy and formed an alliance with the Romans to drive the Carthaginians out of the island. Town after town fell before the Roman army; and in the second year of the war, the important city of Agrigentum was captured, after a siege of seven months (B.C. 262).

Rome becomes a Naval Power. — The Romans now learned that Carthage, to be overcome, must be met upon the sea, as well as upon the land. When the Carthaginian fleet first appeared, it recovered most of the coast-cities which had been lost to the Romans. It ravaged the coasts of Italy, and by its command of the sea made it



ROMAN WAR VESSEL

difficult for Rome to send fresh troops to Sicily. The Romans had, it is true, a few ships; but these were triremes, or ships with only three banks of oars, and were unable to cope with the great Carthaginian vessels, which were quinquiremes, or ships with five banks of oars. The Romans saw that they must either give up the war, or else build a fleet equal to that of the Carthaginians. Taking as a model a Carthaginian vessel

which had been wrecked on the Italian shore, they constructed, it is said, a hundred vessels like it in sixty days. In the meantime their soldiers were trained into sailors by practicing the art of rowing upon rude benches built upon the land and arranged like the banks of a real vessel. The Romans knew that their soldiers were better than the Carthaginians in a hand-to-hand encounter. To maintain this advantage, they provided their ships with drawbridges which could be used in boarding the enemy's vessels. Thus equipped with a fleet, Rome ventured upon the sea as a rival of the first naval power of the world.

Victory of Duilius at Mylæ (B.C. 260). — The new Roman fleet was put under the command of the consul Duilius. The



COLUMN OF DUILIUS

Carthaginians were now plundering the northern coast of Sicily near Mylæ. Without delay Duilius sailed to meet them. As the fleets came together, the Romans dropped their drawbridges upon the enemy's ships and quickly boarded them. In the hand-to-hand encounter, the Romans proved their superiority. The Carthaginians were routed; and fifty of their vessels were either sunk or captured. This was a most decisive victory. The Romans had fought and gained their first great battle upon the sea. Duilius was given a magnificent triumph, and to commemorate the victory, a column was erected in the Forum, adorned with the beaks of the captured vessels (*Columna Rostrata*).

Invasion of Africa by Regulus (B.C. 256). — Elated by this success, the Romans felt prepared to carry the war into Africa. With a still larger fleet, they defeated the Carthaginian squad-

ron which attempted to bar their way on the southern coast of Sicily, off the promontory of Ee'nomus. Two legions, under L. Manlius Vulso and Reg'ulus, landed on the coast of Africa east of Carthage, and laid waste the country. So easily was this accomplished that the Romans decided that one consul, with his army, would be enough to finish the work in Africa. Vulso was therefore recalled, and Regulus remained. The Carthaginians attempted in vain to make peace; and in despair, it is said, even threw some of their children into the flames to propitiate their god Moloch. They then placed their army in the hands of a Spartan soldier named Xanthip'pus. This general defeated the Roman legions with great slaughter, and made Regulus a prisoner. A fleet was then sent from Italy to rescue the survivors, but this fleet on its return was wrecked in a storm. Thus ingloriously closed the war in Africa.

The War Confined to Sicily (B.C. 255-241). — For several years after this, the war languished in Sicily. The long series of Roman disasters was relieved by the capture of Panormus on the northern coast, which was soon followed by a second victory over the Carthaginians at the same place. It is said that the Carthaginians, after this second defeat, desired an exchange of prisoners, and sent Regulus to the Roman senate to advocate their cause, under the promise that he would return if unsuccessful. But Regulus, it is said, persuaded the senate not to accept the offer of the Carthaginians; and then, in spite of the tears and entreaties of his friends, went back to Carthage. Whether this story is true or not, it illustrates the honor and patriotism of the true Roman.



REGULUS (Coin)

After the Roman victories at Panormus, the Carthaginians were pushed into the extreme western part of the island. The Romans then laid siege to Lilybæum, the stronghold of the Carthaginian power. Failing to capture this place, the Roman consul, P. Claudius, determined to destroy the enemy's fleet

lying near Drep'anum; but he was defeated with the loss of over ninety ships. The superstitious Romans believed that this defeat was due to the fact that Claudius had impiously disregarded the auguries; when the sacred chickens had refused to eat, he had in a fit of passion thrown them into the sea. The consul was recalled by the senate, and a dictator was appointed in his place. After the loss of other fleets by storms, and after fruitless campaigns against the great Carthaginian soldier, Hamil'car Barca, the Roman cause seemed a failure.

Victory at the Ægates Islands (B.C. 241).—It is in the midst of such discouraging times as these that we are able to see the strong elements of the Roman character—patriotism, fortitude, and steadfast perseverance. With a loss of one sixth of their population and a vast amount of treasure, they still persisted in the attempt to conquer Sicily. Wealthy citizens advanced their money to build a new fleet. In this way two hundred ships were built and placed under the consul C. Lutatius Cat'ulus. A decisive victory was gained at the Æga'tes Islands, off the western extremity of Sicily. The Carthaginians were unprepared for the terrible defeat which they suffered, and were obliged to sue for peace. They were obliged to give up Sicily; release all the Roman prisoners without ransom; and pay to the Romans 3,200 talents (about \$4,000,000), within ten years. Thus ended the first Punic war, which had lasted for twenty-three years. During this time Rome had shown her ability to fight upon the sea and had fairly entered the lists as one of the great powers of the world. But this first contest with Carthage, severe as it was, was merely a preparation for the more terrible struggle which was yet to come.

III. EVENTS FOLLOWING THE WAR (B.C. 241–218)

Sicily becomes the First Roman Province.—In the interval between the first and second Punic wars, both Rome and

Carthage sought to strengthen and consolidate their power. They knew that the question of supremacy was not yet decided, and sooner or later another contest must come. Rome found herself in possession of a new territory outside of Italy, which must be organized. She had already three kinds of territory: (1) the Roman domain (*ager Romanus*), where all were, generally speaking, full citizens; (2) the Latin colonies, in which the people had a part of the rights of citizens; and (3) the Italian land, in which the people were not citizens, but were half independent, having their own governments, but bound to Rome as allies in war. In Sicily a new system was introduced. The people were made neither citizens nor allies, but subjects. The land was generally confiscated, and the inhabitants were obliged to pay a heavy tribute. The whole island — except Syracuse, which remained independent — was governed by a praetor sent from Rome. By this arrangement Sicily became a “province” — which is another name for a conquered territory outside of Italy.

Annexation of Sardinia and Corsica. — Besides Sicily, there were in the Mediterranean two other islands which seemed by nature to belong to Italy. These were Sardinia and Corsica. While Carthage was engaged in suppressing a revolt of her own soldiers, which is known as the “mercenary war” in Africa, Rome saw a favorable opportunity to get possession of Sardinia. Carthage protested against such an act; and Rome replied by demanding the cession of the island, and also the payment of a fine of 1200 talents (about \$1,500,000). Carthage was obliged to submit to this unjust demand; but she determined to avenge herself in the future. As Sardinia came to her so easily, Rome proceeded to take Corsica also, and the two islands were erected into a second Roman province. Rome thus obtained possession of the three great islands of the western Mediterranean.

Suppression of the Illyrian Pirates. — The attention of Rome was soon directed to the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea. An appeal came from the Greek cities for protection against

the pirates of the Adriatic. These pirates were the people of Illyr'icum, who made their living by plundering the ships and ravaging the coasts of their Greek neighbors. With a fleet of two hundred ships, Rome cleared the Adriatic Sea of these pirates. She then took the Greek cities under her protection; Rome thus obtained a foothold upon the eastern coast of the Adriatic, which brought her into friendly relations with Greece, and afterward into hostile relations with Macedonia.

Conquest of Cisalpine Gaul. — As Rome began to be drawn into foreign wars, she became aware that her position at home could not be secure so long as the northern part of Italy remained unconquered. The Alps formed the natural boundary of Italy; and to this boundary she felt obliged to extend her power. She planted colonies upon the Gallic frontier, and in these towns made a large assignment of lands to her own citizens. The Gauls resented this as an encroachment upon their territory; they appealed to arms, invaded Etruria, and threatened Rome. The invaders were defeated and driven back, and the war was continued in the valley of the Po until the whole of Cisalpine Gaul was finally subdued. The conquered territory was secured by new colonies, and Rome was practically supreme to the Alps. Her people were made more devoted to her by the share which they received in the new land. Her dominions were now so well organized, and her authority so secure, that she felt prepared for another contest with Carthage.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Pelham, Bk. III., Ch. 1, "Rome and Carthage" (1).¹

Liddell, Ch. 28, "Events leading to the First Punic War" (1).

Arnold, Hist., Ch. 39, "Constitution and Power of Carthage" (2).

Mommsen, Vol. II., Bk. III., Ch. 1, "Carthage"; Ch. 2, "War concerning Sicily" (2).

Mommsen, abridged, Ch. 12, "Carthage"; Ch. 13, "First Punic War" (2).

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

Shuckburgh, Ch. 17, "Rome and Carthage" (1).

How and Leigh, Ch. 18, "First Punic War" (1).

SPECIAL STUDY

THE ROMAN NAVY. — Arnold, Hist., p. 428 (2); How and Leigh, pp. 141-143, 152 (1); Shuckburgh, pp. 237, 241 (1); Eschenburgh, p. 282 (8); Ramsay and Lanciani, pp. 453-458 (8); Guhl and Koenig, pp. 253-254 (16); Harper's Dict. Antiqq., "Navis" (8).

CHAPTER XV

THE SECOND PUNIC WAR (B.C. 218-201)

I. FROM SAGUNTUM TO CANNÆ (B.C. 218-216)

Beginning of the War in Spain. — The second Punic war, which now followed, was to decide the fate of Rome, and perhaps of Europe. Its real cause was the growing rivalry between the two great powers that were now struggling for supremacy in the western Mediterranean. But it was directly brought about by the rapid growth of the Carthaginian dominion in Spain. While Rome was adding to her strength by the conquest of Cisalpine Gaul and the reduction of the islands in the sea, Carthage was building up a great empire in the Spanish peninsula. Here she expected to raise new armies, with which to invade Italy. This was the policy of Hamilcar Barca, her greatest citizen and soldier. The work was begun by Hamilcar himself, and then continued by his son-in-law, Has'drubal, who founded the city of New Carthage as the capital of the new province.

Rome began to be alarmed, as she saw the territory of her rival extending toward the north. She induced Carthage to make a treaty not to extend her conquests beyond the river Ibe'rus (Ebro), in the northern part of Spain. Rome also

formed a treaty of alliance with the Greek city of Sagun'tum, which, though south of the Iberus, was up to this time free and independent. Carthage continued the work of conquering the southern part of Spain, without infringing upon the rights of Rome, until Hasdrubal died. Then Hannibal, the young son of the great Hamilcar, and the idol of the army, was chosen as commander. This young Carthaginian, who had in



SPAIN — HANNIBAL'S ROUTE →

his boyhood sworn an eternal hostility to Rome, now felt that his mission was come. He marched from New Carthage and proceeded to attack Saguntum, the ally of Rome; and after a siege of eight months, captured it. The Romans sent an embassy to Carthage to demand the surrender of Hannibal. The story is told that Quintus Fabius, the chief Roman envoy, lifted up a fold of his toga and said to the Carthaginian senate, "Here we bring you peace and war; which do you choose?" "Give us either," was the reply. "Then I offer you war," said Fabius. "And this we accept," shouted the

Carthaginians. Thus was begun the most memorable war of ancient times.

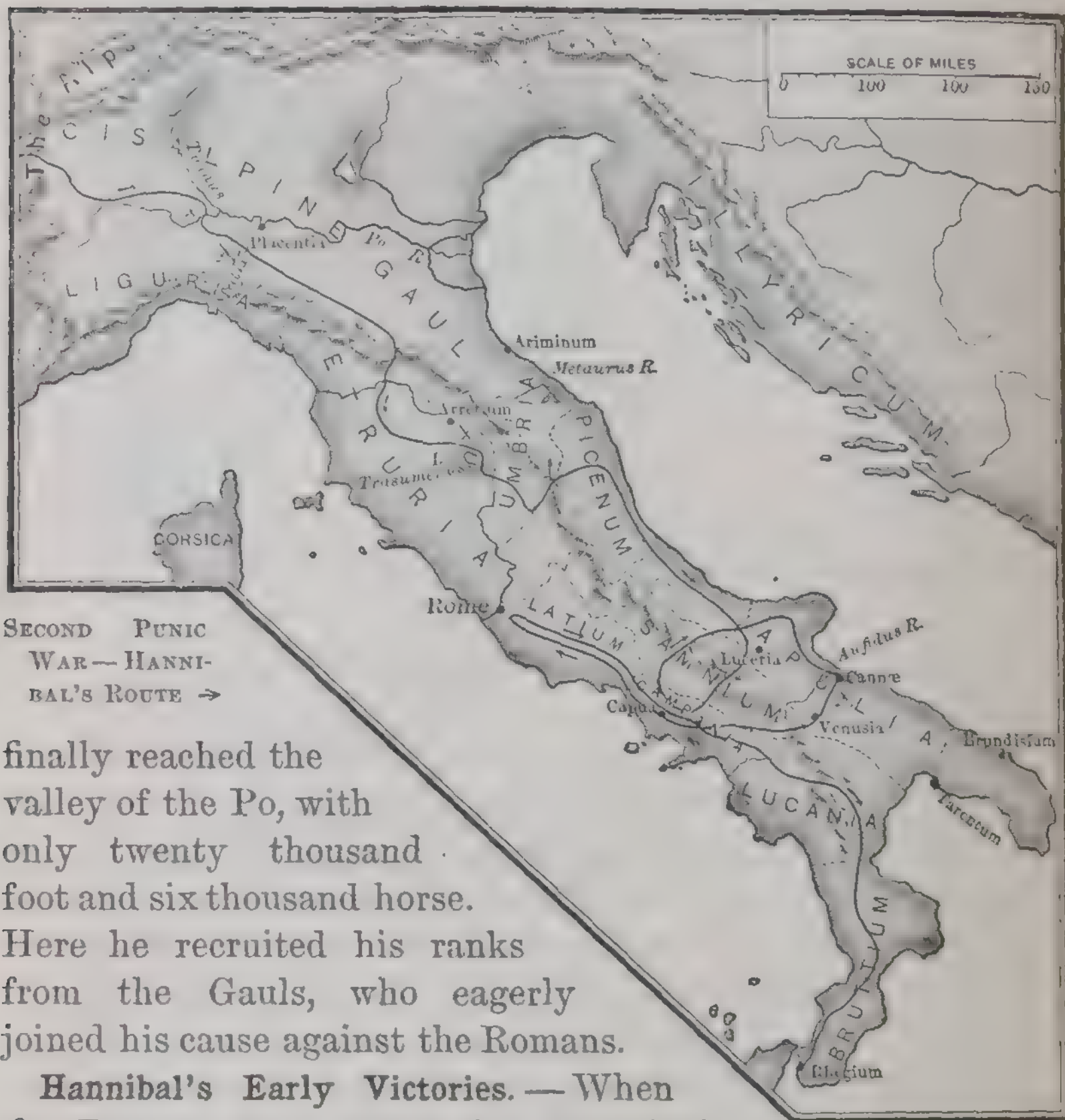
Hannibal and Rome. — Rome was now at war, not only with Carthage, but with Hannibal. The first Punic war had been a struggle with the greatest naval power of the Mediterranean, but the second Punic war was to be a conflict with one of the greatest soldiers that the world has ever seen. As a military genius, no Roman could compare with him. If the Romans could have known what ruin and desolation were to follow in the train of this young man of Carthage, they might have hesitated to enter upon this war. But no one could know the future. While Carthage placed her cause in the hands of a brilliant captain, Rome felt that she was supported by a courageous and steadfast people. It will be interesting for us to follow this contest between a great man and a great nation.



HANNIBAL

Hannibal's Invasion of Italy. — Even at the beginning of the war Hannibal showed his great genius as a soldier. The Romans formed an excellent plan to send two armies into the enemy's country — one into Africa under Sempronius, and the other into Spain under P. Cornelius Scipio (*sip'i-o*). But Hannibal, with the instinct of a true soldier, saw that Carthage would be safe if Italy were invaded and Rome threatened. Leaving his brother Hasdrubal to protect Spain, he crossed the Pyrenees with fifty thousand infantry, nine thousand cavalry, and a number of elephants. Without delay he pushed on to the river Rhone; outflanked the barbarians, who were trying to oppose his passage; and crossed the river above, just as the Roman army (which had expected to meet him in Spain) had reached Massilia (Marseilles). When the Roman commander, P. Cornelius Scipio, found that he had been outgeneraled by

Hannibal, he sent his brother Cn. Scipio on to Spain with the main army, and returned himself to Cisalpine Gaul, expecting to destroy the Carthaginian if he should venture to come into Italy. Hannibal in the meantime pressed on; and in spite of innumerable difficulties and dangers crossed the Alps. He

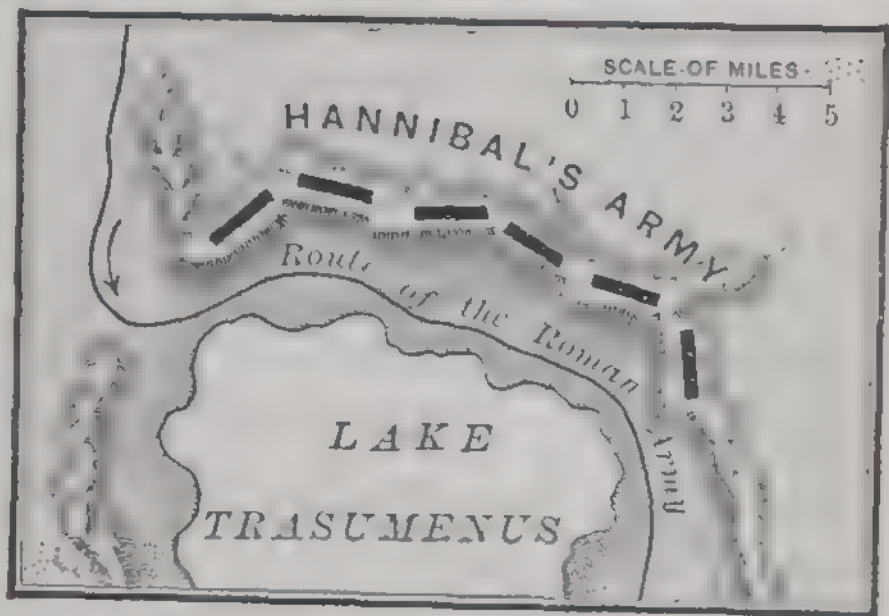


finally reached the valley of the Po, with only twenty thousand foot and six thousand horse. Here he recruited his ranks from the Gauls, who eagerly joined his cause against the Romans.

Hannibal's Early Victories. — When the Romans were aware that Hannibal was really in Italy, they made preparations to meet and to destroy him. Sempronius was recalled with the army originally intended for Africa; and Scipio, who had returned from Massilia, gathered together the scattered forces in northern Italy and took up his station at Placentia on the Po. The cavalry of the two armies first met in a skirmish

on the north side of the Po, near the little stream Tici'nus. The Romans were defeated, and Scipio himself was severely wounded. Hannibal then crossed to the south of the Po. To prevent his advance, Scipio took up a strong position on the bank of the river Trebia. Scipio was soon joined by his colleague Sempronius, who came to him from Ariminum on the Adriatic coast. The two hostile armies were now separated by the river Trebia. Here again Hannibal showed his great skill as a general. By a feigned attack he drew the Romans over to his own side of the river. He then attacked them in front, upon the flank, and in the rear; and the Roman army was nearly annihilated. The remnant of the army fled to Placentia. This great disaster did not discourage the Romans. They soon raised new armies with which to resist the invaders.

Battle of Lake Trasumenus (B.C. 217).—In the following spring, the new consul, Flaminius, placed his own army at Arretium, in Etruria, and his colleague's army at Ariminum, to guard the only roads upon which it seemed possible that Hannibal could move, in order to reach Rome. But Hannibal, instead of going by either of these roads on which he was expected to



BATTLE OF LAKE TRASUMENUS

go, crossed the Apennines and pushed on toward Rome through the marshy regions of Etruria. He thus got between the Roman armies and the Roman capital. He knew that Flaminius would be obliged to hasten to Rome to protect the city. He also knew by what road Flaminius must go, and he determined to destroy the Roman army on its way. He posted his army on the heights near the northern shore of Lake Trasumenus (Tras'imene), overlooking a defile through which the Roman army must pass. The Romans approached this defile and entered it, not suspecting the terrible fate which

awaited them. At a given signal, the soldiers of Hannibal rushed to the attack. The Romans were overwhelmed on every side, and those who escaped the fierce Gauls and the dreaded cavalry of Numidia were buried in the waters of the lake. Fifteen thousand Romans and Italians fell on that fatal field, with Flaminius, their leader. The Roman army was practically destroyed. Northern Italy was now at the mercy of Hannibal, and Rome seemed an easy prey to the victorious Carthaginian.

Fabius Maximus, Dictator.—“We have lost a great battle, our army is destroyed, Flaminius is killed!” was the simple announcement which the prætor made, after the frightful disaster at Lake Trasumenus. But this simple announcement brought consternation to the Roman people. They recalled the days of the Gauls and the battle on the Allia. But they were still determined to defend their country. The times seemed to demand a dictator, and Q. Fabius Maximus was appointed. He was a member of that Fabian gens which had before proved its devotion to the country; and he was also that ambassador who had offered to Carthage the choice between peace and war. He ordered new armies to be raised, and the city to be put in a state of defense.

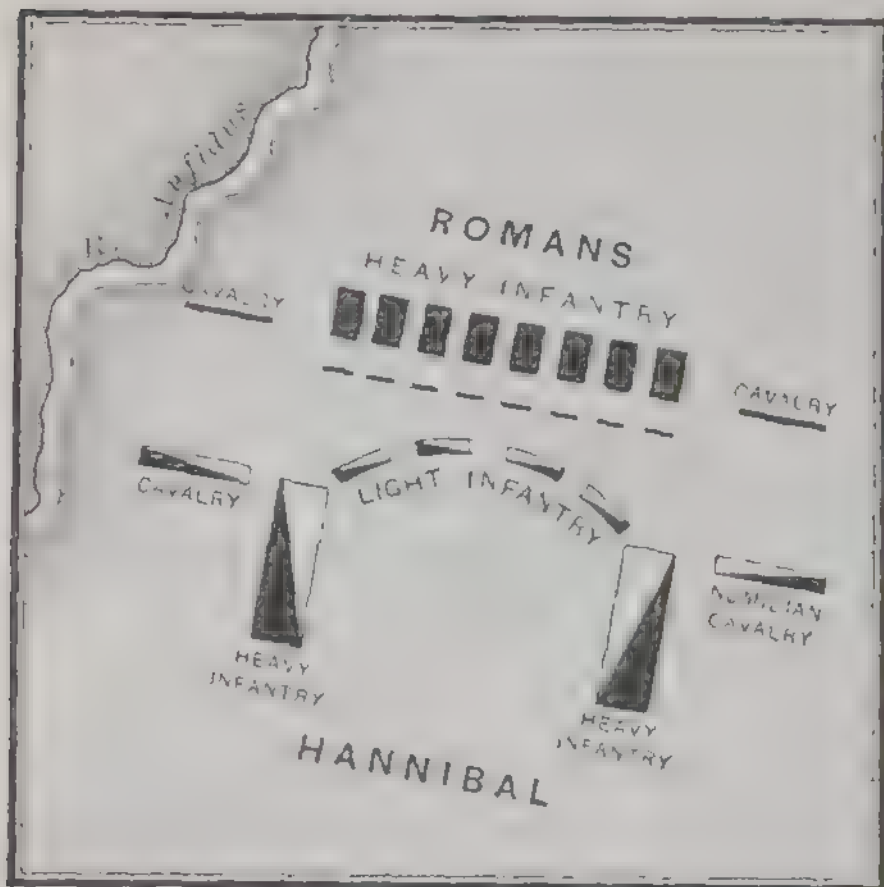
Hannibal did not see fit to attack Rome; but, turning to the east, he moved through Umbria and Picenum into Apulia, plundering the country as he went. He hoped to draw to his standard the allies of Rome in southern Italy, by showing that they were safe only under his protection. He also wished to provoke Fabius to a pitched battle. But Fabius had learned some lessons from the war; and he adopted the safe policy of harassing the army of Hannibal and of avoiding a general engagement. On account of this cautious strategy he was called Fabius Cuncta'tor, or the Delayer. In order to irritate him to a conflict, Hannibal marched through Samnium into the rich fields of Campania. Fabius then tried to shut Hannibal up in this little territory by holding the mountain passes. But when Hannibal was ready to go, he opened his way by a stratagem. He ordered his light-armed troops in

the night to drive up the mountain side a herd of cattle, with lighted fagots tied to their horns. The Romans who guarded the way, deceived or panic-stricken by this unusual demonstration, abandoned their post. Hannibal marched through the unguarded pass, and was free again to plunder the countries of southern Italy. He moved eastward through Samnium, and then descended into the region of Apulia. During all this time the allied cities of Italy had remained faithful to Rome.

Battle of Cannæ (B.C. 216).—The cautious strategy of Fabius soon became unpopular; and the escape of Hannibal from Campania especially excited the dissatisfaction of the people. Two new consuls were therefore chosen, who were expected to pursue a more vigorous policy. These were Terentius Varro and Æmilius Paullus. Hannibal's army was now in Apulia, near the little town of Cannæ on the Aufidus River. To this place the consuls led their new forces, consisting of eighty thousand infantry and six thousand cavalry, — the largest army that the Romans had, up to that time, ever gathered on a single battlefield. Hannibal's army consisted of forty thousand infantry and ten thousand cavalry. But the brain of Hannibal was more than a match for the forty thousand extra Romans, under the command of less able generals. The Roman consuls took command on alternate days. Paulus was cautious; but Varro was impetuous and determined to fight Hannibal at the first opportunity. As this was Hannibal's greatest battle, we may learn something of his wonderful skill by looking at its plan.

The Romans drew up their heavy infantry in solid columns, facing to the south, to attack the center of Hannibal's line. In front of the heavy-armed troops were the light-armed soldiers, to act as skirmishers. On the Roman right, near the river, were two thousand of the Roman cavalry, and on the left wing were four thousand cavalry of the allies. With their army thus arranged, the Romans hoped to defeat Hannibal. But Hannibal laid his plan not simply to defeat the Roman

army, but to draw it into such a position that it could be entirely destroyed. He therefore placed his weakest troops,



BATTLE OF CANNÆ

the Spanish and Gallic infantry, in the center opposite the heavy infantry of the Romans, and pushed them forward in the form of a crescent, with the expectation that they would be driven back and pursued by the Romans. On either flank he placed an invincible body of African troops, his best and most trusted soldiers, drawn back in long, solid columns, so that they could fall upon

the Romans when the center had been driven in. On his left wing, next to the river, were placed four thousand Spanish and Gallic cavalry, and on the right wing his superb body of six thousand Numidian cavalry, which was to swing around and attack the Roman army in the rear, when it had become engaged with the African troops upon the right and left.

The description of this plan is almost a description of the battle itself. When the Romans had pressed back the weak center of Hannibal's line, they found themselves engulfed in the midst of the Carthaginian forces. Attacked on all sides, the Roman army became a confused mass of struggling men, and the battle became a butchery. The army was annihilated; seventy thousand Roman soldiers are said to have been slain, among whom were eighty senators and the consul Æmilius. The small remnant of survivors fled to the neighboring towns, and Varro, with seventy horsemen, took refuge in the city of Venusia. This was the most terrible day that Rome had seen since the destruction of the city by the Gauls, nearly two centuries before. Every house in Rome was in mourning.

II. FROM CANNÆ TO THE METAURUS (B.C. 216-207)

Hannibal's New Allies. — The battle of Cannæ convinced the Italian allies that it would be better to have the help, rather than the hostility, of such a man as Hannibal. The Apulians, the Lucanians, the Samnites, the Bruttians, revolted and put themselves under his protection. But the Latin colonies and the Greek cities generally remained loyal to Rome. Capua, however, the most important city in Italy, after Rome, opened her gates to Hannibal; and Tarentum, which held a Roman garrison, was betrayed into his hands. The influence of Hannibal's victory was also apparent outside of Italy. Syracuse transferred her allegiance from Rome to Carthage, and many other cities in Sicily threatened to revolt. Philip V., the king of Macedonia, also made an alliance with Hannibal, and threatened to invade Italy to assist him. Hannibal at this time was at the height of his power.

Dismay and Fortitude of the Romans. — During the period which followed the battle of Cannæ, the Roman character was put to its severest test. The people feared the worst. Everything seemed turning against them. They were in dismay; but they did not despair. The popular excitement was soon allayed by the firmness of the senate. Under the wise counsels of Fabius Maximus, new plans were made for the recovery of Italy. But the problem now seemed greater than ever before. The war must be carried on, not only in Italy, to recover the revolted allies and to meet the continued attacks of Hannibal; but also in Spain, to prevent reënforcements coming from Hasdrubal; and in Sicily, to prevent the cities of that province from following the example of Syracuse; and finally in Greece, to prevent the king of Macedonia from interfering in the affairs of Italy. In the face of all discouragements, the Roman people, supported by the faithful Latin towns and colonies, remained firm; and with fixed resolution determined to prosecute the war with greater vigor than ever before.

The Turning of the Tide. — It was at this point that the

fortunes of war began to turn in favor of the Romans. The first ray of hope came from Spain, where it was learned that Hasdrubal had been defeated by the Scipios. Then Hannibal's army met its first repulse in Campania. The Romans also, by forming a league with the Ætolian cities of Greece and sending them a few troops, were able to prevent Macedonia from giving any aid to Hannibal. Soon Syracuse was captured after a siege by the Roman prætor Marcellus. Moreover, Hannibal's forces were weakened by the need of protecting his new allies, scattered in various parts of southern Italy.

Recovery of Capua. — The Romans were greatly incensed by the revolt of Capua, and determined to punish its citizens. Regular siege was laid to the city, and two Roman armies surrounded its walls. Hannibal marched to the relief of the beleaguered city and attempted to raise the siege; but could not draw the Roman army from its intrenchments. As a last resort, he marched directly to Rome, hoping to compel the Romans to withdraw their armies from Capua for the defense of the capital. Although he plundered the towns and ravaged the fields of Latium, and rode about the walls of Rome, the fact that "Hannibal was at the gates," did not entice the Roman army away from Capua. Rome was well defended, and Hannibal, having no means of besieging the city, withdrew again into the southern part of Italy. Capua was soon taken by the Romans; its chief citizens were put to death for their treason, many of the inhabitants were reduced to slavery, and the city itself was put under the control of a prefect. It was apparent that Hannibal could not protect his Italian allies; and his cause seemed doomed to failure, unless he could receive help from his brother Hasdrubal, who was still in Spain.

The Scipios in Spain (B.C. 218-212): Battle of the Metaurus (B.C. 207). — Hasdrubal had been kept in Spain by the vigorous campaign which the Romans had conducted in that peninsula under the two Scipios. Upon the death of these generals, the young Publius Cornelius Scipio was sent to Spain

and earned a great name by his victories. But Hasdrubal was determined to go to the rescue of his brother in Italy. He followed Hannibal's path over the Alps into the valley of the Po. Hannibal had moved northward into Apulia, and was awaiting news from Hasdrubal. There were now two enemies in Italy, instead of one. One Roman army under Claudius Nero was, therefore, sent to oppose Hannibal in Apulia; and another army under Livius Salina'tor was sent to meet Hasdrubal, who had just crossed the river Metaurus, in Umbria.

It was necessary that Hasdrubal should be crushed before Hannibal was informed of his arrival in Italy. The consul Claudius Nero therefore left his main army in Apulia, and with eight thousand picked soldiers hurried to the aid of his colleague in Umbria. The battle which took place at the Metaurus was decisive; and really determined the issue of the second Punic war. The army of Hasdrubal was entirely destroyed, and he himself was slain. The first news which Hannibal received of this disaster was from the lifeless lips of his own brother, whose head was thrown by the Romans into the Carthaginian camp. Hannibal saw that the death of his brother was the doom of Carthage; and he sadly exclaimed, "O Carthage, I see thy fate!" Hannibal retired into Brutium; and the Roman consuls received the first triumph that had been given since the beginning of this disastrous war.

III. FROM THE METAURUS TO ZAMA (B.C. 207-201)

Publius Scipio Africanus. — Of all the men produced by Rome during the Punic wars, Publius Cornelius Scipio (afterward called Africa'nus) came the nearest to being a military genius. From boyhood he had, like Hannibal, served in the army. At the death of his father and uncle, he had been intrusted with the conduct of the war in Spain. With great ability he had defeated the armies which opposed him, and had regained the entire peninsula, after it had been almost lost. With his conquest of New Carthage and Gades (see map, p. 112), Spain

was brought under the Roman power. On his return to Rome, Scipio was unanimously elected to the consulship. He then



PUBLIUS SCIPIO AFRICANUS

proposed his scheme for closing the war. This plan was to keep Hannibal shut up in the Bruttian peninsula, and to carry the war into Africa. Although this scheme seemed to the aged Fabius Maximus as rash, the people had entire confidence in the young Scipio, and supported him. From this time Scipio was the chief figure in the war, and the senate kept him in command until its close.

The War carried into Africa.—Scipio now organized his new army,

which was made up largely of volunteers, and equipped by patriotic contributions. He embarked from Sicily and landed in Africa. He was assisted by the Numidian king, Masinis'sa, whom he had previously met in Spain; and whose royal title was now disputed by a rival named Syphax, an ally of Carthage. The title to the kingship of Numidia thus became mixed up with the war with Carthage. Scipio and Masinissa soon defeated the Carthaginian armies in Africa, and the fate of Carthage was sealed.

Recall of Hannibal.—While the war was progressing in Africa, Hannibal still held his place in Bruttium like a lion at bay. In the midst of misfortune, he was still a hero. He kept control of his devoted army, and was faithful to his duty when all was lost. Carthage was convinced that her only hope was in recalling Hannibal to defend his native city. Hannibal left Italy, the field of his brilliant exploits, and landed in

Africa. Thus Rome was relieved of her dreaded foe, who had brought her so near to the brink of ruin.

Battle of Zama and End of the War (B.C. 201). — The two greatest generals then living were now face to face upon the soil of Africa. The final battle of the war was fought (B.C. 202) near Zama (see map, p. 112). Hannibal fought at a great disadvantage. His own veterans were reduced greatly in number, and the new armies of Carthage could not be depended upon. Scipio changed the order of the legions, leaving spaces in his line, through which the elephants of Hannibal might pass without being opposed. In this battle Hannibal was defeated, and the Carthaginian army was annihilated. It is said that twenty thousand men were slain, and as many more taken prisoners. The great war was now ended, and Scipio imposed the terms of peace (B.C. 201). These terms were as follows: (1) Carthage was to give up the whole of Spain and all the islands between Africa and Italy; (2) Masinissa was recognized as the king of Numidia and the ally of Rome; (3) Carthage was to pay an annual tribute of 200 talents (about \$250,000) for fifty years; (4) Carthage agreed not to wage any war without the consent of Rome.

Rome was thus recognized as the mistress of the western Mediterranean. Carthage, although not reduced to a province, became a dependent state. Syracuse was added to the province of Sicily, and the territory of Spain was divided into two provinces, Hither and Farther Spain. Rome had, moreover, been brought into hostile relations with Macedonia, which paved the way for her conquests in the East.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

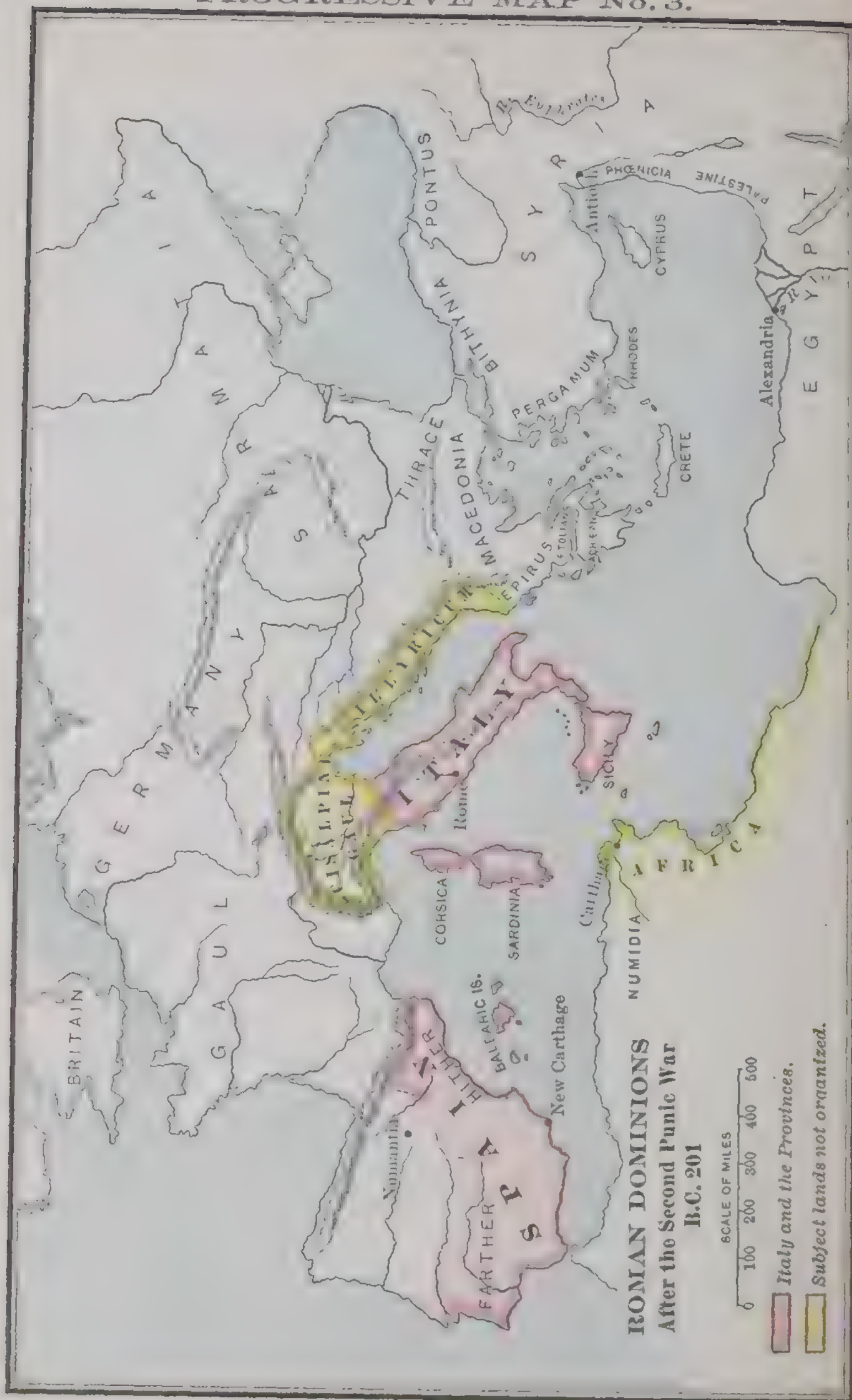
Mommsen, Vol. II., Bk. III., Ch. 4, "Hamilcar and Hannibal" (2).¹

Mommsen, abridged, Ch. 14, "Second Punic War" (2).

Arnold, Hist., p. 478, "Hannibal's Passage of the Alps" (2).

Shuckburgh, p. 314, "Battle of Trasimene" (1).

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.



How and Leigh, p. 229, "Battle of Zama" (1).

Plutarch, "Marcellus," "Fabius" (11).

Livy, Bk. XXI., Chs. 7-15, Siege of Saguntum (4).

See also Appendix (25) "Hannibal."

SPECIAL STUDY

BATTLE OF CANNÆ. — Liddell, pp. 311-315 (1); Shuckburgh, pp. 323-328 (1); How and Leigh, pp. 194-198 (1); Arnold, Hist., pp. 496-500 (2); Mommsen, Vol. II., pp. 154-158 (2); Livy, Bk. XXII., Chs. 44-52 (4); Appian, Bk. VIII., Ch. 4 (4); Polybius, Bk. III., sects. 112-118 (4).

CHAPTER XVI

THE CONQUESTS IN THE EAST (B.C. 200-133)

I. THE CONDITION OF THE EAST

The Divisions of the Empire of Alexander. — At the time of the second Punic war, the countries about the Mediterranean may be considered as forming two distinct worlds: the Western world, in which Rome and Carthage were struggling for mastery; and the Eastern world, which was divided among the successors of Alexander the Great. It was more than a century before this time that Alexander had built up a great empire, extending from Greece to the middle of Asia. By his conquests the ideals of Greek art and literature and philosophy had been spread into the eastern countries. But Alexander had none of the genius for organization which the Romans possessed, and so at his death his empire fell to pieces. The fragments were seized by his different generals, and became new and distinct kingdoms. At this time there were three of these kingdoms which were quite extensive and powerful. These were: (1) the kingdom of Egypt under the Ptol'emies, in Africa; (2) the kingdom of Syria under the Seleu'cidæ, in Asia; and (3) the kingdom of Macedonia under

the direct successors of Alexander, in southeastern Europe (see map, p. 124).

Egypt under the Ptolemies. — Under the reign of the Ptolemies, Egypt had attained a remarkable degree of prosperity. Her territory not only included the valley of the Nile, but extended into Asia, taking in Palestine, Phoenicia, and the southern part of Syria (Coele-Syria), besides Cyprus and some other islands. Its capital, Alexandria, was perhaps the most cultivated city of the world, where the learned men of all countries found their home. So devoted was Egypt to the arts of peace, that she kept aloof, as far as possible, from the great wars of this period. But she was an object of envy to the kings of Syria and Macedonia; and toward the close of the second Punic war, in order to protect herself, she had formed an alliance with Rome. The friendly relations between Rome and Egypt were preserved, while Rome carried on war with the other great powers of the East.

Syria under Antiochus III. — The most important fragment of Alexander's empire in Asia was Syria, or the kingdom of the Seleucids — so called from the name of its founder, Seleucus the Conqueror. It covered a large part of western Asia, comprising the valley of the Euphrates, upper Syria, and portions of Asia Minor. Its rulers included four kings by the name of Seleucus, and eight by the name of Antiochus. These names also appear in the capital cities of the Syrian empire, Seleucia on the Tigris and Antioch in upper Syria. The most powerful of these kings was Antiochus III., surnamed the Great. He did much to enlarge and strengthen the empire. But he incurred the hostility of Rome by giving asylum to Rome's great enemy, Hannibal, and also by attempting to make conquests in Europe. There were a few small states in Asia Minor, like Pergamum, Bithynia, Pontus, and the island republic of Rhodes, which were not included in the kingdom of Syria and which were inclined to look to Rome for protection.

Macedonia and the Greek Cities. — The third great fragment of Alexander's empire was Macedonia, which aspired to be

supreme in eastern Europe. A part of Greece fell under its authority. But many of the Greek cities remained free; and they united into leagues or confederations, in order to maintain their independence. One of these was the Achaean league, made up of the cities of southern Greece, or the Peloponne'sus; and another was the Ætolian league, including a large number of cities in central Greece. When Philip V. came to the throne of Macedonia, his kingdom was in a flourishing condition. The young ruler was ambitious to extend his power; and came into hostile relations with Rome, which espoused the cause of the Greek cities.

II. THE FIRST AND SECOND MACEDONIAN WARS

The First Macedonian War (B.C. 215–206). — It was the indiscreet alliance of Philip of Macedonia with Hannibal, during the second Punic war, which we have already noticed, that brought about the first conflict between Rome and Macedonia. But Rome was then so fully occupied with her struggle with Carthage that all she desired to do was simply to prevent Philip from making his threatened invasion of Italy. Rome therefore sent a small force across the Adriatic, made friends with the Ætolians, and kept Philip occupied at home. The Macedonian king was thus prevented from sending any force into Italy. The Ætolians, not satisfied with the support given to them by Rome, soon made peace with Philip; and the Romans themselves, who were about to invade Africa, were also willing to conclude a treaty of peace with him. Thus closed what is generally called the first Macedonian war, which was really nothing more than a diversion to prevent Philip from giving aid to Hannibal after the battle of Cannæ.

Beginning of the Second Macedonian War (B.C. 200–197). — When the second Punic war was fairly ended, Rome felt free to deal with Philip of Macedonia, and to take a firm hand in settling the affairs of the East. Philip had annoyed her, not only by making an alliance with Hannibal, but afterward by

sending a force to assist him at the battle of Zama. And now the ambitious schemes of Philip were not at all to the liking of Rome. For instance, he made an agreement with Antiochus of Syria to cut up the possessions of Egypt, a country which was friendly to Rome. He was also overrunning the coasts of the Ægean Sea, and was threatening the little kingdom of Pergamum in Asia Minor, and the little republic of Rhodes, as well



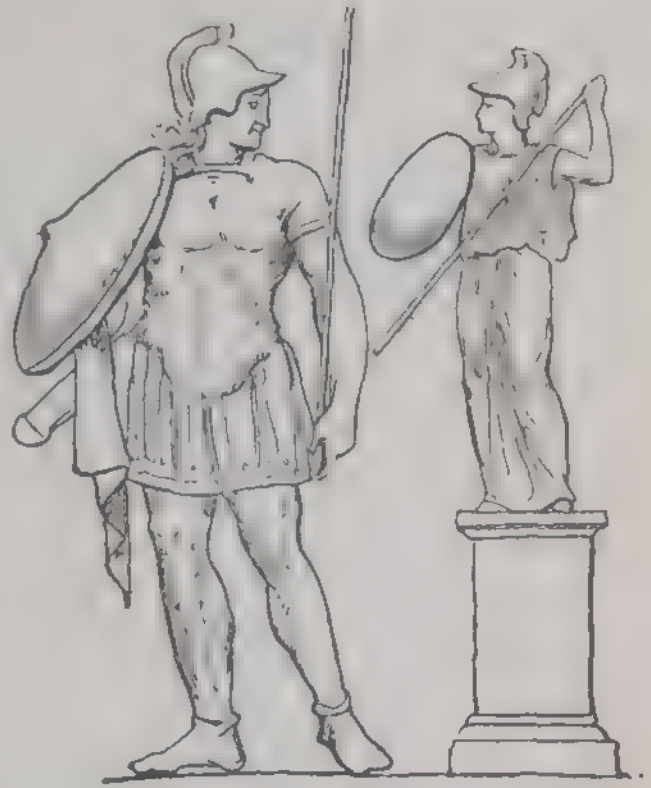
LANDS ABOUT THE ÆGEAN SEA

as the cities of Greece. When appeal came to Rome for protection, she espoused the cause of the small states, and declared war against Macedonia.

Battle of Cynoscephalæ (B.C. 197). — The great hero of this war was T. Quinctius Flamini'us; and the decisive battle was fought near a hill in Thessaly called Cynosceph'alæ (Dog's Heads). Here Philip was completely defeated, and his army was destroyed. Although Macedonia was not reduced to the condition of a province, it became practically subject to Rome.

Macedonia was thus humbled, and there was no other power in Europe to dispute the supremacy of Rome.

The Liberation of Greece (B.C. 196). — To complete her work in eastern Europe, and to justify her position as defender of the Greek cities, Rome withdrew her garrisons and announced the independence of Greece. This was proclaimed by Flamininus at the Isthmian games, amid wild enthusiasm and unbounded expressions of gratitude. Rome was hailed as "the nation which, at its own expense, with its own labor, and at its own risk, waged war for the liberty of others, and which had crossed the sea that justice, right, and law should everywhere have sovereign sway" (Livy, xxxiii, 33).



ROMAN HERALD

III. WAR WITH ANTIOCHUS OF SYRIA (B.C. 192-189)

Beginning of the War; the Ætolians. — There was now left in the world only one great power which could claim to be a rival of Rome. That power was Syria, under its ambitious ruler, Antiochus III. A number of things led to the conflict



ANTIOCHUS III. (Coin)

between Rome and this great power in Asia. But the direct cause of the war grew out of the intrigues of the Ætolians in Greece. This restless people stirred up a discord among the Greek cities, and finally called upon Antiochus to espouse their cause, and to aid them in driving the Romans out of the country. Antiochus accepted this invitation, crossed the Hellespont, and landed in Greece with an army of 10,000 men (B.C. 192).

Battles of Thermopylæ and Magnesia. — Rome now appeared as the protector of Europe against Asia. She was supported by her previous enemy, Philip of Macedonia; and she was also aided by the kingdom of Pergamum and the republic of Rhodes. The career of Antiochus in Greece was short. He was defeated by Marcus Porcius Cato in the famous pass of Thermop'ylæ (B.C. 191), and was driven back across the sea into Asia Minor. The next year the Romans followed him, and fought their first battle upon the continent of Asia. The Roman army was nominally under the command of the new consul, L. Cornelius Scipio, but really under the command of his famous brother, Scipio Africanus, who accompanied him. The decisive battle was fought at Magnesia (B.C. 190), not far from Sardis in western Asia Minor. Forty thousand of the enemy were slain, with a comparatively small loss to the Romans. Scipio imposed the terms of peace, which required Antiochus (1) to give up all his possessions in Asia Minor — the most of which were added to the kingdom of Pergamum, with some territory to the republic of Rhodes; (2) to give up his fleet and not to interfere in European affairs; (3) to pay the sum of 15,000 talents (nearly \$20,000,000) within twelve years; and (4) to surrender Hannibal, who had taken an active part in the war.

Subjection of the Ætolians. — After the great victory of Magnesia, Rome turned her arms against the Ætolians, who were so foolish as to continue the struggle. Their chief city, Ambracia, was taken; and they were soon forced to submit. Macedonia and all Greece, with the exception of the Achaean league, were now brought into subjection to the Roman authority.

The Fate of Hannibal. — To the Romans it seemed an act of treachery that Hannibal, who had been conquered in a fair field at Zama, should continue his hostility by fighting on the side of their enemies. But Hannibal never forgot the oath of eternal enmity to Rome, the oath which he had sworn at his father's knee. When Antiochus agreed to surrender him, Hannibal fled to Crete, and afterward took refuge with the

king of Bithynia. Here he continued his hostility to Rome by aiding this ruler in a war against Rome's ally, the king of Pergamum. The Romans still pursued him, and sent Flaminius to demand his surrender. But Hannibal again fled, and, hunted from the face of the earth, this great soldier, who had been the most terrible foe that Rome had ever encountered, took his own life by drinking poison. It is said that the year of his death was the same year (B.C. 183) in which died his great and victorious antagonist, Scipio Africanus.

IV. THE THIRD MACEDONIAN WAR (B.C. 171-168)

Roman Policy in the East. — By the great battles of Cynoscephalæ and Magnesia, Rome had reason to believe that she had broken the power of her rivals in the East. But she had not yet adopted in that part of the world the policy which she had previously employed in the case of Sicily and Spain, namely, of reducing the territory to the condition of provinces. She had left the countries of the East nominally free and independent; and had placed them in the condition of subject allies, or of tributary states. She had compelled them to reduce their armies, to give her an annual tribute, and to promise not to make a war without her consent. In this way she believed that Macedonia and Syria would be obliged to keep the peace. Over the weaker powers, like the Greek cities, the kingdom of Pergamum, and the republic of Rhodes, she had assumed the position of a friendly protector. But in spite of this generous policy, a spirit of discontent gradually grew up in the various countries, and Rome was soon obliged, as we shall see, to adopt a new and more severe policy, in order to maintain peace and order throughout her growing empire.

Beginning of the Third Macedonian War. — Philip of Macedonia had been a faithful ally of Rome during the late war with Antiochus; but at its close he felt that he had not been sufficiently rewarded for his fidelity. He saw that the little states of Pergamum and Rhodes had received considerable accessions

to their territories, while he himself was apparently forgotten. On account of this seeming neglect, he began to think of regaining his old power. When he died, he was succeeded by his son, Perseus, who continued the design of making Macedonia free from the dictation of Rome. Perseus did what he could to develop the resources of his kingdom, and to organize and strengthen his army. He even began to be looked upon by the Greek cities as their champion against the encroachments of Rome. But the time soon came when he was obliged to answer for his arrogant conduct. The Romans became convinced of the ambitious scheme of Perseus, and entered upon a new war against Macedonia.

Battle of Pydna (B.C. 168). — After three unsuccessful campaigns, the Romans finally placed in command of their army an able general, Æmilius Paullus, the son of the consul who was slain at Cannæ. The two armies met near Pydna, (see map, p. 128), and Perseus suffered a crushing defeat. Here the Macedonian phalanx fought its last great battle, and the Roman legions gave a new evidence of their superior strength. Twenty thousand Macedonians were slain, and eleven thousand were captured. It is said that the spoils of this battle were so great that the citizens of Rome were henceforth relieved from the payment of taxes. Paullus received at Rome the most magnificent triumph that had ever been seen. For three days the gorgeous procession marched through the streets of Rome, bearing the trophies of the East. Through the concourse of exultant people was driven the chariot of the defeated king of Macedonia, followed by the victorious army adorned with laurels, and its successful commander decked with the insignia of Jupiter Capitolinus, with a laurel branch in his hand.

The Settlement of Macedonia. — The question now arose as to what should be done with Macedonia, which had so many times resisted the Roman power. The Romans were not yet ready to reduce the country to a province, and were not willing to have it remain independent. It was therefore split up

into four distinct republics, which were to be entirely separated from one another, but which were to be dependent upon Rome. With a show of generosity, Rome compelled the people to pay as tribute only half of what had been previously paid to the Macedonian king. But the republics could have no relations with one another, either by way of commerce or intermarriage. All the chief men of Greece who had given any aid to the Macedonian king were transported to Italy, where they could not stir up a revolt in their native country. Among these Achaean captives was the famous historian, Polyb'ius, who during this time gathered the materials of his great work on Roman history.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

- Pelham, Bk. III., Ch. 2, "Rome and the East" (1).¹
 Arnold, Hist., Ch. 35, "State of the East" (2).
 How and Leigh, Ch. 25, "Eastern States and Second Macedonian War" (1).
 Liddell, Ch. 39, "Settlement of Greece" (1).
 Mommsen, Vol. II., Bk. III., Ch. 8, "The Eastern States" (2).
 Mommsen, abridged, Ch. 17, "War with Antiochus" (2).
 Merivale, Gen. Hist., Ch. 25, "Deaths of Three Great Men" (1).
 Plutarch, "Æmilius Paullus," "Flaminius" (11).
 Livy, Bk. XXXIII., Chs. 32, 33, The Liberation of Greece (4).

SPECIAL STUDY

ACHÆAN AND ÆTOLIAN LEAGUES. — Liddell, pp. 416–417 (1); Shuckburgh, pp. 413–415 (1); How and Leigh, pp. 257–259 (1); Mommsen, Vol. II., pp. 262–265 (2).

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

CHAPTER XVII

REDUCTION OF THE ROMAN CONQUESTS

I. REDUCTION OF MACEDONIA AND GREECE

Change of the Roman Policy.—We sometimes think that Rome started out upon her great career of conquest with a definite purpose to subdue the world, and with clear ideas as to how it should be governed. But nothing could be farther from the truth. She had been drawn on from one war to another, often against her own will. When she first crossed the narrow strait into Sicily at the beginning of the first Punic war, she little thought that in a hundred years her armies would be fighting in Asia; and when in early times she was compelled to find some way of keeping peace and order in Latium, she could not have known that she would, sooner or later, be compelled to devise a way to preserve the peace and order of the world. But Rome was ever growing and ever learning. She learned how to conquer before she learned how to govern. It was after the third Macedonian war that Rome became convinced that her method of governing the conquered lands was not strong enough to preserve peace and maintain her own authority. She had heretofore left the conquered states to a certain extent free and independent. But now, either excited by jealousy or irritated by the intrigues and disturbances of the conquered people, she was determined to reduce them to a more complete state of submission.

New Disturbances in Macedonia.—She was especially convinced of the need of a new policy by the continued troubles in Macedonia. The experiment which she had tried, of cutting up the kingdom into four separate states, had not been entirely successful. To add to the disturbances there appeared a man who called himself Philip, and who pretended to be the

son of Perseus. He incited the people to revolt, and even defeated the Romans in a battle; but he was himself soon defeated and made a prisoner.

Revolt of the Achæan Cities.—The spirit of revolt, excited by the false Philip, spread into Greece. The people once more began to feel that the freedom of Rome was worse



RUINS AT CORINTH

than slavery. It is true that Rome had liberated the Achæan captives who had been transported to Italy after the third Macedonian war; but these men, who had spent so much of their lives in captivity, carried back to Greece the bitter spirit which they still cherished. The Greek cities became not only unfriendly to Rome, but were also at strife with one another. Sparta desired to withdraw from the Achæan league, and appealed to Rome for help. Rome sent commissioners to Greece to settle the difficulty; but the Achæans came together

in their assembly at Corinth and insulted the Roman commissioners, and were then rash enough to declare war against Rome herself.

Destruction of Corinth (B.C. 146). — The war which now followed, for the subjugation of Greece, was at first conducted by Metel'lus; and afterward by Mummius, an able general but a boorish man, who hated the Greeks and cared little for their culture. Corinth, the chief city of the Achaean league, was captured; the art treasures, pictures and statues, the splendid products of Greek genius, were sent to Rome. The inhabitants were sold as slaves. And by the cruel command of the senate, the city itself was reduced to ashes. This was a barbarous act of war, such an act as no civilized nation has ever approved. That the Romans were not yet fully civilized, and knew little of the meaning of art, is shown by the story told of Mummius. This rude consul warned the sailors who carried the pictures and statues of Corinth to Rome, that "if they lost or damaged any of them, they must replace them with others of equal value."

Macedonia reduced to a Province. — The time had now come for Rome to adopt her new policy in respect to Macedonia. The old divisions into which the kingdom had been divided were abolished, and each city or community was made directly responsible to the governor sent from Rome. By this new arrangement, Macedonia became a province. The cities of Greece were allowed to remain nominally free, but the political confederacies were broken up, and each city came into direct relation with Rome through the governor of Macedonia. Greece was afterward organized as a separate province, under the name of Acha'ia.

II. THIRD PUNIC WAR AND REDUCTION OF AFRICA (B.C. 149-146)

Revival of Carthage. — The new policy which Rome applied to Macedonia she also adopted with respect to Carthage. Since the close of the second Punic war, Carthage had faith-

fully observed the terms of the treaty which Rome had imposed. She had abandoned war and devoted herself to the arts of peace. Her commerce had revived; her ships were again plying the waters of the Mediterranean; and she seemed destined to become once more a rich and prosperous city. But her prosperity was the cause of her ruin. The jealousy of Rome was aroused by the recovery of her former rival. The story is often told, that Cato (the Censor) was sent to Carthage on an embassy; that he was astonished at the wealth and prosperity which everywhere met his gaze; that he pictured the possibility of another struggle with that queen of the seas; and that he closed every speech in the senate with the words, "Carthage must be destroyed."

Beginning of the Third Punic War. — Whether Rome was really alarmed at the growth of Carthage or only jealous of its commercial prosperity, the words of Cato became the policy of the senate. The Romans only waited for an opportunity to put this policy into effect. This they soon found in the quarrels between Carthage and Numidia, whose king, Masinissa, was an ally of Rome. After appealing in vain to the senate to protect their rights against Masinissa, the Carthaginians were bold enough to take up arms to protect their own rights. But to Rome it was a deadly offense to take up arms against her ally. As a guaranty to keep the peace, the Carthaginians were commanded to give up three hundred of their noblest youths as hostages. The hostages were accordingly given up. The Carthaginians were then informed that, as they were then under the protection of Rome, they would not need to go to war; and that they must surrender all their arms and munitions. This hard demand was also complied with, and Carthage became defenseless. The demand was now made that, as the city was fortified, it too must be given up, and the inhabitants must remove to a point ten miles from the coast; in other words, that "Carthage must be destroyed." To such a revolting and infamous command the Carthaginians could not yield, and they resolved upon a desperate resistance.

Siege and Destruction of Carthage (B.C. 146). — Never was there a more heroic defense than that made by Carthage in this, her last struggle. She was without arms, without war ships, without allies. To make new weapons, the temples were turned into workshops; and it is said that the women cut off their long hair to be twisted into bowstrings. Supplies were collected for a long siege; the city became a camp. For three long years the brave Carthaginians resisted every attempt to take the city. They repelled the assault upon their walls.



SITE OF CARTHAGE

They were then cut off from all communication with the outside world by land—and they sought an egress by the sea. Their communication by water was then cut off by a great mole, or breakwater, built by the Romans—and they cut a new outlet to the sea. They then secretly built fifty war ships, and attacked the Roman fleet. But all these heroic efforts simply put off the day of doom. At last, under Scipio Æmilia'nus, the Romans forced their way through the wall, and the city was taken street by street, and house by house. Carthage became the prey of the Roman soldiers. Its temples were plundered; its inhabitants were carried away as captives; and by the command of the senate, the city itself was consigned to flames.

The destruction of Carthage took place in the same year (B.C. 146) in which Corinth was destroyed. The terrible punishment inflicted upon these two cities in Greece and Africa was an evidence of Rome's grim policy to be absolutely supreme everywhere.

Africa reduced to a Province. — Like Macedonia, Africa was now reduced to the form of a province. It comprised all the land which had hitherto been subject to Carthage. U'tica was made the new capital city, where the Roman governor was to reside. All the cities which had favored Carthage were punished by the loss of their land, or the payment of tribute. The cities which had favored Rome were allowed to remain free. Numidia, on account of its fidelity to Rome, was continued as an independent ally. In this way the condition of every city and people was dependent upon the extent of its loyalty to Rome. After Africa was made a province, it soon became a Romanized country. Its commerce passed into the hands of Roman merchants; the Roman manners and customs were introduced; and the Latin language became the language of the people.

III. PACIFICATION OF THE PROVINCES

Condition of Spain. — While the Romans were thus engaged in creating the new provinces of Macedonia and Africa, they were called upon to maintain their authority in the old provinces of Spain and Sicily. We remember that, after the second Punic war, Spain was divided into two provinces, each under a Roman governor. But the Roman authority was not well established in Spain, except upon the eastern coast. The tribes in the interior and on the western coast were nearly always in a state of revolt. The most rebellious of these tribes were the Lusitanians in the west, in what is now Portugal; and the Celtiberians (see map, p. 112) in the interior, south of the Iberus River. In their efforts to subdue these barbarous peoples, the Romans were themselves too often led to adopt the barbarous methods of deceit and treachery.

War with the Lusitanians. — How perfidious a Roman general could be, we may learn from the way in which Sulpicius Galba waged war with the Lusitanians. After one Roman army had been defeated, Galba persuaded this tribe to submit and promised to settle them upon fertile lands. When the Lusitanians came to him unarmed to receive their expected reward, they were surrounded and murdered by the troops of Galba. But it is to the credit of Rome that Galba was denounced for this treacherous act. Among the few men who escaped from the massacre of Galba was a young shepherd by the name of Viria'thus. Under his brave leadership, the Lusitanians continued the war for nine years. Finally, Viriathus was murdered by his own soldiers, who were bribed to do this treacherous act by the Roman general. With their leader lost, the Lusitanians were obliged to submit (b.c. 138).

The Numantine War. — The other troublesome tribe in Spain was the Celtiberians, who were even more warlike than the Lusitanians. At one time the Roman general was defeated and obliged to sign a treaty of peace, acknowledging the independence of the Spanish tribe. But the senate — repeating what it had done many years before, after the battle of the Caudine Forks — refused to ratify this treaty, and surrendered the Roman commander to the enemy. The “fiery war,” as it was called, still continued and became at last centered about Numantia, the chief town of the Celtiberians. The defense of Numantia, like that of Carthage, was heroic and desperate. Its fate was also like that of Carthage. It was compelled to surrender (b.c. 133) to the same Scipio Æmilianus. Its people were sold into slavery, and the town itself was blotted from the earth.

The Servile War in Sicily. — While Spain was being pacified, a more terrible war broke out in the province of Sicily. This was an insurrection of the slaves of the island. One of the worst results of the Roman conquest was the growth of the slave system. Immense numbers of the captives taken in war were thrown upon the market. One hundred and fifty thou-

sand slaves had been sold by Æmilius Paullus; fifty thousand captives had been sent home from Carthage. Italy and Sicily swarmed with a servile population. It was in Sicily that this system bore its first terrible fruit. Maltreated by their masters, the slaves rose in rebellion under a leader, called Eunus, who defied the Roman power for three years. Nearly two hundred thousand insurgents gathered about his standard. Four Roman armies were defeated, and Rome herself was thrown into consternation. After the most desperate resistance, the rebellion was finally quelled and the island was pacified (B.C. 132).

Bequest of Pergamum; Province of Asia. — This long period of war and conquest, by which Rome finally obtained the proud position of mistress of the Mediterranean, was closed by the almost peaceful acquisition of a new province. The little kingdom of Pergamum, in Asia Minor, had maintained, for the most part, a friendly relation to Rome. When the last king, At'talus III., died (B.C. 133), having no legal heirs, he bequeathed his kingdom to the Roman people. This newly acquired territory was organized as a province under the name of "Asia." The smaller states of Asia Minor, and Egypt, Libya, and Numidia, retained a subordinate relation as dependencies. The supreme authority of Rome, at home and abroad, was now firmly established.



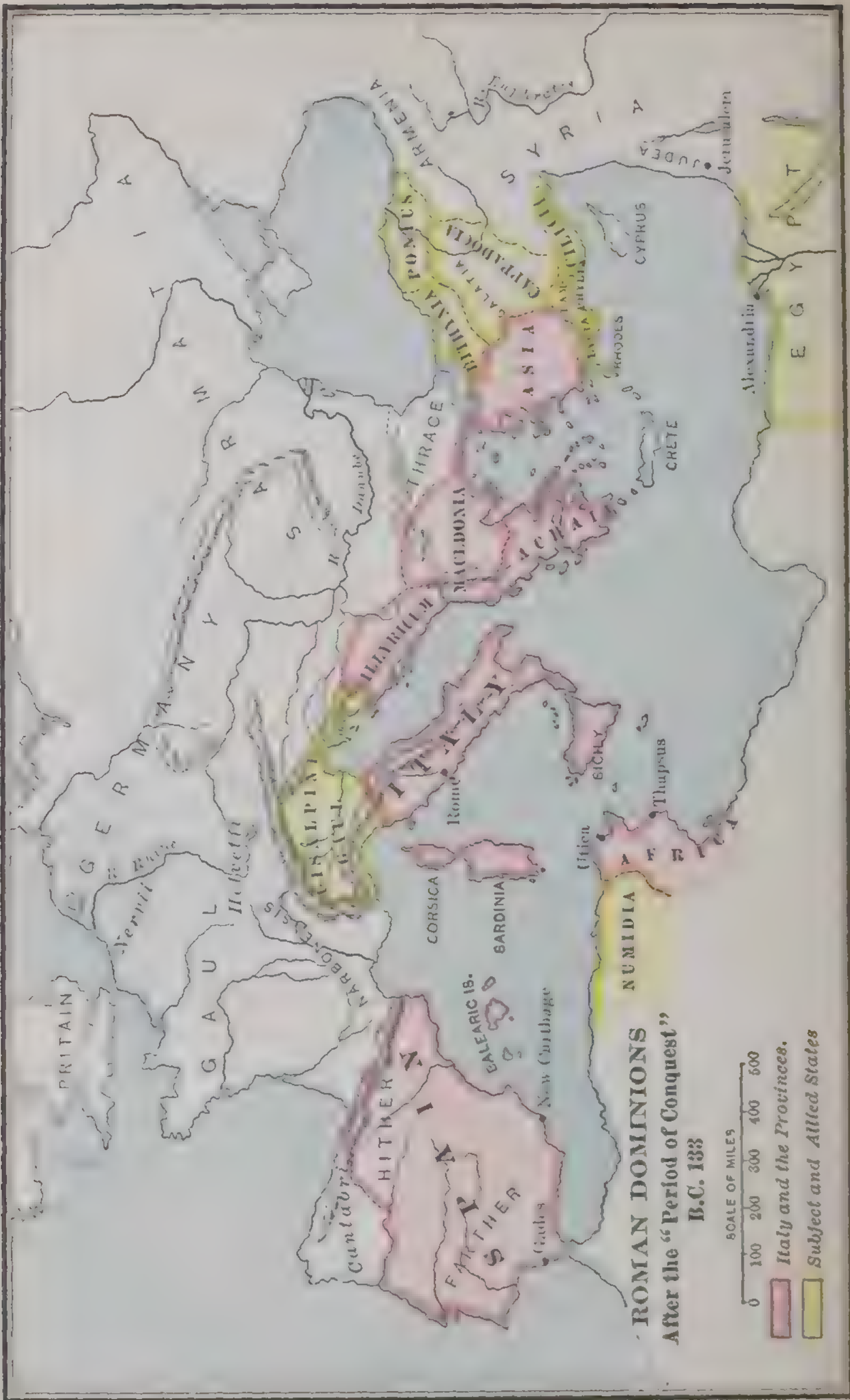
ROME MISTRESS OF THE WORLD

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Merivale, *Gen. Hist.*, Chs. 26, 27, "Rome after the Conquests" (1).¹
Pelham, *Bk. III.*, Ch. 3, "The Roman State and People" (1).

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

PROGRESSIVE MAP No. 4.



Liddell, Chs. 49, 50, "Rome at the Close of the Conquests" (1).

How and Leigh, Ch. 32, "Foreign and Provincial Affairs" (1).

Mommsen, Vol. II., Bk. III., Ch. 11, "The Government and the Governed" (2).

Arnold, Prov. Admin., Ch. 2, "Period of the Republic" (19).

Harper's Dict. Antiqq., "Provincia" (8).

SPECIAL STUDY

TAXATION OF THE PROVINCES.—Pelham, pp. 185-187 (1); Liddell, pp. 389-393 (1); Mommsen, abridged, pp. 496-498 (2); Arnold, Prov. Admin., pp. 179-187 (19); Ihne, Hist., Vol. IV., Bk. VI., Ch. 7 (2); Ramsay and Lanciani, Ch. 8 (8); Harper's Dict. Antiqq., "Stipendium," "Publicani," "Vectigalia," (8).

CHAPTER XVIII

ROME AS A WORLD POWER

I. THE ROMAN GOVERNMENT

Effects of the Conquests.—We have thus followed the career of Rome during the most heroic period of her history. We have traced the path of her armies from the time they crossed the Sicilian Strait until they were finally victorious in Africa, in Spain, in Greece, and in Asia Minor. We have seen new provinces brought under her authority, until she had become the greatest power of the world. We may well wonder what would be the effect of these conquests upon the character of the Roman people, upon their government, and upon their civilization. Many of these effects were no doubt very bad. By their conquests the Romans came to be ambitious, to love power for its own sake, and to be oppressive to their conquered subjects. By plundering foreign countries, they also came to be avaricious, to love wealth more than honor, to indulge in luxury, and to despise the simplicity of their fathers. But still it was the conquests that made Rome the great power that she was. By bringing foreign nations under her sway, she was obliged to

control them, and to create a system of law by which they could be governed. In spite of all its faults, her government was the most successful that had ever existed up to this time. It was the way in which Rome secured her conquests that showed the real character of the Roman people. The chief effect of the conquests was to transform Rome from the greatest conquering people of the world, to the greatest *governing* people of the world.

The New Nobility. — The oldest Roman government was, we remember, based upon the patrician class. We have already seen how the separation between the patricians and the plebeians was gradually broken down. The old patrician aristocracy had passed away, and Rome had become, in theory, a democratic republic. Every one who was enrolled in the thirty-five tribes was a full Roman citizen, and had a share in the government. But we must remember that not all the persons who were under the Roman authority were full Roman citizens. The inhabitants of the Latin colonies were not full Roman citizens. They could not hold office, and only under certain conditions could they vote. The Italian allies were not citizens at all, and could neither vote nor hold office. And now the conquests had added millions of people to those who were not citizens. The Roman world was, in fact, governed by the comparatively few people who lived in and about the city of Rome. But even within this class of citizens at Rome, there had gradually grown up a smaller body of persons, who became the real holders of political power. This small body formed a new nobility — the *optimates*. All who had held the office of consul, prætor, or curule ædile — that is, a "curule office" — were regarded as nobles (*nobiles*); and their families were distinguished by the right of setting up the ancestral images in their homes (*ius imaginis*). Any citizen might, it is true, be elected to the curule offices; but the noble families were able, by their wealth, to influence the elections, so as practically to retain these offices in their own hands.

The Greatness of the Senate. — The new nobility sought to

govern the world through the senate. The senators were chosen by the censor, who was obliged to place upon his list, first of all, those who had held a curule office. On this account, the nobles had the first claim to a seat in the senate; and, consequently, they came to form the great body of its members. When a person was once chosen senator he remained a senator for life, unless disgraced for gross misconduct. In this way the nobles gained possession of the senate, which became, in fact, the most permanent and powerful branch of the Roman government. Although it was an aristocratic and exclusive body, it was made up of some of the most able men of Rome. Its members were men of distinction, of wealth, and generally of great political ability. Though often inspired by motives which were selfish, ambitious, and avaricious, it was still the greatest body of rulers that ever existed in the ancient world. It managed the finances of the state; controlled the erection of public works; directed the foreign policy; administered the provinces; determined largely the character of legislation, and was, in fact, the real sovereign of the Roman state.

The Weakness of the Assemblies.—We should naturally infer that with the increase of the power of the senate, the power of the popular assemblies would decline. The old patrician assembly of the curies (*comitia curiata*) had long since been reduced to a mere shadow. But the other two assemblies—that of the centuries and that of the tribes—still held an important place as legislative bodies. But there were two reasons why they declined in influence. The first reason was their unwieldy character. As they grew in size and could only say *Yes* or *No* to the questions submitted to them, they were made subject to the influence of demagogues, and lost their independent position. The second reason for their decline was the growing custom of first submitting to the senate the proposals which were to be passed upon by them. So that, as long as the senate was so influential in the state, the popular assemblies were weak and inefficient.

II. ROME AND THE PROVINCES

The Organization of the Provinces. — The most important feature of the new Roman government was the organization of the provinces. There were now eight of these provinces: (1) Sicily, acquired as the result of the first Punic war; (2) Sardinia and Corsica, obtained during the interval between the first and second Punic wars; (3) Hither Spain and (4) Farther Spain, acquired in the second Punic war; (5) Illyricum, re-

duced after the third Macedonian war; (6) Macedonia (to which Achaia was attached), reduced after the destruction of Corinth; (7) Africa, organized after the third Punic war; and (8) Asia, bequeathed by Attalus III., the last king of Pergamum.



THE CAPTIVE PROVINCE

The method of organizing these provinces was in some respects similar to that which had been adopted for governing the cities in Italy. Rome saw clearly that to control these newly conquered cities and communities, they must, like the cities of Italy, be isolated, that is, separated entirely from one

another, so that they could not combine in any effort to resist her authority. Every city was made directly responsible to Rome. The great difference between the Italian and the provincial towns was the fact that the chief burden of the Italian town was to furnish military aid — soldiers and ships; while that of the provincial town was to furnish tribute — money and grain. Another difference was that Italian land was generally free from taxes, while provincial land was subject to tribute.

The Provincial Governor. — A province might be defined as a group of conquered cities, outside of Italy, under the control

of a governor sent from Rome. At first these governors were praetors, who were elected by the people. Afterward they were proprætors or proconsuls — that is, persons who had already served as praetors or consuls at Rome. The governor held his office for one year; and during this time was the supreme military and civil ruler of the province. He was commander in chief of the army, and was expected to preserve his territory from internal disorder and from foreign invasion. He controlled the collection of the taxes, with the aid of the quæstor, who kept the accounts. He also administered justice between the provincials. Although the governor was responsible to the senate, the welfare or misery of the provincials depended largely upon his own disposition and will.

The Towns of the Province. — All the towns of the province were subject to Rome; but it was Rome's policy not to treat them all in exactly the same way. Like the cities of Italy, they were graded according to their merit. Some were favored, like Gades and Athens, and were treated as allied towns (*civitates fæderatæ*); others, like Utica, were free from tribute (*immunes*); but the great majority of them were considered as tributary (*stipendiariæ*). But all these towns alike possessed local self-government, so far as this was consistent with the supremacy of Rome; that is, they retained their own laws, assemblies, and magistrates.

The Administration of Justice. — In civil matters, the citizens of every town were judged by their own magistrates. But when a dispute arose between citizens of different towns, it was the duty of the governor to judge between them. At the beginning of his term of office, he generally issued an edict, setting forth the rules upon which he would decide their differences. Each succeeding governor reissued the rules of his predecessor, with the changes which he saw fit to make. In this way justice was administered with great fairness throughout the provinces; and there grew up a great body of legal principles, called the "law of nations" (*ius gentium*), which formed an important part of the Roman law.

The Collection of Taxes. — The Roman revenue was mainly derived from the new provinces. But instead of raising these taxes directly through her own officers, Rome let out the business of collecting the revenue to a set of money dealers, called *publicani*. These persons agreed to pay into the treasury a certain sum for the right of collecting taxes in a certain province. Whatever they collected above this sum, they appropriated to themselves. This rude mode of collecting taxes, called "farming" the revenues, was unworthy of a great state like Rome, and was the chief cause of the oppression of the provincials. The governors, it is true, had the power of protecting the people from being plundered. But as they themselves received no pay for their services, except what they could get out of the provinces, they were too busy in making their own fortunes to watch closely the methods of the tax-gatherers. Like every other conquering nation, the Romans were tempted to benefit themselves at the expense of their subjects.

III. THE NEW CIVILIZATION

Foreign Influences; Hellenism at Rome. — When we think of the conquests of Rome, we usually think of the armies which she defeated, and the lands which she subdued. But these were not the only conquests which she made. She appropriated not only foreign lands, but also foreign ideas. While she was plundering foreign temples, she was obtaining new ideas of religion and art. The educated and civilized people whom she captured in war and of whom she made slaves, often became the teachers of her children and the writers of her books. In such ways as these Rome came under the influence of foreign ideas. The most powerful of these foreign influences was that of Greece. We might say that when Greece was conquered by Rome, Rome was civilized by Greece. These foreign influences were seen in her new ideas of religion and philosophy, in her literature, her art, and her manners.

The Roman Religion. — As Rome came into contact with other people, we can see how her religion was affected by foreign influences. The worship of the family remained much the same; but the religion of the state became considerably changed. It is said that the entire Greek Olympus was introduced into Italy. The Romans adopted the Greek ideas and stories regarding the gods; and their worship became more showy and elaborate. Even some of the superstitious and fantastic rites of Asia found their way into Rome. These changes did not improve the religion. On the contrary,



TEMPLES OF LOYALTY, JUNO, AND HOPE

they made it more corrupt. The Roman religion, by absorbing the various ideas of other people, became a world-wide and composite form of paganism. One of the redeeming features of the Roman religion was the worship of exalted qualities, like Honor and Virtue; for example, alongside of the temple to Juno, temples were also erected to Loyalty and Hope.

Roman Philosophy. — The more educated Romans lost their interest in religion, and betook themselves to the study of Greek philosophy. They studied the nature of the gods and the moral duties of men. In this way the Greek ideas of philosophy found their way into Rome. Some of these ideas, like those of the Sto'ics, were elevating, and tended to preserve

the simplicity and strength of the old Roman character. But other ideas, like those of the Epicure'ans, seemed to justify a life of pleasure and luxury.

Roman Literature. — Before the Romans came into contact with the Greeks, they cannot be said to have had anything which can properly be called a literature. They had certain crude verses and ballads; but it was the Greeks who first taught them how to write. It was not until the close of the first Punic war, when the Greek influence became strong, that we begin to find the names of any Latin authors. The first author, Androni'eus, who is said to have been a Greek slave, wrote a Latin poem in imitation of Homer. Then came Nævius, who combined a Greek taste with a Roman spirit, and who wrote a poem on the first Punic war; and after him, Ennius, who taught Greek to the Romans, and wrote a great poem on the history of Rome, called the "Annals." The Greek influence is also seen in Plautus and Terence, the greatest writers of Roman comedy; and in Fabius Pictor, who wrote a history of Rome, in the Greek language.



CORINTHIAN CAPITAL

Roman Art. — As the Romans were a practical people, their earliest art was shown in their buildings. From the Etruscans they had learned to use the arch and to build strong and massive structures. But the more refined features of art they obtained from the Greeks. While the Romans could never hope to acquire the pure æsthetic spirit of the Greeks, they were inspired with a passion for collecting Greek works of art, and for adorning their buildings with Greek ornaments. They imitated the Greek models and professed to admire the Greek taste; so that they came to be, in fact, the preservers of Greek art.

Roman Manners and Morals. — It is difficult for us to think

of a nation of warriors as a nation of refined people. The brutalities of war seem inconsistent with the finer arts of living. But as the Romans obtained wealth from their wars, they affected the refinement of their more cultivated neighbors. Some men, like Scipio Africanus, looked with favor upon the introduction of Greek ideas and manners; but



THE GLADIATOR

others, like Cato the Censor, were bitterly opposed to it. When the Romans lost the simplicity of the earlier times, they came to indulge in luxuries and to be lovers of pomp and show. They loaded their tables with rich services of plate; they ransacked the land and the sea for delicacies with which to please their palates. Roman culture was often more artificial than real. The survival of the barbarous spirit of the Romans in the midst of their professed refinement is seen in their amusements, especially the gladiatorial shows, in

which men were forced to fight with wild beasts and with one another to entertain the people.

In conclusion, we may say that by their conquests the Romans became a great and, in a certain sense, a civilized people, who appropriated and preserved many of the best elements of the ancient world; but who were yet selfish, ambitious, and avaricious, and who lacked the genuine taste and generous spirit which belong to the highest type of human culture.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

- Mommsen, Vol. II., Bk. III., Ch. 10, "Third Macedonian War" (2).¹
 Michelet, Bk. II., Ch. 8, "Reduction of Spain and the Greek States" (6).
 How and Leigh, Ch. 27, "Fall of Macedonia and Greece" (1).
 Pelham, Bk. III., Ch. 3, "The Roman State and People" (1).
 Granrud, Third Period, "The Supremacy of the Senate" (13).
 Abbott, Ch. 5, "The Supremacy of the Nobilitas" (13).

SPECIAL STUDY

CATO THE CENSOR AND THE GREEK INFLUENCE. — Liddell, pp. 450-455 (1); How and Leigh, pp. 302-305, see also index "Hellenism" (1); Shuckburgh, pp. 405, 406, 518-521 (1); Cruttwell, pp. 91-98 (17); Pelham, pp. 192-198 (1); Mommsen, Vol. II., pp. 413-423, 557-567 (2); Plutarch, "Cato the Censor" (11).

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

PERIOD VI. THE FALL OF THE REPUBLIC (B.C. 133-31)

CHAPTER XIX.

THE TIMES OF THE GRACCHI

I. THE CAUSES OF CIVIL STRIFE

Character of the New Period. — If the period which we have just considered is the most heroic in Roman history, that which we are about to consider is one of the saddest, and yet one of the most interesting. It is one of the saddest, because it was a time when the Roman state was torn asunder by civil strifes, and the arms of the conquerors were turned against themselves. It is one of the most interesting, because it shows to us some of the greatest men that Rome ever produced, men whose names are a part of the world's history. Our attention will now be directed not so much to foreign wars as to political questions, to the struggle of parties, and the rivalry of party leaders. And as a result of it all, we shall see the republic gradually passing away, and giving place to the empire.

Divisions of the Roman People. — If we would understand this period of conflict, we should at the outset get a clear idea of the various classes of people in the Roman world. Let us briefly review these different grades of society.

First, there was the *senatorial order*, — men who kept control of the higher offices, who furnished the members of the senate, and who really ruled the state. Next was the *equestrian order*, — men who were called equites, or knights, on

account of their great wealth, who formed the moneyed class, the capitalists of Rome, and who made their fortunes by all sorts of speculation, especially by gathering the taxes in the provinces. These two orders formed the aristocratic classes.

Below these was the great mass of the city population — the poor artisans and journeymen, who formed a rabble and the materials of a mob, and who lived upon public charity and the bribes of office-seekers, and were amused by public shows given by the state or by rich citizens. Then came the poor country farmers living upon the Roman domain — the peasants, many of whom had been deprived of their lands by rich creditors or by the avaricious policy of the government. These two classes formed the mass of the poorer citizens of Rome.

Outside of the Roman domain proper (*ager Romanus*) were the *Latini coloniarii*, who were settled upon conquered lands in Italy, who had practically no political rights, and who were very much in the same social condition as the Roman peasants. Besides these were the *Italian allies*, who had been subdued by Rome in early times, and had been given none of the rights of citizenship. These two classes formed the subject population of Italy.

Now if we go outside of Italy we find the great body of provincials, some of them favored by being left free from taxation, but the mass of them subject to the Roman tribute; and all of them excluded from the rights and privileges of citizens.

Finally, if we go to the very bottom of the Roman population, we find the slaves, having none of the rights of citizens or of men. A part of them, the house slaves, were treated with some consideration; but the field slaves were treated wretchedly, chained in gangs by day and confined in dungeons by night.

Thus we have an aristocratic class, made up of the senators and equites; a poor citizen class, made up of the city rabble and the country farmers about Rome; and then a disfranchised class, made up of the Latins, the Italians, and the provincials, besides the slaves.

Defects of the Roman Government. — When we look over these various classes of the Roman people, we must conclude that there were some radical defects in the Roman system of government. The great mass of the population were excluded from all political rights. The Latins, the Italians, the provincials, and the slaves, as we have seen, had no share in the government. This seems quite contrary to the early policy of Rome. We remember that before she began her great conquests, Rome had started out with the policy of *incorporation*. She had taken in the Sabines on the Quirinal hill, the Luceres on the Cælian, the plebeians of the city, and the rural tribes about Rome. But after that time she had abandoned this policy, and no longer brought her conquered subjects within the state. This was the first defect of the Roman system.

But even those people who were given the rights of citizens were not able to exercise these rights in an efficient way. Wherever a Roman citizen might be, he must go to Rome to vote or to take part in the making of the laws. But when the citizens of Rome met together in the Forum, or on the Campus Martius, they made a large and unwieldy body, which could not do any important political business. Rome never learned that a democratic government in a large state is impossible without *representation*; that is, the election by the people of a few leading men to protect their interests, and to make the laws for them. The giving up of the policy of incorporation and the absence of the principle of representation were the two great defects in the Roman political system.

The Decay of Patriotism. — We may not blame the Romans for not discovering the value of representation, since this system may be regarded as a modern invention. But we must blame those who were the rulers of the state for their selfishness and their lack of true patriotism. There were, no doubt, some patriotic citizens at Rome who were devoted to the public welfare; but the majority of the men who governed the state were men devoted to their own interests more than to the

interests of the country at large. The aristocratic classes sought to enrich themselves by the spoils of war and the spoils of office; while the rights and the welfare of the common citizens, the Italians, and the provincials were too often forgotten or ignored.

The Growth of Large Estates. — One of the causes which led to the civil strife was the distress and misery of the people in different parts of Italy, resulting from the growth of large landed estates. Years before, the people had possessed their little farms, and were able to make a respectable living from them. Laws had been passed — especially the Licinian laws (see p. 70) — to keep the public lands distributed in such a way as to benefit the poorer people. But it was more than two hundred years since the Licinian laws were passed; and they were now a dead letter. Many of the small farms had become absorbed into large estates held by rich landlords; and the class of small farmers had well-nigh disappeared. This change benefited one class of the people at the expense of the other. The Roman writer Pliny afterward saw the disastrous effects of this system, and said that it was the large estates which destroyed Italy.

The Evils of Slave Labor. — But this was not all. If the poor farmers, who had been deprived of their own fields, could have received good wages by working upon the estates of the rich landlords, they might still have had some means of living. But they were even deprived of this; because the estates were everywhere worked by slaves. So that slavery, as well as large estates, was a cause which helped to bring Italy to the brink of ruin.

II. THE REFORMS OF TIBERIUS GRACCHUS

Character of Tiberius Gracchus. — The first serious attempt to remedy the existing evils was made by Tibe'rius Sempronius Gracchus. He was the elder of two brothers who sacrificed their lives in efforts to benefit their fellow-citizens. Their mother was the noble-minded Cornelia, the daughter of the

great Scipio Africanus, the type of the perfect mother, who regarded her boys as "jewels" more precious than gold, and who taught them to love truth, justice, and their country. Tiberius when a young man had served in the Spanish army under Scipio Æmilianus, the distinguished Roman who conquered Carthage and Numantia. It is said that when Tiberius



THE GRACCHI

Gracchus passed through Etruria, on his way to and from Spain, he was shocked to see the fertile fields cultivated by gangs of slaves, while thousands of free citizens were living in idleness and poverty. He was a man of refined nature and a deep sense of justice, and he determined to do what he could to remedy these evils.

His Agrarian Laws. — Tiberius Gracchus was elected tribune and began his work of reform (B.C. 133). He believed that

the wretched condition of the Roman people was due chiefly to the unequal division of the public land, and especially to the failure to enforce the Licinian laws. He therefore proposed to revive these laws; to limit the holding of public land to five hundred *iugera* (about three hundred acres) for each person; to pay the present holders for any improvements they had made; and then to rent the land thus taken up to the poorer class of citizens. This seemed fair enough; for the state was the real owner of the public land, and could do what it wished with its own. But the rich landlords, who had held possession of this land for so many years, looked upon the measure as the same thing as taking away their own property. When it was now proposed to redistribute this land, there immediately arose a fierce conflict between the old senatorial party and the followers of Tiberius.

His Illegal Action. — Tiberius determined to pass his law in spite of the senate. The senate, on the other hand, was equally determined that the law should not be passed. Accordingly, the senators induced one of the tribunes, whose name was M. Octa'vius, to put his "veto" upon the passage of the law. This act of Octavius was entirely legal, for he did what the law gave him the right to do. Tiberius, on the other hand, in order to outdo his opponent, had recourse to a high-handed measure. Instead of waiting a year for the election of new tribunes who might be devoted to the people's cause, he called upon the people to deprive Octavius of his office. This was an illegal act, because there was no law which authorized such a proceeding. But the people did as Tiberius desired, and Octavius was deposed. The law of Tiberius was then passed in the assembly of the tribes, and three commissioners were chosen to carry it into effect.

This of course roused the indignation of the senators, who determined to prosecute Tiberius when his term of office had expired. Tiberius knew that as long as he held the office of tribune his person would be sacred, and he could not be tried for his action; hence he announced himself as a candidate for

reëlection. This, too, was illegal, for the law forbade a reëlection until after an interval of ten years.

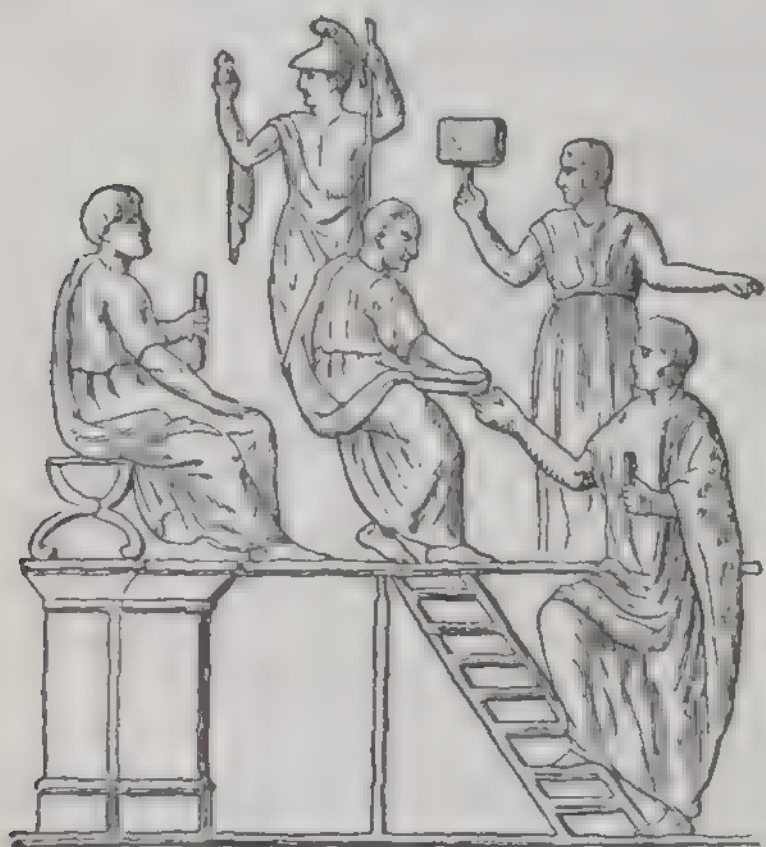
Fall of Tiberius Gracchus. — The law of Tiberius and the method which he had used to pass it, increased the bitterness between the aristocratic party and the popular party — who came to be known, respectively, as the *optimates* and the *populares*. The senators denounced Tiberius as a traitor; the people extolled him as a patriot. The day appointed for the election came. Two tribes had already voted for the reëlection of Tiberius, when a band of senators appeared in the Forum, headed by Scipio Nasica, armed with sticks and clubs; and in the riot which ensued Tiberius Gracchus and three hundred of his followers were slain. This was the first blood shed in the civil wars of Rome. The killing of a tribune by the senators was as much an illegal act as was the deposition of Octavius. Both parties had disregarded the law, and the revolution was begun.

III. THE REFORMS OF GAIUS GRACCHUS

The Rise of Gaius Gracchus. — After the death of Tiberius his law was for a time carried into execution. The commissioners proceeded with their work of re-dividing the land. But the people were for a time without a real leader. The cause of reform was then taken up by Gaius Gracchus, the brother of Tiberius, and the conflict was renewed. Gaius was in many respects an abler man than Tiberius. No more sincere and patriotic, he was yet a broader statesman and took a wider view of the situation. He did not confine his attention simply to relieving the poor citizens. He believed that to rescue Rome from her troubles, it was necessary to weaken the power of the senate, whose selfish and avaricious policy had brought on these troubles. He also believed that the Latins and the Italians should be protected, as well as the poor Roman citizens.

His Efforts to Benefit the People. — When Gaius Gracchus

obtained the position of tribune (B.C. 123) his influence for a time was all-powerful. He was eloquent and persuasive, and practically had the control of the government. From his various laws we may select those which were the most important, and which best show his general policy. First of all, he tried to help the people by a law which was really the most mischievous of all his measures. This was his famous "corn law." It was intended to benefit the poor population in the city, which was at that time troublesome and not easy to con-



GRATUITOUS DISTRIBUTION OF GRAIN

trol. The law provided that any Roman citizen could receive grain from the public storehouses for a certain price less than its cost. But the number of the poor in the city was not decreased; the paupers now flocked to Rome from all parts of Italy to be fed at the public crib. This corn law became a permanent institution of Rome. We may judge of its evil effect when it is said that not many years afterward

there were three hundred and twenty thousand citizens who were dependent upon the government for their food. Gaius may not have known what evil effect this law was destined to produce. At any rate, it insured his popularity with the lower classes. He then renewed the agrarian laws of his brother; and also provided for sending out colonies of poor citizens into different parts of Italy, and even into the provinces.

His Efforts to Weaken the Senate. — But Gaius believed that such measures as these would afford only temporary relief, as long as the senate retained its great power. It was, of course, impossible to overthrow the senate. But it was possible to take from it some of the powers which it possessed. From the senators had hitherto been selected the jurors

(*in'dices*) before whom were tried cases of extortion and other crimes. By a law Gaius took away from the senate this right to furnish jurors in criminal cases, and gave it to the equites, that is, the wealthy class outside of the senate. This gave to the equites a more important political position, and drew them over to the support of Gaius, and thus tended to split the aristocratic classes in two. The senate was thus deprived not only of its right to furnish jurors, but also of the support of the wealthy men who had previously been friendly to it. This was a great triumph for the popular party; and Gaius looked forward to another victory.

His Effort to Enfranchise the Italians. — When he was re-elected to the tribunate Gaius Gracchus came forward with his grand scheme of extending the Roman franchise to the people of Italy. This was the wisest of all his measures, but the one which cost him his popularity and influence. It aroused the jealousy of the poorer citizens, who did not wish to share their rights with foreigners. The senators took advantage of the unpopularity of Gaius, and now posed as the friends of the people. They induced one of the tribunes, by the name of Drusus, to play the part of the demagogue. Drusus proposed to found twelve new colonies at once, each with three thousand Roman citizens, and thus to put all the reforms of Gaius Gracchus into the shade. The people were deceived by this stratagem, and the attempt of Gaius to enfranchise the Italians was defeated.

His Failure and Death. — Gaius did not succeed, as he desired, in being elected tribune for the third time. A great part of the people soon abandoned him, and the ascendancy of the senate was again restored. It was not long before a new law was passed which prevented any further distribution of the public land (*lex Thorii*). Gaius failed to bring about the reforms which he attempted: but he may be regarded as having accomplished three things which remained after his death: (1) the elevation of the equestrian order; (2) the establishment of the Roman poor law, or the system of grain largesses;

and (3) the extension of the colonial system to the provinces. He lost his life in a tumult in which three thousand citizens were slain (B.C. 121).

Thus in a similar way the two Gracchi, who had attempted to rescue the Roman people from the evils of a corrupt government, perished. Their efforts at agrarian reform did not produce any lasting effect; but they pointed out the dangers of the state, and drew the issues upon which their successors continued the conflict. Their career forms the first phase in the great civil conflict at Rome.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

- Pelham, Bk. IV., Ch. 1, "From the Gracchi to Sulla" (1).¹
 Beesly, Ch. 1, "Antecedents of the Revolution" (6).
 Merivale, Gen. Hist., Ch. 28, "Tiberius Gracchus" (1).
 Taylor, Ch. 9, "The Reformers" (1).
 Ihne, Hist., Bk. VII., Ch. 1, "Political and Economical Condition" (2).
 Mommsen, Vol. II., Bk. III., Ch. 12, "Management of Land" (2).
 Mommsen, abridged, Ch. 20, "Reforms of the Gracchi" (2).
 Ramsay and Lanciani, Ch. 7, "Public Lands and Agrarian Laws" (8).
 Harper's Dict. Antiqq., "Agrariæ Leges" (8).
 Plutarch, "Tiberius Gracchus," "Caius Gracchus" (11).

SPECIAL STUDY

THE ROMAN EQUITES. — Liddell, p. 504 (1); How and Leigh, p. 315 (1); Shuckburgh, p. 560 (1); Ramsay and Lanciani, p. 98 (8); Gow, see index "Equites" (8); Mommsen, Vol. II., pp. 377-380 (2); Harper's Dict. Antiqq., "Equites" (8).

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

CHAPTER XX

THE TIMES OF MARIUS AND SULLA

I. THE RISE OF MARIUS

New Phase of the Civil Strife. — The troubles under the Gracchi had grown out of the attempts of two patriotic men to reform the evils of the state. The shedding of Roman blood had been limited to riots in the city, and to fights between the factions of the different parties. We now come to the time when the political parties seek the aid of the army; when the civil strife becomes in reality a civil war, and the lives of citizens seem of small account compared with the success of this or that political leader. To understand this second phase of the revolution, we must consider what was the condition of Rome after the fall of the Gracchi; how Ma'rius came to the front as the leader of the popular party; and how he was overthrown by Sulla as the leader of the aristocratic party.

Corrupt Rule of the Aristocracy. — After the fall of the Gracchi the rule of the aristocracy was restored, and the government became more corrupt than ever before. The senators were often incompetent, and they had no clearly defined policy. They seemed desirous only to retain power and to enrich themselves, while the real interests of the people were forgotten. The little farms which Tiberius Gracchus had tried to create were again swallowed up in large estates. The provincials were ground down with heavy taxes. The slaves were goaded into insurrection. The sea swarmed with pirates, and the frontiers were threatened by foreign enemies.

The Jugurthine War and Marius (B.C. 111–105). — The attention of the senate was first directed to a war in Africa. This war has no great interest for us, except that it shows how corrupt Rome was, and that it brought to the front a great soldier, who became for a time the leader of the people.

The war in Africa grew out of the attempt of Jugur'tha to make himself king of Numidia, which kingdom we remember was an ally of Rome. The senate sent commissioners to Numidia in order to settle the trouble; but the commissioners sold themselves to Jugurtha as soon as they landed in Africa. The Roman people were incensed, and war was declared against Jugurtha. The conduct of the war was placed in the hands of the consul, L. Calpurnius Bestia, who on arriving in Africa accepted Jugurtha's gold and made peace. The people were again indignant, and summoned Jugurtha to Rome to testify against the consul. When Jugurtha appeared before the assembly, and was about to make his statement, one of the tribunes, who had also been bought by African gold, put a veto upon the proceedings; so that by the bribery of a tribune it became impossible to punish the bribery of a consul. Jugurtha remained in Rome until he caused one of his rivals to be murdered, when he was banished from the city. He expressed his private opinion of Rome when he called it "a venal city, ready to perish whenever it could find a purchaser."

The war in Numidia was continued under the new consul, Q. Cæcilius Metellus, who selected as his lieutenant Gaius Marius, a rough soldier who had risen from the ranks, but who had a real genius for war. So great was the success of Marius that he was elected consul, and superseded Metellus in the supreme command of the African army. Marius fulfilled all the expectations of the people; he defeated the enemy, and Jugurtha was made a prisoner. A triumph was given to the conqueror, in which the captive king was led in chains; and Marius became the people's hero.

Marius and the Cimbric War (B.C. 113-101). — But a greater glory now awaited Marius. While he had been absent in Africa, Rome was threatened by a deluge of barbarians from the north. The Cimbri and Teu'tones, fierce peoples from Germany, had pushed down into the southern part of Gaul, and had overrun the new province of Narbonen'sis (established B.C. 120). It seemed impossible to stay these savage invaders.

Army after army was defeated. It is said that sixty thousand Romans perished in one battle at Arausio (B.C. 107) on the banks of the Rhone. The way seemed open to Italy, and all eyes turned to Marius as the only man who could save Rome. On the same day on which he received his triumph, Marius was reëlected to the consulship, and assigned to his new command. This was contrary to law, to reëlect an officer immediately after his first term; but the Romans had come to believe that "in the midst of arms, the laws are silent."



SEAT OF THE CIMBRIC WAR

Marius set to work to reorganize the Roman army. The army became no longer a raw body of citizens arranged according to wealth; but a trained body of soldiers drawn from all classes of society, and devoted to their commander. With the discretion of a true soldier Marius determined to be fully prepared before meeting his formidable foe. The Cimbri turned aside for a time into Spain. Marius remained patiently on the Rhone, drilling his men and guarding the approaches to the Alps. As the time passed by, the people continued to trust him, and elected him as consul a third, and then a fourth time. At length the barbarians reappeared, ready for the invasion of Italy. One part, the Teutones, prepared to invade Italy from the west; while the other part, the Cimbri, prepared to cross the Alps into the northwestern corner of Italy. Against the Teutones Marius posted his own army; and to meet the Cimbri he dispatched his colleague, Q. Lutatius Catulus. In the battle of Aquæ Sextiæ he annihilated the host of the Teutones (B.C. 102); and the people elected him a fifth

time to the consulship. Soon the Cimbri crossed the Alps and drove Catulus across the Po. Marius joined him, drove back



MARIUS

the barbarians, and utterly routed them near Vercellæ (B.C. 101). Italy was thus saved. For this twofold victory Rome gave to Marius a magnificent triumph, celebrated with double splendor. He was hailed as the savior of his country, the second Camillus, and the third Romulus.

Marius as a Party Leader.

—Marius was now at the height of his popularity. There had never before been a man in Rome who so far outshone his rivals.

As he was a man of the

common people, the leaders of the popular party saw that his great name would be a help to their cause.

The men who aspired to the leadership of the popular party since the death of the Gracchi were Saturninus and Glaucia. To these men Marius now allied himself, and was elected to the consulship for the sixth time. This alliance formed a sort of political "ring," which professed to rule the state in the interest of the people; but which aroused a storm of opposition on the part of the senators. As in the days of the Gracchi, tumults arose, and the streets of Rome again became stained with blood. The senate called upon Marius, as consul, to put down the insurrection. Marius reluctantly complied; and in the conflict that followed, his colleagues, Saturninus and Glaucia, were killed. Marius now fell into disrepute. Having at first allied himself to the popular leaders and afterward yielded to the senate, he lost the confidence

of both parties. In spite of his greatness as a soldier, he proved his utter incapacity as a party leader. He soon retired from Rome in the hope of recovering his popularity, and of coming back when the tide should turn in his favor.

II. THE SOCIAL WAR AND THE RISE OF SULLA

Rome and the Italian Allies. — With the failure of Marius, and the death of his colleagues, the senate once more recovered



the reins of government. But the troubles still continued. The Italian allies were now clamoring for their rights, and threatening war if their demands were not granted. We remember (see p. 94) that when Rome had conquered Italy, she did not

give the Italian people the rights of citizenship. They were made subject allies, but received no share in the government. The Italian allies had furnished soldiers for the Roman armies, and had helped to make Rome the mistress of the Mediterranean. They believed, therefore, that they were entitled to all the rights of Roman citizens; and some of the patriotic leaders of Rome believed so too. But it seemed as difficult to break down the distinction between Romans and Italians as it had been many years before to remove the barriers between the patricians and the plebeians.

Attempt and Failure of Drusus. — At this crisis there appeared a new reformer, the tribune M. Livius Drusus, son of the Drusus who opposed Gaius Gracchus. He was a well-disposed man, who seemed to believe that all the troubles of the state could be settled by a series of compromises. Of a noble nature, of pure motives, and of generous disposition, he tried to please everybody, and succeeded in pleasing nobody. First, to please the populace, he proposed to increase the largesses of grain; and to make payment easy by introducing a cheap copper coin which should pass for the same value as the previous silver one. Next, to reconcile the senators and the equites, he proposed to select the jurors (*iudices*) from both classes, thus dividing the power between them. Finally, to meet the demands of the Italians, he proposed to grant them what they asked for, the Roman franchise.

It was one thing to propose these laws; it was quite another thing to pass them. As the last law was the most offensive, he began by uniting the equites and the people for the purpose of passing the first two laws. These were passed against the will of the senate, and amid scenes of great violence. The senate declared the laws of Drusus null and void. Disregarding this act of the senate as having no legal force, he then proposed to submit to the assembly the law granting the franchise to the Italians. But this law was as offensive to the people as the others had been to the senate. Denounced by the senate as a traitor and abandoned by the

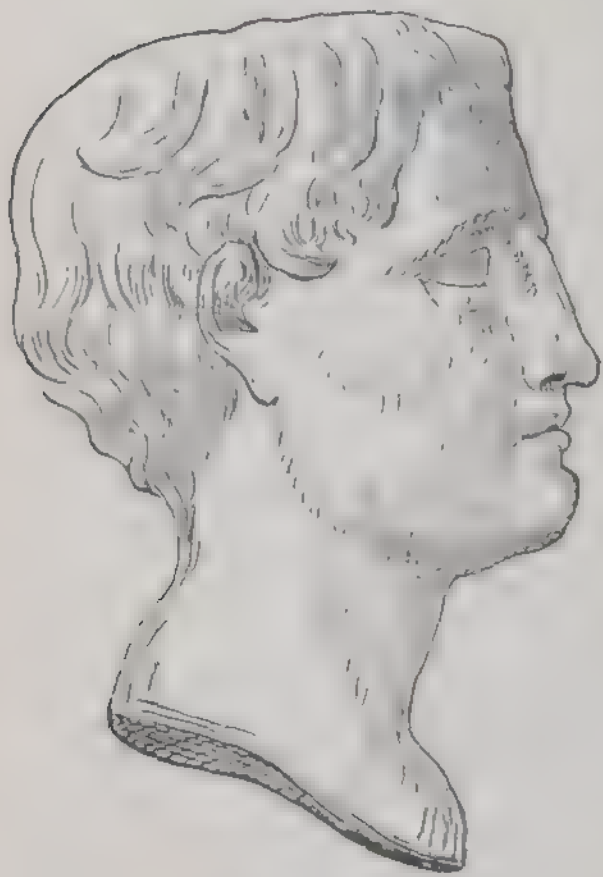
people, this large-hearted and unpractical reformer was at last murdered by an unknown assassin; and all his efforts came to nothing.

Revolt of the Italian Allies (B.C. 90). — The death of Drusus drove the Italians to revolt. The war which followed is known in history as the “social war,” or the war of the allies (*socii*). It was, in fact, a war of secession. The purpose of the allies was now, not to obtain the Roman franchise, but to create a new Italian nation, where all might be equal. They accordingly organized a new republic with the central government at Corfinium, a town in the Apennines. The new state was modeled after the government at Rome, with a senate of five hundred members, two consuls, and other magistrates. Nearly all the peoples of central and southern Italy joined in this revolt.

Rome was now threatened with destruction, not by a foreign enemy like the Cimbri and Teutones, but by her own subjects. The spirit of patriotism revived; and the parties ceased for a brief time from their quarrels. Even Marius returned to serve as a legate in the Roman army. A hundred thousand men took the field against an equal number raised by the allies. In the first year the war was unfavorable to Rome. In the second year (B.C. 89) new preparations were made and new commanders were appointed. Marius, on account of his age, was not continued in his command; while L. Cornelius Sulla, who was once a subordinate of Marius, was made chief commander in Campania. Marius felt deeply this slight, and began to be envious of his younger rival. The great credit of bringing this war to a close was due to Pompeius Strabo (the father of Pompey the Great) and Sulla. The first Italian capital, Corfinium, was taken by Pompeius; and the second capital, Bovianum, was captured by Sulla (B.C. 88). The social war was thus ended; but it had been a great affliction to Italy. It is roughly estimated that three hundred thousand men, Romans and Italians, lost their lives in this struggle. The compensation of this loss was the incorporation of Italy with Rome.

The Enfranchisement of Italy. — Although Rome was victorious in the field, the Italians obtained what they had demanded before the war began, that is, the rights of Roman citizenship. The Romans granted the franchise (1) to all Latins and Italians who had remained loyal during the war (*lex Iulia*, B.C. 90); and (2) to every Italian who should be enrolled by the praetor within sixty days of the passage of the law (*lex Plautia Papiria*, B.C. 89). Every person to whom these provisions applied was now a Roman citizen. The policy of incorporation, which had been discontinued for so long a time, was thus revived. The distinction between Romans, Latins, and Italians was now broken down, at least so far as the Italian peninsula was concerned. The greater part of Italy was joined to the *ager Romanus*; and Italy and Rome became practically one nation.

The Elevation of Sulla. — Another result of the social war, which had a great effect upon the destinies of Rome, was the rise of Sulla. War was not a new occupation for Sulla. In the campaign against Jugurtha he had served as a lieutenant of Marius. In the Cimbric war he had displayed great courage and ability. And now he had become the most conspicuous commander in the Italian war. As a result of his brilliant exploits, he was elected to the consulship. The senate also recognized him as the ablest general of the time, when it now appointed him to conduct the war in



SULLA

the East against the great enemy of Rome, Mithridates, king of Pontus.

III. THE CIVIL WAR BETWEEN MARIUS AND SULLA

The Jealousy of Marius. — Marius had watched with envy the growing fame of Sulla. Although old enough to retire

from active life, he was mortified in not receiving the command of the Eastern army. When Sulla was now appointed to this command, Marius determined if possible to displace him, or to satisfy his revenge in some other way. From this time Marius, who once seemed to possess the elements of greatness, appears to us as a vindictive and foolish old man, deprived of reason and the sense of honor. To prove that he had not lost the vigor of youth, it is said that he used to appear in the Campus Martius and exercise with the young soldiers in wrestling and boxing. The chief motive which now seemed to influence him was the hatred of Sulla and the Sullan party.

Marius rejoins the Popular Party. — To regain his influence with the people Marius once more entered politics, and joined himself to the popular leaders. The most prominent of these leaders was now the tribune P. Sulpicius Rufus. With the aid of this politician, Marius hoped to win back the favor of the people, to weaken the influence of the senate, which had supported Sulla, and then to displace Sulla himself. This programme was set forth in what are called the "Sulpician laws" (B.C. 88). By the aid of an armed force these laws were passed, and two messengers were sent to Sulla to command him to turn over his army to Marius. To displace a commander legally appointed by the senate was an act unheard of, even in this period of revolution.

Sulla appeals to the Army. — If Marius and Sulpicius supposed that Sulla would calmly submit to such an outrage, they mistook his character. Sulla had not yet left Italy. His legions were still encamped in Campania. He appealed to them to support the honor and authority of their commander. They responded to his appeal, and Sulla at the head of his troops marched to Rome. For the first time the Roman legions fought in the streets of the capital, and a question of politics was settled by the army. Marius and Sulpicius were driven from the city, and Sulla for the time being was supreme. He called together the senate, and caused the leaders of the popu-

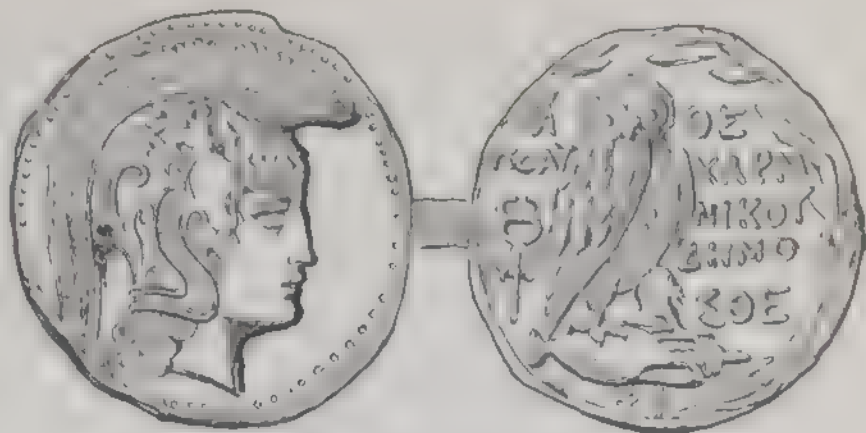
lar party to be declared outlaws. He then annulled the laws passed by Sulpicius, and gave the senate the power hereafter to approve or reject all laws before they should be submitted to the people. With the army at his back Sulla could do what he pleased. When he had placed the government securely in the hands of the senate, as he thought, he left Rome for the purpose of conducting the war against Mithridates in the East.

The Flight of Marius. — Marius was now an exile, a fugitive from the country which he had once saved. The pathetic story of his flight and wanderings is graphically told by Plutarch. He says that Marius set sail from Ostia, and was forced by a storm to land at Circe'ii (see map, p. 167), where he wandered about in hunger and great suffering; that his courage was kept up by remembering that when a boy he had found an eagle's nest with seven young in it, which a soothsayer had interpreted as meaning that he would be consul seven times; that he was again taken on board a vessel and landed at Minturnæ, where he was captured and condemned to death; that the slave who was ordered to kill him dropped his sword as he heard the stern voice of his intended victim shouting, "Man, darest thou kill Gaius Marius?" that he was then released and wandered to Sicily, and then to Africa, where, a fallen hero, he sat amid the ruins of Carthage; that at last he found a safe retreat in a little island off the African coast, and waited for vengeance and the time of his seventh consulship.

Sulla and the Mithridatic War (B.C. 88-84). — While Marius was thus enduring the miseries of exile, Sulla was gathering fresh glories in the East. When Sulla landed in Greece he found the eastern provinces in a wretched state. Mithridates, the king of Pontus (see map, p. 142), had extended his power over a large part of Asia Minor. He had overrun the Roman province of Asia. He had induced the Greek cities on the coast, which had been brought under the Roman power, to revolt and join his cause. He had massacred over eighty thousand Italians living on the Asiatic coast. He had also sent

his armies into Greece and Macedonia, and many of the cities there, including Athens, had declared in his favor. The Roman power in the East seemed well-nigh broken.

It was at this time that Sulla showed his greatest ability as a soldier. He drove back the armies of Mithridates,² besieged Athens and reduced it.



COIN OF ATHENS

He destroyed an army at Chærone'a (B.C. 86, see map, p. 128), and another at Orchom'enus (B.C. 85). Within four years he⁵ reestablished the Roman power, and compelled Mithridates to sign a treaty of peace. The defeated king agreed to give up all his conquests; to surrender eighty war vessels; and to pay 3000 talents (\$3,750,000). After imposing upon the disloyal cities of Asia Minor the immense fine of 20,000 talents (\$25,000,000), Sulla returned to Italy to find his own party overthrown, and himself an outlaw.

Cinna and the Marian Massacres. — During the absence of Sulla, Rome had passed through a reign of terror. The time had now come when parties sought to support themselves by slaughtering their opponents. The two consuls who were left in power when Sulla left Rome, were Cn. Octavius, a friend of Sulla, and L. Cornelius Cinna, a friend of Marius. Cinna, who was an extreme partisan, proposed to rescind the laws of Sulla and reënact those of Sulpicius. But the senate was vehemently opposed to any such scheme. When the assembly of the tribes met in the Forum to vote upon this proposal of Cinna, Octavius carried the day in an armed conflict in which ten thousand citizens are said to have lost their lives. But the victory of Octavius was short. Cinna was, it is true, deprived of his office; but following the example of his enemy Sulla, he appealed to the army for support.

At the same time Marius returned from his exile to aid the cause of Cinna. Uniting their forces, Marius and Cinna then

marched upon Rome. The city was taken. Marius saw that the time had now come to satisfy his vengeance for the wrongs which he thought had been done him. The gates of the city were closed, and the massacres began. The first victim was the consul Octavius, whose head was hung up in the Forum. Then followed the leaders of the senatorial party. For five days Marius was furious, and revelled in blood. The friends of Sulla were everywhere cut down. The city was a scene of murder, plunder, and outrage. After this spasm of slaughter a reign of terror continued for several months. No man's life was safe if he was suspected by Marius. Marius and Cinna then declared themselves to be consuls. But Marius held this, his seventh consulship, but a few days, when he died—a great man who had crumbled into ruins.

After the death of Marius, Cinna, the professed leader of the popular party, ruled with the absolute power of a despot. He declared himself consul each year, and named his own colleague. But he seemed to have no definite purpose, except to wipe out the work of Sulla, and to keep himself supreme. At last, hearing of the approach of Sulla, he led an army to prevent him from landing in Italy: but was killed in a mutiny of his own soldiers.

Sulla's War with the Marian Party.—Sulla landed in Italy (B.C. 83) with a victorious army of forty thousand men. He had restored the power of Rome against her enemies abroad: he now set to work to restore her authority against her enemies at home. He looked upon the popular party as a revolutionary faction, ruling with no sanction of law or justice. Its leaders since the death of Cinna were Cn. Papirius Carbo, the younger Marius, and Q. Sertorius. The landing of Sulla in Italy without disbanding his army was the signal for civil war. Southern Italy declared in his favor, and many prominent men looked to him as the deliverer of Rome. The choicest of his new allies was the son of Pompeius Strabo, then a young man of twenty-three, but whose future fame, as Pompey the Great, was destined to equal that of Sulla himself. Sulla marched to

Campania and routed the forces of one consul, while troops of the other consul deserted to him in a body. He then attacked the young Marius in Latium, defeated him, and shut him up in the town of Praeneste (see map, p. 46). Northern Italy was at the same time held in check by Pompey. A desperate battle was fought at Clusium, in Etruria (see map, p. 81), in which Sulla and Pompey defeated the army of Carbo. At last an army of Samnites which had joined the Marian cause was cut to pieces at the Colline gate (see map, p. 38) under the very walls of Rome. Sulla showed what might be expected of him when he ordered six thousand Samnite prisoners to be massacred in cold blood.

The Sullan Proscriptions. — With Italy at his feet and a victorious army at his back, Sulla, the champion of the senate, was now the supreme ruler of Rome. Before entering upon the work of reconstructing the government, he determined first of all to complete the work of destroying his enemies. It is sometimes said that Sulla was not a man of vindictive nature. Let us see what he did. He first outlawed all civil and military officers who had taken part in the revolution against him, and offered a reward of two talents (about \$2500) to the murderer of any of these men. He then posted a list (*proscriptio*) containing the names of those citizens whom he wished to have killed. He placed eighty names on the first list, two hundred and twenty more on the second, as many more on the third, and so on until nearly five thousand citizens had been put to death in Rome.

But these despotic acts were not confined to Rome: they extended to every city of Italy. "Neither temple, nor hospitable hearth, nor father's house," says Plutarch, "was free from murder." Sulla went to Praeneste, and having no time to examine each individual, had all the people brought to one spot to the number of twelve thousand, and ordered them to be massacred. His sense of justice was not satisfied by punishing the living. The infamous Catiline had murdered his own brother before the war had closed, and he asked Sulla to pro-

scribe him as though he were alive — which was done. The heads of the slain victims Sulla caused to be piled in the streets of Rome for public execration. The tomb of Marius himself was broken open and his ashes were scattered. Besides taking the lives of his fellow-citizens, Sulla confiscated the lands of Italy, swept away cities, and wasted whole districts. If the proscriptions of Sulla were not inspired by the mad fury of revenge which led to the Marian massacres, they were yet prompted by the merciless policy of a tyrant.

IV. THE DICTATORSHIP OF SULLA (B.C. 82-79)

The Office of Perpetual Dictator. — When Sulla had destroyed his enemies he turned to the work of reconstructing the government in the interests of the senate and the aristocracy. The first question with Sulla was, What office should he hold in order to accomplish all he wished to do? The Gracchi had exercised their great influence by being elected tribunes. Marius had risen to power through his successive consulships. But the office neither of tribune nor of consul was suited to the purposes of Sulla. He wished for absolute power — in fact, to hold the royal *imperium*. But since the fall of the Tarquins no man had ever dared assume the name of “king.” Sulla was shrewd enough to see how he could exercise absolute power under another name than that of king. The dictator was, in fact, a sort of temporary king. To make this office perpetual would be practically to restore the royal power. Accordingly, Sulla had himself declared dictator to hold the office as long as he pleased. All his previous acts were then confirmed. He was given the full power of life and death, the power to confiscate property, to distribute lands, to create and destroy colonies, and to regulate the provinces.

Military Support of Sulla's Power. — Sulla believed that a ruler to be strong must always be ready to draw the sword. He therefore did not mean to lose his hold upon his veteran soldiers. When his twenty-three legions were disbanded, they

were not scattered, but were settled in Italy as military colonies. Each legion formed the body of citizens in a certain town, the lands being confiscated and assigned to the soldiers. The legionaries were thus bound in gratitude to Sulla, and formed a devoted body of militia upon which he felt that he could rely. By means of these colonies, Sulla placed his power upon a military basis.

Restoration of the Senate. — It was one of Sulla's chief purposes to restore the senate to its former position as the chief ruling body. In the first place, he filled it up with three hundred new members, elected by the *comitia tributa* from the equites. The senatorial list was no longer to be made out by the censor, but every one who had been quaestor was now legally qualified to be a senator. In the next place, the jurors (*iudices*) in criminal trials were henceforth to be taken from the senate, and not from the equestrian order. But as the new senators were from this order, the two classes became reconciled; and Sulla succeeded in doing what Drusus had failed to accomplish. But more than all, no laws could hereafter be passed by the assembly of the tribes until first approved by the senate.

Weakening of the Assembly. — Sulla saw that the revolutionary acts of the last fifty years had been chiefly the work of the *comitia tributa* under the leadership of the tribunes. The other assembly — that of the centuries — had, it is true, equal power to make laws. But the assembly of the tribes was more democratic, and the making of laws had gradually passed into the hands of that body. Sulla took away from the tribes the legislative power, and gave to the senate the authority to propose all laws to be submitted to the centuries. The tendency of this change was to limit the assemblies to the mere business of electing the officers — the lower officers being elected by the tribes, and the higher officers by the centuries. To keep control of the elections Sulla enfranchised ten thousand slaves, and gave them the right to vote; these creatures of Sulla were known as "Cornelii," or Sulla's freedmen.

Changes in the Magistrates. — In Sulla's mind the most

revolutionary and dangerous office in the government was that of the tribune. This officer hitherto could practically control the state. He had had the chief control of legislation; and also by his veto he could stop the wheels of government. Sulla changed all this. He limited the power of the tribune to simple "intercession," that is, the protection of a citizen from an act of official injustice. He also provided that no tribune could be elected to the curule offices. The other officers were also looked after. The consuls and prætors must henceforth devote themselves to their civil duties in the city; and then as proconsuls and pro prætors they might afterward be assigned by the senate to the governorship of the provinces. Again, no one could be consul until he had been prætor, nor prætor until he had been quæstor; and the old law was enforced, that no one could hold the same office the second time until after an interval of ten years.

Reform of the Judicial System. — The most permanent part of Sulla's reforms was the creation of a regular system of criminal courts. He organized permanent commissions (*quaestiones perpetuae*) for the trial of different kinds of crimes. Every criminal case was thus tried before a regular court, composed of a presiding judge, or prætor, and a body of jurymen, called *iudices*. We must remember that whenever the word *iudices* is used in the political history of this period it refers to these jurors in criminal cases, who were first chosen from the senate, then from the equites, and now under Sulla from the senate again. The organization of regular criminal courts by Sulla was the wisest and most valuable part of his legislation.

Sulla's Abdication and Death. — After a reign of three years (B.C. 82–79), and after having placed the government securely in the hands of the senate, as he supposed, Sulla resigned the dictatorship. He retired to his country house at Pute'oli on the Bay of Naples. He spent the few remaining months of his life in writing his memoirs, which have unfortunately been lost. He hastened his end by dissipation, and died the next year (B.C. 78). The senate decreed him a

public funeral, the most splendid that Rome had ever seen. His body was buried in the Campus Martius. Upon the monument which was erected to his memory were inscribed these words: "No friend ever did him a kindness, and no enemy a wrong, without being fully repaid."

Sulla was a man of blood and iron. Cool and calculating, definite in his purpose, and unscrupulous in his methods, he was invincible in war and in peace. But the great part of the work which he seemed to accomplish so thoroughly did not long survive him. His great foreign enemy, Mithridates, soon renewed his wars with Rome. His boasted constitution fell in the next political conflict. The career of Sulla, like that of the Gracchi and of Marius, marks a stage in the decline of the republic and the establishment of the empire.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

- Merivale, *Gen. Hist.*, Ch. 32, "Rivalry of Marius and Sulla" (1).
 Mommsen, *Vol. III.*, Bk. IV., Ch. 10, "The Sullan Constitution" (2).
 Mommsen, *abridg.*, Ch. 22, "Marius as a Revolutionist" (2).
 How and Leigh, Ch. 39, "The Social War" (1).
 Shackburch, Ch. 28, "Mithridates in Asia and Greece" (1).
 Taylor, Ch. 11, "Cinna and Sulla" (1).
 Beesly, Ch. 15, "Sulla's Reactionary Measures" (6).
 Freeman, *Essay on "Sulla"* (3).
 Plutarch, "Marius," "Sulla" (11).

SPECIAL STUDY

THE ROMAN SENATE. — Gey, pp. 100-109 (8); Pallan, pp. 156-167 (1); Shackburch, pp. 266-268, 267-269 (1); How and Leigh, p. 208 (1); Merivale, *Gen. Hist.*, pp. 209-212 (1); Mommsen, *Vol. I.*, pp. 400-412 (2); Ramsay and Lanciani, pp. 254-263 (8); Harper's *Diet. Antiq.*, "Senatus" (8).

*The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

CHAPTER XXI

THE TIMES OF POMPEY AND CÆSAR

I. THE RISE OF POMPEY

Failures of the Sullan Party. — When Sulla resigned his power and placed the government in the hands of his party, he no doubt thought that he had secured the state from any further disturbance. He had destroyed all opposition, he fancied, by wiping out the Marian party. But as soon as he died, the remnants of this party began to reappear on every side. With the restoration of the senate's power there also returned all the old evils of the senatorial rule. The aristocratic party was still a selfish faction ruling for its own interests, and with little regard for the welfare of the people. The separation between the rich and the poor became more marked than ever. Luxury and dissipation were the passion of one class, and poverty and distress the condition of the other. The feebleness of the new government was evident from the start, and Sulla was scarcely dead when symptoms of reaction began to appear.

The Revolt of Lepidus (B.C. 77). — The first attempt to overthrow the work of Sulla was made by the consul M. Æmilius Lep'idus, a vain and petulant man, who aspired to be chief of the popular party. Lepidus proposed to restore to the tribunes the full power which Sulla had diminished, and then to rescind the whole Sullan constitution. But his colleague, Q. Lutatius Catulus,¹ had no sympathy with his schemes and opposed him at every step. To prevent a new civil war the senate bound the two consuls by an oath not to take up arms. But Lepidus disregarded this oath, raised an army, and marched on Rome. He was soon defeated by Catulus with the aid of Cn. Pompey. It is well for us to notice that Pompey by this act came into greater prominence in politics as a supporter of the senate and the Sullan party.

¹ Son of the colleague of Marius (p. 165).

The Sertorian War and Pompey (B.C. 80-72). — A much more formidable attempt at revolution was made by Q. Sertorius, who was one of the friends of Marius, and who had escaped to Spain during the Sullan proscriptions. Sertorius was a man of noble character, brave, prudent, generous, and withal a very able soldier. The native tribes of Spain were chafing under the Roman governors; and Spain itself had become the retreat of many Marian refugees. Sertorius, therefore, formed the plan of delivering Spain from the power of Rome, and setting up an independent republic. (For map of Spain, see p. 112.) He won the devotion and loyalty of the Spanish provincials, whom he placed on an equality with his Roman subjects. He organized the cities after the Italian model. He encouraged the natives to adopt the arts of civilization. He formed a school at Osea, where the young men were instructed in Latin and Greek. He also defeated the Roman legions under Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius, who had been sent against him.

The Roman senate was firmly convinced that something must be done to save the Spanish province. Pompey was therefore appointed proconsul in Spain — although he had never been consul or held any other civil office. Sertorius showed what kind of general he was when he defeated the young Pompey in the first battle, and

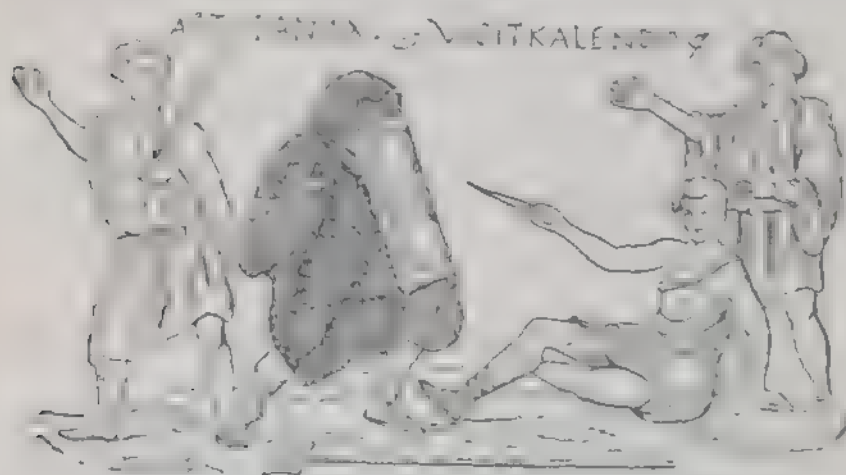


HEAD OF THE STATUE OF POMPEY (So-called)

might have destroyed his army if Metellus had not come to his assistance. But fortune at last frowned upon Sertorius and favored Pompey. Sertorius, in a fit of wrath, caused the boys

in the school at Osea to be put to death. This cruel act aroused the indignation of the Spanish subjects. It was not long before he himself was murdered by one of his lieutenants. With Sertorius out of the way, Pompey obtained an easy victory; and Spain was reduced to submission.

War of the Gladiators, and Crassus (B.C. 73-71).—Before the war with Sertorius was ended, the senate was called upon to meet a far greater danger at home. In order to prepare the gladiators for their bloody contests in the arena, training



ROMAN GLADIATORS

schools had been established in different parts of Italy. At Capua, in one of these so-called schools (which were rather prisons), was confined a brave Thracian, Spartacus. With no desire to be "butchered to make a Roman holiday,"

Spartacus incited his companions to revolt. Seventy of them fled to the crater of Vesuvius and made it a stronghold. Reënforced by other slaves and outlaws of all descriptions, they grew into a motley mass of one hundred thousand desperate men. They ravaged the fields and plundered the cities, until all Italy seemed at their mercy. Four Roman armies were defeated in succession. With Pompey still absent in Spain, the senate sought some other leader to crush this fearful insurrection. The command fell to M. Crassus, who finally defeated Spartacus and his army. A remnant of five thousand men fled to the north, hoping to escape into Gaul; but they fell in with Pompey, who was just returning from Spain, and were destroyed. By this stroke of luck, Pompey had the assurance to claim that in addition to closing the war in Spain, he had also finished the war with the gladiators.

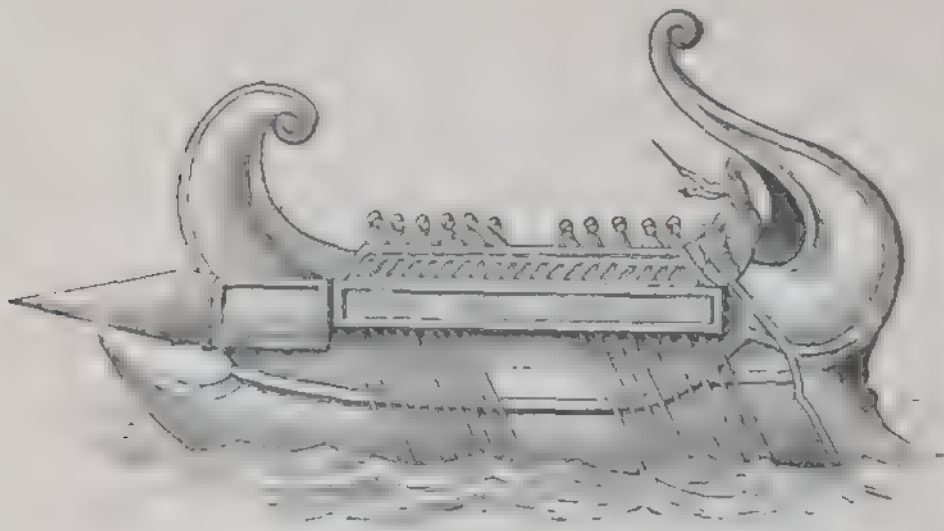
First Consulship of Pompey and Crassus (B.C. 70).—With their victorious legions, Pompey and Crassus now returned to

the capital and claimed the consulship. Neither of these men had any great ability as a politician. But Crassus, on account of his wealth, had influence with the capitalists; and Pompey, on account of his military successes, was becoming a sort of popular hero, as Marius had been before him. The popular party was now beginning to gather up its scattered forces, and to make its influence felt. With this party, therefore, as offering the greater prospect of success, the two soldiers formed a coalition, and were elected consuls.

The chief event of the consulship of Pompey and Crassus was the complete overthrow of the Sullan constitution. The old power was given back to the tribunes. The legislative power was restored to the assembly, which now could pass laws without the approval of the senate. The exclusive right to furnish jurors in criminal cases was taken away from the senate; and henceforth the jurors (*judices*) were to be chosen, one third from the senate, one third from the equites, and one third from the wealthy men below the rank of the equites (the so-called *tribuni aerarii*). Also, the power of the censors to revise the list of the senators, which Sulla had abolished, was restored; and as a result of this, sixty-four senators were expelled from the senate. By these measures the Sullan régime was practically destroyed, and the supremacy of the senate taken away. This was a great triumph for the popular party. After the close of his consulship, Pompey, with affected modesty, retired to private life.

Pompey and the War with the Pirates. — But Pompey was soon needed to rescue Rome from still another danger. Since the decline of the Roman navy the sea had become infested with pirates. These robbers made their home in Crete and Cilicia (see map, p. 112), from which they made their depredations. They had practically the control of the whole Mediterranean, and preyed upon the commerce of the world. They plundered the cities of nearly every coast. They even cut off the grain supplies of Rome, so that Italy was threatened with a famine. To meet this emergency a law was passed (*lex*

Gabinia, B.C. 67) giving to Pompey for three years supreme control over the Mediterranean Sea and its coasts for fifty



PIRATE VESSEL

miles inland. He was given five hundred ships and as many soldiers as he might wish. The public treasures and all the resources of the provinces were placed at his disposal.

Such extraordinary power had never before been given to any man, except Sulla. But Pompey fully satisfied the expectations of the people. Within ninety days from the time he set sail, he had cleared the whole Mediterranean Sea of its pirates. He had captured three thousand vessels, slain ten thousand of the enemy, and taken twenty thousand prisoners. Cicero said in his rhetorical way that "Pompey had made his preparations for the war at the end of the winter, began it in the early spring, and finished it in the middle of the summer." Pompey remained in the East to settle affairs in Cilicia, and perhaps to win fresh laurels as a soldier.

Pompey and the Conquest of the East. — The splendid success of Pompey against the pirates led his friends to believe that he was the only man who

could bring to a close the long and tedious war against Mithridates. Since the death of Sulla the king of Pontus had continued to be a menace to Rome. The campaigns in the East had



COIN OF MITHRIDATES

been conducted by L. Licinius Lucullus, who was a really able general, but who was charged with prolonging the war in order to enrich himself. There was some ground, too, for this charge: for, as it was afterward well said of him, "he

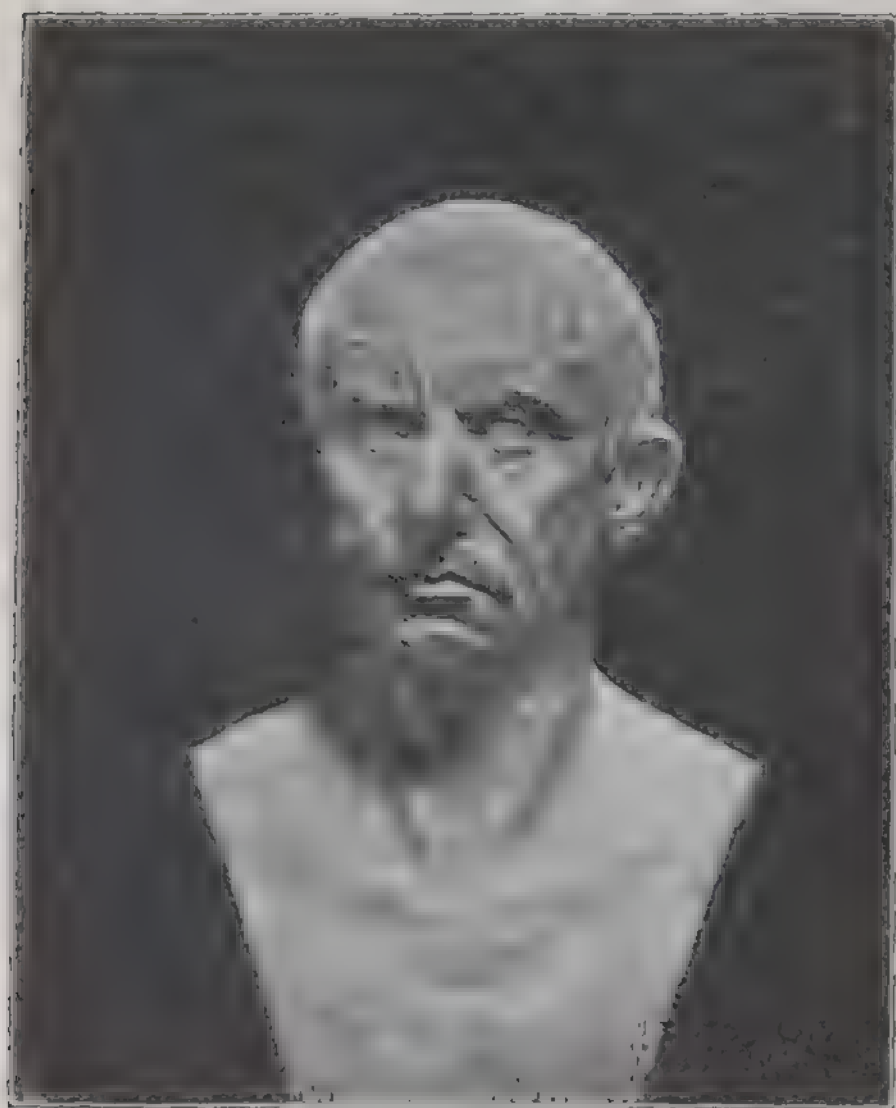
transplanted the luxury of Asia to Rome." Lucullus had already gained several victories over Mithridates; but the war still lingered. A law was then passed at Rome (*lex Manilia*, B.C. 66) displacing Lucullus and giving to Pompey supreme control over all the Roman dominions in the East. Armed with this extensive authority, Pompey began the conquest of the East. He soon succeeded in defeating Mithridates, and in driving him from his kingdom. He then invaded Syria and took possession of that kingdom. He next entered Judea, and after a severe struggle succeeded in capturing Jerusalem (B.C. 63). All the eastern coasts of the Mediterranean were now subject to Pompey. Out of the conquered countries he formed four new provinces: (1) Bithynia with Pontus; (2) Syria; (3) Cilicia; and (4) Crete. When he returned to Italy he had the most successful and brilliant record that any Roman general had ever achieved.

II. THE GROWING INFLUENCE OF CÆSAR

Rome during the Absence of Pompey. — During the absence of Pompey in the East (B.C. 67–61) the politics of the capital were mainly in the hands of three men — Marcus Porcius Cato, Marcus Tullius Cicero, and Gaius Julius Cæsar. Cato was the grandson of Cato the Censor; and like his great ancestor he was a man of firmness and of the strictest integrity. He was by nature a conservative, and came to be regarded as the leader of the aristocratic party. He contended for the power of the senate as it existed in the days of old. But lacking the highest qualities of a statesman, he could not prevent the inroads which were being made upon the constitution.

On the other hand, Julius Cæsar was coming to the front as the leader of the popular party. Though born of patrician stock, he was related by family ties to Marius and Cinna, the old leaders of the people. He was wise enough to see that the cause of the people was in the ascendancy. He aroused the sympathies of the Italians by favoring the extension of the

Roman franchise to cities beyond the Po. He appealed to the populace by the splendor of the games which he gave as curule



CATO

ædile. He allied himself to Crassus, whose great wealth and average ability he could use to good advantage.

Between these two party leaders stood Cicero, who, in spite of his vanity, was a man of great intellect and of excellent administrative ability; but being a moderate man, he was liable to be misjudged by both parties. He was also what was called a "new man" (*novus homo*), that is, the first of his family to obtain the senatorial rank.

Cicero was made consul, and rose to the highest distinction during the absence of Pompey.

Cicero and the Catilinian Conspiracy. — If Cicero had done nothing else, he would have been entitled to the gratitude of his country for two acts — the impeachment of Verres and the defeat of Catiline. Cicero stood for law and order, and generally for constitutional government. By his impeachment of Verres, the corrupt governor of Sicily, he brought to light, as had never been done before, the infamous methods employed in the administration of the provinces. He not only brought to light this corruption; he also brought to justice one of the greatest offenders.

Then by the defeat of Catiline during his consulship Cicero saved Rome from the execution of a most infamous plot. Catiline was a man of great influence with a certain class, and had already become quite a politician. He had been a parti-

son of Sulla; had held the office of prætor; and had twice been defeated for the consulship. But if one half of the accounts of him are true, he was a man of most abandoned and depraved character. When Cato threatened to prosecute him, he said that if a fire were kindled against him he would put it out, not with water, but by a general ruin. Ruined himself in fortune, he gathered about him the ruined classes — insolvent debtors, desperate adventurers, and the rabble of Rome. It is said that his plot involved the purpose to kill the consuls, massacre the senators, and to burn the city of Rome. The plot was discovered by Cicero, and was foiled. Cicero delivered in the senate an oration against Catiline, who was present and attempted to reply; but his voice was drowned with the cries of "Traitor," and he fled from the senate to his camp in Etruria. Here a desperate battle ensued; and Catiline was defeated and slain, with three thousand of his followers (B.C. 62). Five of his fellow-conspirators were condemned to death by the senate; and Cicero put the judgment into execution. This act afterward exposed Cicero to the charge of executing Roman citizens without a proper trial. But the people hailed Cicero as the savior of Rome, the Father of his Country.



CICERO

It was charged that Cæsar was implicated in the plot of Catiline; but this charge was answered when Cicero declared that Cæsar had done all that a good citizen could do to crush it. The great success of Cicero gave to the senate and the moderate party a temporary advantage. But the senate under

the leadership of Cato and Lucullus had not the skill to retain this advantage.

The First Triumvirate—Pompey, Cæsar, and Crassus (B.C. 60).—Pompey soon returned to Italy from his victories in the East (B.C. 61). Like Marius returning from the Cimbrie war, he was given a magnificent triumph. But like Sulla returning from the East, he was feared by those in power, lest he might use his victorious army to overthrow the existing government, and reign in its stead. To allay all suspicion, Pompey disbanded his army as soon as it touched the soil of Italy; and he hoped that his great services would give him the proud position of the first citizen of Rome. But in this he was disappointed. By disbanding his army, he had given up the source of his influence. Still, he hoped that the senate would at least confirm his arrangements in the East and reward his veterans by grants of land. In this, too, he was disappointed. Yielding to the influence of Lucullus, who had been deposed from the command in the East, the senate refused either to confirm his acts, or to reward his soldiers. Pompey had thus a serious grievance against the senate.

But this grievance of Pompey might not have been very dangerous, if the senate had not also offended Cæsar. Cæsar was rapidly gaining power and influence. He had held the offices of military tribune, quæstor, ædile, pontifex maximus, and prætor. Then as proprætor he had been sent to Spain, where he laid the basis of his military fame. On his return from Spain the senate thwarted him in his desire to have a triumph. In other ways Cæsar was embarrassed by the senate. But he was beginning to feel his power, and was not the man to put up with petty annoyances. He accordingly entered into a coalition with Pompey, to which Crassus was also admitted. This coalition, or self-constituted league, is known as the "first triumvirate." It was formed for the purpose of opposing the senatorial party, and of advancing the personal designs of its members. By the terms of this compact Pompey was to have his acts confirmed and his veterans rewarded;

Crassus was to have an opportunity to increase his fortune; and Cæsar was to have the consulship, and afterward a command in Gaul. Pompey was ostensibly at the head of the league, but Cæsar was its ruling spirit.

The Consulship of Cæsar (B.C. 59). — The first fruit of the new alliance was the election of Cæsar to the consulship. On his election Cæsar went faithfully to work to fulfill his obligations to Pompey, and to strengthen his hold upon the people. He obtained, in the first place, the passage of an agrarian law which provided for the veterans of Pompey, and which also gave estates in Campania to the needy citizens of Rome. In the next place, he secured a law confirming all the acts of Pompey in the East. Finally, he obtained the passage of a law which pleased and conciliated the equites. The tax collectors had made a high offer for the privilege of collecting the taxes of Asia, and afterward concluded that they had made a bad bargain. Accordingly, Cæsar took their part, and succeeded in remitting one third of what they had agreed to give.



CÆSAR (Naples)

These laws were bitterly opposed by the senators, but without success. Pompey was now satisfied; the people were pleased; and the capitalists were reconciled. The senate under its bad management was thus outgeneraled by Cæsar; and it lost the temporary advantage it had gained during the consulship of Crassus. So completely did Julius Cæsar overshadow his weak colleague, Bibulus, who was a partisan of the senate, that this term of

office was humorously called the consulship of Julius and Cæsar. At the close of his consulship Cæsar obtained the government of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum, to which was added Transalpine Gaul (Narbonensis). This power was granted for five years. Cæsar was thus furnished with an opportunity for the exercise of his military talents, and the building up of a powerful army devoted to his cause.

Clodius and the Banishment of Cicero. — Before Cæsar departed for his provinces, he was careful to see that his interests would be looked after during his absence. He chose as his agent P. Clodius, an unscrupulous politician whose personal character was not above reproach, but whose hostility to the senate could be depended upon. To Clodius, who held the position of tribune, was given the task, first, of keeping hold of the populace; and, next, of getting out of the way as best he could the two most influential men in the senate, Cicero and Cato.

The first part of this task he easily accomplished by passing a law that grain should hereafter be distributed to the Roman people free of all expense.

To carry out the second part of his task was not so easy — to remove from the senate its chief leaders. Cato was disposed of, however, by a law annexing Cyprus (see map, p. 202) to the Roman dominion, and appointing him as its governor. Cicero was also got rid of by a law which Clodius succeeded in passing, and which provided that any magistrate who had put a Roman citizen to death without a trial should be banished. Cicero knew that this act was intended for him, and that it referred to his execution of the Catilinian conspirators. After vainly attempting to enlist sympathy in his own behalf, Cicero retired to Greece (B.C. 58) and devoted himself to literary pursuits. With their leaders thus removed, the senate was for a time paralyzed.

Renewal of the Triumvirate at Lucca (B.C. 56). — When Cæsar had departed from Rome to undertake his work in Gaul, Clodius began to feel his own importance and to rule with a

high hand. The policy of this able and depraved demagogue was evidently to govern Rome with the aid of the mob. He paraded the streets with armed bands, and used his political influence to please the rabble. Pompey as well as the senate became disgusted with the regime of Clodius. They united their influence, and obtained the recall of Cicerō from exile. At the same time Cato returned from his exile in Cyprus. On the return of the old senatorial leaders, it looked as though the senate would once more regain its power, and the triumvirate would go to pieces.

But the watchful eye of Cæsar detected these symptoms of discontent, and a conference of the leaders took place at Luca, a town in northern Italy (see map, p. 81), where a new arrangement was brought about. Cæsar was now to be given an additional term of five years in Gaul, and to be elected consul at the end of that time; Pompey and Crassus were to receive the consulship; and at the close of their term of office Pompey was to have the provinces of Spain and Africa, and the money-loving Crassus was to receive the rich province of Syria. In this way they would divide the world among them. The terms of the agreement were apparently satisfactory to the parties concerned. Cæsar now felt that matters in Rome were safe, at least until he could complete his work in Gaul and fortify his own power with a devoted and invincible army.

Cæsar and his Province.—It is not easy for us to say exactly what was in the mind of Cæsar when he selected Gaul for his province. It was at this time the most formidable part of the Roman territory. It was the home of barbarians, with no wealth like that of Asia, and few relics of a former civilisation like those of Spain and Africa. But there were three or four things, no doubt, that Cæsar saw clearly.

In the first place, he saw that the power which should hereafter rule the Roman state must be a military power. Sulla had succeeded by the help of his army, and Pompey had failed by giving up his army. If he himself should ever establish his own power, it must be by the aid of a strong military force.

patrician men had seen the need of extra-Italian colonies. Cato the Elder had sought an outlet in Africa. He himself had advanced settlements in the valley of the Po. What Italy needed most, after a stable government, was an outlet for her surplus population. His own ambition and the highest interests of his country Cæsar believed to be at one. By conquering Gaul he would be fighting not for Pompey or the senate, but for himself and Rome.

The Conquest of Gaul (B.C. 58-51).—The provinces over which Cæsar was placed at first included Cisalpine Gaul, that is, the valley of the Po; Illyria, that is, the strip of territory across the Adriatic Sea; and Narbonensis, that is, a small part of Transalpine Gaul lying about the mouth of the Rhone. Within eight years he brought under his power all the territory bounded by the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Rhine, and the Atlantic Ocean, or about what corresponds to the modern countries of France, Belgium, and Holland.

He at first conquered the Helvetii, a tribe lying on the outskirts of his own province of Narbonensis. He then met and drove back a great invasion of Germans, who, under a prince called Ariovistus, had crossed the Rhine, and threatened to overrun the whole of Gaul. He then pushed into the northern parts of Gaul, and conquered the Nervii and the neighboring tribes. He overcame the Veneti on the Atlantic coast, and conquered Aquitania. He also made two invasions into Britain (b.c. 55, 54), crossed the Rhine into Germany, and revealed to the Roman soldiers countries they had never seen before. After once subduing the various tribes of Gaul, he was finally called upon to suppress a general insurrection, led by a powerful leader called Vercingetorix. The conquest of Gaul was then completed.

A large part of the population had been either slain in war or reduced to slavery. The new territory was peopled by bestowing homes upon the Gallic chiefs, and self-government upon the surviving tribes. The Roman legions were distributed through the territory; but Cæsar established no military colo-

nies like those of Sulla. The Roman arts and manners were encouraged; and Gaul was brought within the pale of civilization.

III. CIVIL WAR BETWEEN POMPEY AND CÆSAR

Dissolution of the Triumvirate. — While Cæsar was absent in Gaul, the ties which bound the three leaders together were becoming weaker and weaker. The position of Crassus tended somewhat, as long as he was alive, to allay the growing suspicion between the two great rivals. But after Crassus departed for the East to take control of his province in Syria, he invaded Parthia, was badly defeated, lost the Roman standards, and was himself killed (B.C. 53). The death of Crassus practically dissolved the triumvirate; or we might rather say, it reduced the triumvirate to a duumvirate. But the relation between the two leaders was now no longer one of friendly support, but one of mutual distrust.

The Sole Consulship of Pompey (B.C. 52). — The growing estrangement between Pompey and Cæsar was increased when the senate appointed Pompey "sole consul." This was not intended as an affront to Cæsar, but was evidently demanded to meet a real emergency. The city was distracted by continual street fights between the armed bands of Clodius, the demagogue, and those of T. Annius Milo, who professed to be defending the cause of the senate. In one of these broils Clodius was killed. His excited followers made his death the occasion of riotous proceedings. His body was burned in the Forum by the wild mob, and the senate house was destroyed by fire. In the anarchy which followed, the senate felt obliged to confer some extraordinary power upon Pompey. On the proposal of Cato, he was appointed "consul without a colleague." Under this unusual title Pompey restored order to the state, and was looked upon as "the savior of society." He became more and more closely bound to the cause of the senate; and the senate recognized its obligations to him by prolonging his command in Spain for five years.

The Rupture between Pompey and Cæsar. — It was a part of the agreement made at the conference of Lucca, we remember, that Cæsar was to receive the consulship at the close of his command in Gaul. He naturally wished to retain the control of his army until he had been elected to his new office. The senate was determined that he should not, but should present himself at Rome as a private citizen before his election. Cæsar well knew that he would be helpless as a private citizen in the presence of the enemies who were seeking to destroy him. Cato had already declared that he would prosecute him as soon as he ceased to be proconsul in Gaul. Cæsar promised, however, to give up his province and his army, if Pompey would do the same; but Pompey refused. The senate then called upon Cæsar to give up two of his legions on the plea that they were needed in the Parthian war. The legions were given up; but instead of being sent to the East they were stationed in Campania. Upon further demands, Cæsar agreed to give up eight legions of his army, if he were allowed to retain two legions in Cisalpine Gaul until the time of his election. This the senate refused; and demanded that he must give up his province and his whole army by a certain day, or be declared a public enemy. The senate had offered him humiliation or war. He chose war, and crossed the Rubicon (B.C. 49), the stream which separated his province of Cisalpine Gaul from Italy.

Campaigns in Italy, Spain, and Greece. — The contest was now reduced to a struggle between the two greatest soldiers which Rome had ever produced. Cæsar knew the value of time; at the instant when he decided upon war, he invaded Italy with a single legion. Pompey, unprepared for such a sudden move and not relying upon the two legions which the senate had taken from Cæsar, was obliged to withdraw to Brundisium (see map, p. 114). Besieged in this place by Cæsar, he skillfully withdrew his forces to Greece, and left Cæsar master of Italy.

Cæsar was now between two hostile forces, the army in

Spain under Pompey's lieutenants, and the army in Greece under Pompey himself. He must now defeat these armies separately before they could be united against him. As he had no fleet with which to follow Pompey into Greece, he decided at once to attack the army in Spain. He dispatched his Gallic legions across the Pyrenees, while he secured himself at Rome. He entered the city, and dispelled the fear that there might be repeated the horrors of the first civil war. He showed that he was neither a Marius nor a Sulla. Rejoining his legions in Spain, he soon defeated Pompey's lieutenants. When he returned to Rome he found that he had been proclaimed dictator. He resigned this title and accepted the office of consul.

In the beginning of the next year (B.C. 48), with the few ships that he had collected, he transported his troops from Brundisium across the Adriatic to meet the army of Pompey. In the first conflict, at Dyrra'chium, he was defeated. He then retreated across the peninsula (see map, p. 128) in the direction of Pharsa'lus in order to draw Pompey away from his supplies on the seacoast. The two generals met at Pharsalus (B.C. 48), when Cæsar with about twenty thousand men completely defeated the army of Pompey, which numbered more than forty thousand. Pompey fled to Egypt, where he was treacherously murdered. Cæsar had now accomplished the first part of his work, by taking possession of Italy and defeating the two armies of Pompey in Spain and Greece. He had established his title to supremacy. Especial honors were paid to him at Rome. He was made consul for five years, tribune for life, and dictator for one year.

Campaigns in Egypt, Asia, Africa, and Spain. --- Cæsar now entered upon the second part of his work — that of pacifying the provinces. While in Egypt, he became fascinated by the charms of Cleopa'tra, and settled a dispute in which she was involved. That country was disturbed by a civil war between this princess and her brother Ptolemy. Each claimed the right to the throne. Cæsar defeated the forces of Ptolemy

and assigned the throne to Cleopatra, under the protection of two Roman legions.

On his way back to Italy he passed through Asia Minor. Here he found Phar'naces, the son of the great Mithridates, stirring up a revolt in Pontus. At the battle of Zela (47 B.C.) he destroyed the armies of this prince, and restored the Asiatic provinces, recording his speedy victory in the famous words, "*Veni, vidi, vici.*"

The armies of Cæsar had now swept over all the provinces of Rome, except Africa. Here the Pompeian leaders, assisted by the king of Numidia, determined to make a last stand against the conqueror. Their forces were under Cato, who held Utica, and Metellus Scipio, who commanded in the field. After subduing a mutiny of his tenth legion by a single word, — calling the men "citizens," instead of "fellow-soldiers," — Cæsar invaded Africa. The battle of Thapsus (B.C. 46) destroyed the last hope of the Pompeian party. The republican forces were defeated; and Cato, the chief of the senatorial party, committed suicide at Utica. In this war Numidia was conquered and attached to the province of Africa. All resistance to Cæsar's power was now at an end, except a brief revolt in Spain, led by the sons of Pompey, which was soon put down, the enemy being crushed (B.C. 45) at the battle of Munda (see map, p. 112).

IV. THE RULE OF JULIUS CÆSAR

Cæsar's Triumphs and Titles. — When Cæsar returned to Rome after the battle of Thapsus, he came not as the servant of the senate, but as master of the world. He crowned his victories by four splendid triumphs, one for Gaul, one for Egypt, one for Pontus, and one for Numidia. He made no reference to the civil war: and no citizens were led among his captives. His victory was attended by no massacres, no proscriptions, no confiscations. He was as generous in peace as he had been relentless in war. Cæsar was great enough to forgive

his enemies. A general amnesty was proclaimed; and friend and foe were treated alike. We may see the kind of power which he exercised by the titles which he received. He was consul, dictator, controller of public morals (*præfectus morum*), tribune, pontifex



JULIUS CÆSAR (Capitol)

maximus, and chief of the senate (*princeps senatus*). He thus gathered up in his own person the powers which had been scattered among the various republican officers. The name of "impera'tor" with which the soldiers had been accustomed to salute a victorious general, was now made an official title, and prefixed to his name. In Cæsar was thus embodied the one-man power which had been growing up during the civil wars. He was in fact the first Roman emperor.

Cæsar's Political Reforms. —

Cæsar held his great power only for a short time. But the reforms which he made are enough to show us his policy, and to enable us to judge of him as a statesman. The first need of Rome was a stable government based on the interest of the whole people. The senate had failed to secure such a government; and so had the popular assemblies led by the tribunes. Cæsar believed that the only government suited to Rome was a democratic monarchy — a government in which the supreme power should be held permanently by a single man, and exercised, not for the benefit of himself or any single class, but for the benefit of the whole state. Let us see how his changes accomplished this end.

In the first place, the senate was changed to meet this view. It had hitherto been a comparatively small body.

drawn from a single class and ruling for its own interests. Cæsar increased the number to nine hundred members, and filled it up with representative men of all classes, not simply nobles, but also *equites* — Senators, Cædils, military officers, sons of freedmen, and others. It was to be not a legislative body, but an advisory body, to inform the monarch of the condition and wants of Italy and the provinces. In the next place, he extended the Roman franchise to the inhabitants beyond the Po, and to many cities in the provinces, especially in Transalpine Gaul and Spain. All his political changes tended to break down the distinction between nobles and commons, between Italians and the provincials, and to make of all the people of the empire one nation.

Cæsar's Economic Reforms. — The most great need of Rome was the improvement of the condition of the lower classes. Cæsar well knew that the condition of the people could not be changed in a day; but he believed that the government ought not to encourage pauperism by helping those who ought to help themselves. There were three hundred and twenty thousand persons at Rome to whom grain was distributed. He reduced this number to one hundred and fifty thousand, or more than one half. He provided means of employment for the idle, by constructing new buildings in the city, and other public works; and also by enforcing the law that one third of the labor employed on landed estates should be free labor. As the land of Italy was so completely occupied, he encouraged the establishment, in the provinces, of agricultural colonies which would not only tend to relieve the poorer class, but to Romanize the empire. He relieved the debtor class by a bankrupt law which permitted the insolvent debtor to escape imprisonment by turning over his property to his creditors. In such ways as these, while not pretending to abolish poverty, he provided better means for the poorer classes to obtain a living.

His Reform of the Provincial System. — The disposition of the Roman republic was becoming more severe and unjust than in

the provinces. This was due to two things — the arbitrary authority of the governor, and the wretched system of farming the taxes. The governor ruled the province, not for the benefit of the provincials, but for the benefit of himself. It is said that the proconsul hoped to make three fortunes out of his province — one to pay his debts, one to bribe the jury if he were brought to trial, and one to keep himself. The tax collector also looked upon the property of the province as a harvest to be divided between the Roman treasury and himself. Cæsar put a check upon this system of robbery. The governor was now made a responsible agent of the emperor; and the collection of taxes was placed under a more rigid supervision. The provincials found in Cæsar a protector; because his policy involved the welfare of all his subjects.

His Other Reforms and Projects.— The most noted of Cæsar's other changes was the reform of the calendar, which has remained as he left it, with slight change, down to the present day. He also intended to codify the Roman law; to provide for the founding of public libraries; to improve the architecture of the city; to drain the Pontine Marshes for the improvement of the public health; to cut a channel through the Isthmus of Corinth; and to extend the empire to its natural limits, the Euphrates, the Danube, and the Rhine. These projects show the comprehensive mind of Cæsar. That they would have been carried out in great part, if he had lived, we can scarcely doubt, when we consider his wonderful executive genius and the works he actually accomplished in the short time in which he held his power.

The Assassination of Cæsar.— If Cæsar failed, it was because he did not adjust himself sufficiently to the conservative spirit of the time. There were still living at Rome men who were blindly attached to the old republican forms. To them the reforms of Cæsar looked like a work of destruction, rather than a work of creation. They saw in his projects a scheme for reviving the kingship. It was said that when Cæsar was offered a crown he looked at it wistfully; and that he had selected his nephew Octavius as his royal heir.

The men who hated Cæsar, and who conspired to kill him, were men who had themselves received special favors from him. The leading conspirators, M. Brutus and C. Cassius, had both served in Pompey's army, and had been pardoned by Cæsar and promoted to offices under his government. Joined by some fifty other conspirators, these men formed a plot to kill Cæsar in the senate house. The story of his assassination has been told by Plutarch and made immortal by Shakespeare. When the appointed day came, the Ides of March (March 15, B.C. 44), Cæsar was struck down by the daggers of his treacherous friends, and he fell at the foot of Pompey's statue. It has been said that the murder of Cæsar was the most senseless act that the Romans ever committed. His death deprived Rome of the greatest man she ever produced. But the work of the conspirators did not destroy the work of Cæsar.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Liddell, Ch. 67, "The Second Civil War" (1).¹

Shuckburgh, Ch. 42, "Pompey in the East" (1).

How and Leigh, Ch. 47, "Cicero and Catiline" (1).

Merivale, Gen. Hist., Ch. 40, "The First Triumvirate" (1).

Mommsen, Vol. IV., Bk. V., Ch. 11, "The Old Republic and New Monarchy" (2).

Mommsen, abridged, Ch. 35, "Joint Rule of Pompey and Cæsar" (2).

Pelham, Bk. V., Ch. 1, "The Dictatorship of Julius" (1).

Taylor, Ch. 15, "Cæsar" (1).

Shakespeare, "Julius Cæsar" (36).

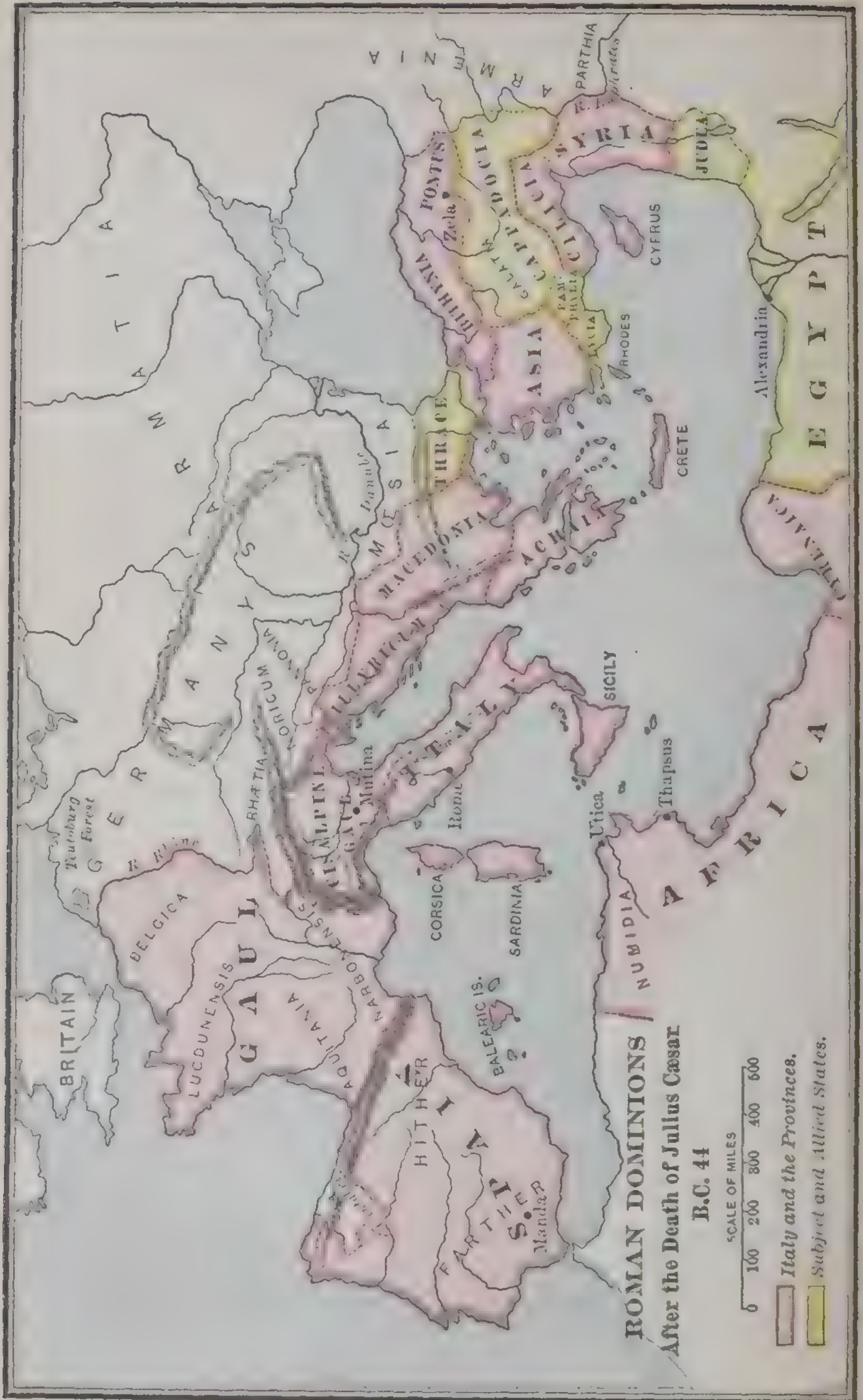
Plutarch, "Sertorius," "Lucullus," "Pompey," "Crassus," "Cato the Younger," "Cæsar," "Cicero" (11).

SPECIAL STUDY

CÆSAR'S CAMPAIGNS IN GAUL. — How and Leigh, Ch. 49 (1) ; Shuckburgh, Ch. 44 (1) ; Merivale, Gen. Hist., Ch. 41 (1) ; Merivale, Triumvirates, Ch. 5 (6) ; Merivale, Empire, Chs. 5-12 (7) ; Dodge, Julius Cæsar, Chs. 8-14 (22).

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

PROGRESSIVE MAP No. 5.



CHAPTER XXII

THE TIMES OF ANTONY AND OCTAVIUS

I. THE RISE OF ANTONY AND OCTAVIUS

Rome after the Death of Cæsar. — The men who murdered Cæsar considered themselves as “liberators” of the republic. Whatever may have been their motives, they seem to have taken little thought as to how Rome would be governed after they had killed their tyrant. If they thought that the senate would take up the powers it had lost, and successfully rule the republic, they were grievously mistaken. The only leading man of the senate who had survived the last civil war was Cicero; but Cicero with all his learning and eloquence could not take the place of Cæsar. What Rome needed was what the liberators had taken from her, a master mind of broad views and of great executive power.



ANTONY

We need not be surprised that the death of Cæsar was followed by confusion and dismay. No one knew which way to look or what to expect. Soon there appeared new actors upon the scene, men struggling for the supreme power in the state — M. Anto'nus (An'tony), the friend of Cæsar and his fellow-consul; C. Octavius, his adopted son and heir; M. Æmilius Lepidus,¹

¹ Son of the Lepidus who opposed the Sullan party (p. 180).

his master of horse; Sextus Pompeius, his previous enemy and the son of his greatest rival; while Cicero still raised his voice in defense of what he regarded as his country's freedom.

The Supremacy of Antony. — The first to take advantage of the confusion which followed Cæsar's death was Marcus Antonius. With the aid of Lepidus he got possession of Cæsar's will and other papers, and seized his treasury. He influenced the senate to confirm all of Cæsar's acts, and obtained permission to speak at his public funeral. He made a strong appeal to the populace to avenge the death of their great friend; and read the will of Cæsar, which left his palace and gardens to the people, and a legacy to every citizen. Excited to fury by the eloquence of Antony, the people seized firebrands from the burning funeral pile, and rushed through the streets swearing vengeance to the so-called liberators. The liberators were obliged to flee from the city; and Antony was for the time supreme. As the senate



THE YOUNG OCTAVIUS

had confirmed Cæsar's acts, and as Antony had Cæsar's papers, which were supposed to contain these acts, he assumed the rôle of Cæsar's executor and did what he pleased. The chief liberators hastened to the provinces to which they had previously been assigned by Cæsar — Cassius to Syria, Marcus Brutus to Macedonia, and Decimus Brutus to Cisalpine Gaul.

The Rise of Octavius. — Antony's dream of power was soon disturbed by the appearance of the young Octavius, Cæsar's grand-nephew and adopted son. Although a young man — only nineteen — he

was a born politician, and soon became Antony's greatest rival. He assumed his adopted name, Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus, and claimed his inheritance and the treasures which had fallen into Antony's hands. But Antony said that these were public moneys, and that they had been spent in the interests of the Roman state.

Octavius (as we shall continue to call him) now for the first time showed that adroitness for which he was always distinguished. Antony had raised the false hopes of the people by reading Caesar's will, which promised a legacy to every citizen. The people had heard the will; but they had not yet received the promised legacies. To humiliate Antony and to insure his own popularity, the young Octavius sold his own estates, borrowed money of his friends, and paid the legacies which Caesar had promised to the people. By this act Octavius displaced Antony as the people's friend. The young heir grew so rapidly in popular favour that his influence was sought both by Cicero, who represented the senate, and by Antony, who represented himself.

Cicero's Attack upon Antony. — Cicero thought that everything should be done to weaken the power of Antony, and to prevent any possible coalition between him and the young Octavius. The hostility between Cicero and Antony grew to be bitter and relentless; and they were pitted against each other on the floor of the senate. But in a war of words Antony was no match for Cicero. By a series of famous speeches known as the "Philippics," the popularity of Antony was crushed; and he retired from Rome to seek the victory upon other fields. He claimed Cisalpine Gaul as his province. But this province was still held by Decimus Brutus, one of the liberators, to whom the senate looked for military support.

When Antony attempted to gain possession of this territory, Cicero thought he saw an opportunity to use Octavius in the interests of the senate. Accordingly Antony was declared a public enemy; Octavius was made a senator with the rank of a consul, and was authorized to conduct the war against

Antony. In this war—the so-called war of Mu'tina (B.C. 44–43)—Octavius was successful. As a reward for his victory he demanded of the senate that he receive a triumph and the consulship. Cicero had intended Decimus Brutus for this office, and the request of Octavius was refused. But the young heir, then twenty years of age, following the example of Caesar, enforced his claims with the sword; he took possession of the city, and obtained his election to the consulship. Octavius thus became the ruling man in Rome.

The Second Triumvirate — Antony, Octavius, and Lepidus (B.C. 43). — Cicero's attempt to defeat Antony by the aid of Octavius was not a successful piece of diplomacy. It resulted not only in alienating the young heir; but worse than that, it brought about the very coalition which Cicero was trying to prevent. Octavius had broken with the senate, and had obtained a complete victory. But he was not yet ready to break with Antony, who was supported by Lepidus, especially as the two chief liberators, Brutus and Cassius, were still in control of the eastern provinces. If he had had the military genius of Caesar, he might have destroyed all their armies in detail. But the young Octavius was not inclined to overrate his military abilities. He saw that it would be for his interest to make friends with Antony and Lepidus. A coalition was therefore formed between the three leaders, usually called the "second triumvirate." They agreed to divide the western provinces among themselves, and then to make a new division after they had driven Brutus and Cassius from the eastern provinces.

The Proscriptions ; Murder of Cicero. — No government could be more despotic than that of the three masters who now governed Rome. They assumed the consular power for five years, with the right of appointing all magistrates. Their decrees were to have the force of law without the sanction of either the senate or the people. It is to the eternal disgrace of these men who professed to espouse the cause of Caesar, that they abandoned the humane policy of their great exemplar, and

returned to the infamous policy of Marius and Sulla. Antony especially desired a proscription, as he was surrounded by thousands of personal enemies, chief among whom was Cicero, the author of the "Philippics." Octavius was reconciled to the horrible work as a matter of policy; and Lepidus acquiesced in it as a matter of indifference. It is said that three hundred senators and two thousand equites were outlawed, and their property confiscated. The triumvirs justified their atrocious acts as a retaliation for the murder of Cæsar. Many of the proscribed escaped from Italy and found a refuge with Brutus and Cassius in the East. But a large number of persons were slain.

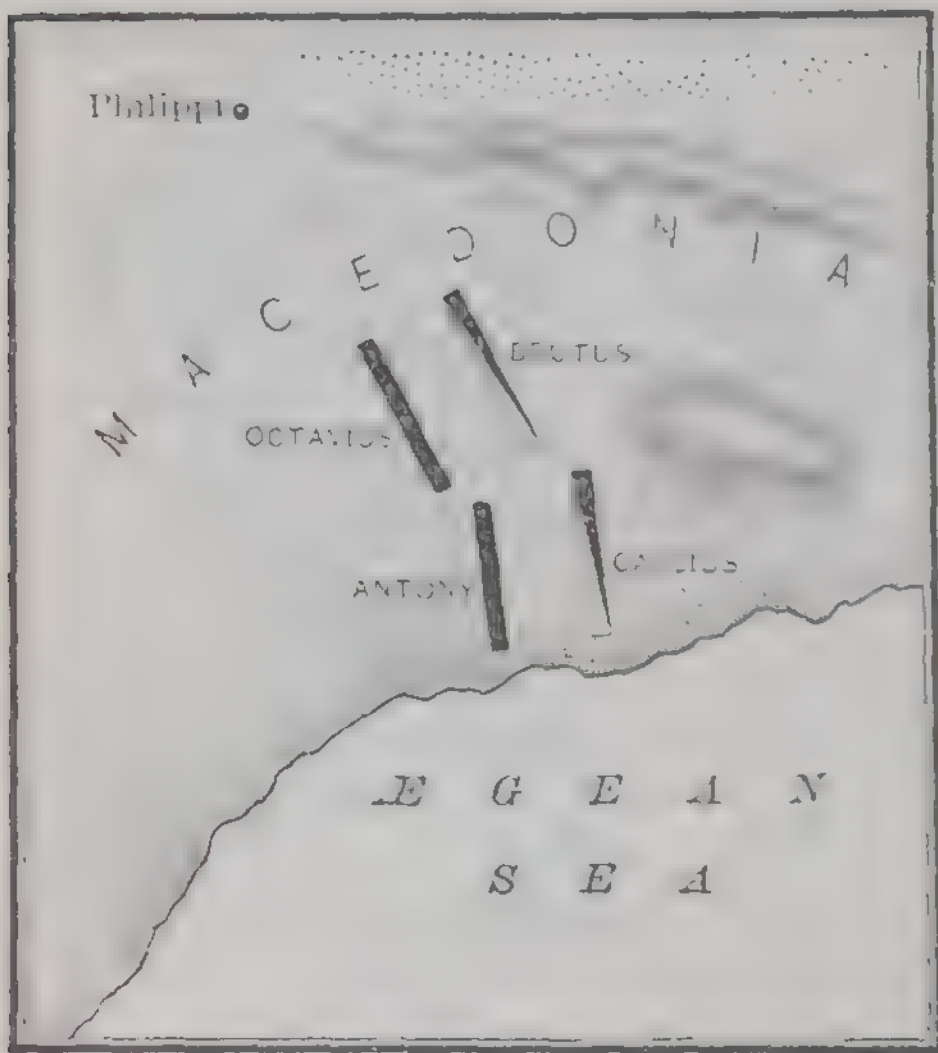


M. BRUTUS

The world will always feel a painful interest in these black days, because it was then that Cicero lost his life. When the old man was warned of his danger, and urged to flee, he replied, "Let me die in my fatherland which I have so often saved." He was slain, and his head was sent to Antony, whose wife, Fulvia, is said to have pierced the lifeless tongue with a needle, in revenge for the words it had uttered against her husband. Thus perished the greatest orator of Rome. Cicero has been accused of timidity; but he remained at his post, the last defender of the republic. He has been charged with vacillation; but he lived in days when no man knew which way to turn for help. He failed as a politician, because he continually bungled in the fine arts of intrigue. He failed as a statesman, because he persisted in defending a lost cause. He appealed to reason, when the highest arbiter was the sword. But with all his faults, Cicero was, next to Cato, the most upright man of his time; and his influence has been, next to that of Cæsar, the most enduring. To practical politics he contributed little;

but his numerous writings have exercised a wonderful influence in the intellectual and moral education of the world.

War against the Liberators ; Battle of Philippi (B.C. 42). — Having murdered their enemies at home, the triumvirs were



BATTLE OF PHILIPPI

now prepared to crush their enemies abroad. There were three of these enemies whom they were obliged to meet—Brutus and Cassius, who had united their forces in the East; and Sextus Pompeius, who had got possession of the island of Sicily, and had under his command a powerful fleet. While Lepidus remained at Rome, Antony and Octavius invaded Greece with an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men.

Against them the two liberators, Brutus and Cassius, collected an army of eighty thousand men. The hostile forces met near Philip'pi (b.c. 42), a town in Macedonia on the northern coast of the Aegean Sea (see map, p. 128). Octavius was opposed to Brutus, and Antony to Cassius. Octavius was driven back by Brutus, while Antony, more fortunate, drove back the wing commanded by Cassius. As Cassius saw his flying legions, he thought that all was lost, and stabbed himself with the same dagger, it is said, with which he struck Caesar. This left Brutus in sole command of the opposing army; but he also was defeated in a second battle, and, following the example of Cassius, committed suicide. The double battle at Philippi decided the fate of the republic. As Cicero was its last political champion, Brutus and Cassius were its last military defenders; and with their death we may say that the republic was at an end.

II. CIVIL WAR BETWEEN ANTONY AND OCTAVIUS

New Division of the Provinces. — With the republic overthrown, it now remained to be seen who should be the master of the new empire, Antony or Octavius. Lepidus, although ambitious, was too weak and vacillating to be dangerous. The triumvirs were growing to be envious of each other; but they contrived to smother their jealousy, and made a new division of the empire. Antony was now to have the East, and Octavius the West. It was a question what to do with Lepidus, as he was accused of giving aid to the only remaining enemy of the triumvirs, that is, Sextus Pompeius. If he could prove himself innocent of the charge, he was to be given the small province of Africa. The real work of the triumvirate was to be done by Antony and Octavius. Antony was to take control of the eastern provinces, and to push the Roman conquests if possible into Parthia. Octavius was to preserve the peace of Italy and the western provinces, and to destroy the fleet of Sextus Pompeius, which was seriously interfering with Roman commerce and threatening to cut off the grain supplies of Italy.

Octavius in the West. — Octavius proceeded to secure his position in the West by means of force and craft. He first put down an insurrection incited by the partisans of Antony. The young conqueror won the affections of the people, and tried to show them that peace and prosperity could come only through his influence. The next thing was to dispose of Sextus Pompeius and his hostile fleet. With the help of his friend and able general, Agrip'pa, and with the aid of a hundred ships lent him by Antony, Octavius destroyed the forces of Pompeius. The defeated general fled to the East, and was killed by the soldiers of Antony.

Octavius was then called upon to deal with a treacherous friend. This was the weak and ambitious Lepidus, who with twenty legions thought that he could defeat Octavius and become the chief man of Rome. But Octavius did not think the

emergency grave enough to declare war. He defeated Lepidus without a battle. Unarmed and almost unattended he entered his rival's camp, and made an eloquent appeal to the soldiers. The whole army of Lepidus deserted to Octavius. Lepidus was deposed from his position as triumvir, but was generously allowed to retain the office of pontifex maximus on condition of remaining quiet. By the use of force and diplomacy Octavius thus baffled all his foes in the West, and he and Antony were now the undisputed rulers of the Roman world.

Antony in the East. — While everything in the West was turning in favor of Octavius, all things in the East were also



CLEOPATEA

contributing to his success. But this was due not so much to his own skill as to the weakness and folly of Antony. Octavius had tried to cement the league of the triumvirs by giving his sister Octavia to Antony in marriage. But Antony soon grew tired of Octavia, and became fascinated by Cleopatra, the "Serpent of the Nile." His time was divided between campaigns in Parthia and dissipations in Egypt. His Parthian wars turned out to be failures; and his Egyptian entangle-

ments resulted in his ruin. He aspired to the position of an Oriental monarch. He divided the Roman provinces with Cleopatra, who was called "the queen of kings." The Roman people were shocked when he desired his disgraceful acts to be confirmed by the senate. They could not help contrasting this weak and infatuated slave of Cleopatra with their own Octavius, the strong and prudent governor of the West. While Octavius was growing in popularity, Antony was thus becoming more and more an object of detestation.

Rupture between Antony and Octavius. — The strong feeling at Rome against Antony, Octavius was able to use to his own advantage. But he wished it to appear that he was following, and not directing, the will of the people. He therefore

made no attempt to force an issue with Antony, but bided his time. The people suspected Antony of treasonable designs, as they saw his military preparations, which might be used to enthrone himself as king of the East, or to install Cleopatra as queen of Rome.

All doubt as to Antony's real character and purpose was settled when his will was found and published. In it he had made the sons of Cleopatra his heirs, and ordered his own body to be buried at Alexandria beside that of the Egyptian queen. This was looked upon as an insult to the majesty of Rome. The citizens were aroused. They demanded that war be declared against the hated triumvir. Octavius suggested that it would be more wise to declare war against Cleopatra than against Antony and the deluded citizens who had espoused his cause. Thus what was really a civil war between Octavius and Antony assumed the appearance of a foreign war between Rome and Egypt. But Antony well understood against whom the war was directed; and he replied by publicly divorcing Octavia, and accepting his real position as the public enemy of Rome.

Defeat of Antony; Battle of Actium (B.C. 31). — When war was declared, Antony and Cleopatra united their forces against Rome. Antony gathered together an immense army of eighty thousand men, and occupied the western coasts of Greece, where he could either threaten Italy or resist the approach of Octavius. His main army was posted at Actium (see map, p. 128), south of the strait leading into the Gulf of Ambracia. His fleet of five hundred heavy ships was for the most part moored within the gulf. Octavius, with the aid of his trusted general Agrippa, succeeded in transporting an



BATTLE OF ACTIUM

of his trusted general Agrippa, succeeded in transporting an

army of fifty thousand men to the coast of Epirus, and took up a position north of the strait and opposite the land forces of Antony. His fleet of two hundred and fifty light galleys was stationed outside of the strait to await the approach of the enemy's vessels. Antony, on the advice of his ablest officers, desired that the battle should be waged with the land forces. But Cleopatra, proud of her navy, insisted that it should be fought on the sea. The contest was therefore decided by a naval battle. As the fleet of Antony emerged from the strait, it was immediately attacked by Octavius and Agrippa. But scarcely had the battle begun when Cleopatra with her squadron withdrew from the line, and was quickly followed by Antony. Their sailors fought on until their fleet was destroyed. The battle at Actium closed the political career of Antony, and left Octavius the sole master of the Roman world. The date of this battle may be taken to mark the beginning of the empire.

The Triumph of Octavius. — Before returning to Rome Octavius restored order to the eastern provinces, and followed the fugitives to Egypt. The arts by which Cleopatra had fascinated Caesar and enslaved Antony, she tried to use upon her new Roman guest. But Octavius did not fall into the tempter's snare. The Egyptian queen found in the Roman sovereign a nature as crafty as her own. Octavius kept his thoughts upon the prosperity and honor of Rome, and no allurements could draw him away from his high mission. Antony, defeated and ruined, committed suicide; and Cleopatra followed his example rather than be led a captive in a Roman triumph. Together this wretched pair were laid in the mausoleum of the Ptolemies. Egypt was annexed as a province of the new empire (B.C. 30). Octavius returned to Rome (B.C. 29), where he was given the honors of a triple triumph—for Dalmatia (where he had gained some previous victories), for Actium, and for Egypt. The temple of Janus was now closed for the first time since the second Punic war; and the Romans, tired of war and of civil strife, looked upon the triumph of Octavius as the dawn of a new era of peace and prosperity.

III. REVIEW OF THE PERIOD OF THE CIVIL WARS

Progress of Rome. — As we look back over the period which we have just completed, we may ask the question whether Rome had made any progress since the days of her great conquests. More than a hundred years had passed away since the beginning of the commotions under the Gracchi. During this time we have seen the long conflict between the senate and the people; we have seen the republic gradually declining and giving way to the empire. But we must not suppose that the fall of the republic was the fall of Rome. The so-called republic of Rome was a government neither *by* the people nor *for* the people. It had become the government of a selfish aristocracy, ruling for its own interests. Whether the new empire which was now established was better than the old republic which had fallen, remains to be seen. But there are many things in which we can see that Rome was making some real progress.

Appearance of Great Men. — The first thing that we notice is the fact that during this period of conflict Rome produced some of the greatest men of her history. It is in the times of stress and storm that great men are brought to the front; and it was the fierce struggles of this period which developed some of the foremost men of the ancient world — men like the two Gracchi, Marius, Sulla, Cato, Cicero, and Julius Caesar. Whatever we may think of their opinions, of the methods which they used, or of the results which they accomplished, we cannot regard them as ordinary men.

Extension of the Franchise. — Another evidence of the progress of Rome was the extension of the rights of citizenship, and the bringing into the state of many who had hitherto been excluded. At the beginning of this period only the inhabitants of a comparatively small part of the Italian peninsula were citizens of Rome. The franchise was restricted chiefly to those who dwelt upon the lands in the vicinity of the capital. But during the civil wars the rights of citizenship had

been extended to all parts of Italy and to many cities in Gaul and Spain.

Improvement in the Roman Law. — We have already seen the improvement which Sulla made in the organization of the criminal courts for the trial of public crimes. But there were also improvements made in the civil law, by which the private rights of individuals were better protected. Not only were the rights of citizens made more secure, but the rights of foreigners were also more carefully guarded. Before the social



TEMPLE OF FORTUNE

war, the rights of all foreigners in Italy were protected by a special prætor (*prætor peregrinus*); and after that war all Italians became equal before the law. There was also a tendency to give all foreigners in the provinces rights equal to those of citizens, so far as these rights related to persons and property.

Progress in Architecture.

— That the Romans were improving in their culture and taste is shown by the new and splendid buildings which were erected during this period. While some public buildings were destroyed by the riots in the city, they were replaced by finer and more durable structures. Many new temples were built — temples to Hercules, to Minerva, to Fortune, to Concord, to Honor and Virtue. There were new basilicas, or halls of justice, the most notable being the Basilica Julia, which was commenced by Julius Caesar. A new forum, the Forum Julii, was also laid out by Caesar, and a new theater was constructed by Pompey. The great national temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, which was burned dur-

ing the civil war of Marius and Sulla, was restored with great magnificence by Sulla, who adorned it with the columns of the temple of the Olympian Zeus brought from Athens. It was during this period that the triumphal arches were first erected, and became a distinctive feature of Roman architecture.

Advancement in Literature. — The most important evidence of the progress of the Romans during the period of the civil wars is seen in their literature. It was at this time that Rome began to produce writers whose names belong to the literature of the world. Cæsar wrote his "Commentaries on the Gallic War," which is a fine specimen of clear historical narrative. Sallust wrote a history of the Jugurthine War and an account of the conspiracy of Catiline, which give us graphic and vigorous descriptions of these events. Lucretius wrote a great poem "On the Nature of Things," which expounds the Epicurean theory of the universe, and reveals powers of description and imagination rarely equaled by any other poet, ancient or modern. Catullus wrote lyric poems of exquisite grace and beauty. Cicero was the most learned and prolific writer of the age; his orations, letters, rhetorical and philosophical essays furnish the best models of classic style, and have given him a place among the great prose writers of the world.

Decay of Religion and Morals. — While the Romans, during this period, showed many evidences of progress in their laws, their art, and their literature, they were evidently declining in their religious and moral sense. Their religion was diluted more and more with Oriental superstitions and degrading ceremonies. In their moral life they were suffering from the effects of their conquests, which had brought wealth and the passion for luxury and display. Ambition and avarice tended to corrupt the life of the Roman people. The only remedy for this condition of religious and moral decay was found in the philosophy of the Greeks, which, however, appealed only to the more educated classes.¹

¹ Roman education was patterned in many respects after that of the Greeks; for its general character, see p. 260.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Abbott, Ch. 7, "The Period of Transition" (13).

Merivale, *Empire*, Vol. III., Ch. 25, "Cicero and the 'Philippics'" (7).

Leighton, Ch. 28, "Last Days of the Republic" (1).

Schmitz, Ch. 39, "Rome during the Later Republic" (1)

Taylor, Ch. 16, "Struggle for the Crown" (1).

Seeley, *Essay*, "The Great Roman Revolution" (7).

Shakespeare, "Antony and Cleopatra" (37).

Plutarch, "Antony," "Brutus" (11).

SPECIAL STUDY

CHARACTER OF CICERO. — Plutarch, "Cicero" (11); Mommsen, IV., pp. 724-726 (2); Merivale, *Empire*, Vol. III., pp. 148-153 (7); Forsyth, II., Ch. 25 (23). See also Appendix (23) "Cicero."

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE

PERIOD VII. THE EARLY ROMAN EMPIRE (B.C. 31—A.D. 284)

CHAPTER XXIII

THE REIGN OF AUGUSTUS (B.C. 31—A.D. 14)

I. THE NEW IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT

Beginning of the Empire. — We have taken the date of the battle of Actium (B.C. 31) to mark the beginning of the empire, because Octavius then became the sole and undisputed master of the Roman world. But it is not so important for us to fix upon a particular date for the beginning of the empire, as it is to see that some form of imperialism had come to be a necessity. During the whole period of the civil wars we have seen the gradual growth of the one-man power. We have seen it in the tribunate under the Gracchi; in the successive consulships of Marius; in the perpetual dictatorship of Sulla; in the sole consulship of Pompey; in the absolute rule of Julius Caesar. The name of "king" the Romans hated, because it brought to mind the memory of the last Tarquin. But the principle of monarchy they could not get rid of, because they had found no efficient form of government to take its place. The aristocratic government under the senate had proved cor-

rupt, inefficient, and disastrous to the people. A popular government without representation had shown itself unwieldy, and had become a prey to demagogues. There was nothing left for the Romans to do except to establish some form of monarchy which would not suggest the hated name of king.

The Policy of Augustus. — There was no other man so well fitted to put the new monarchy into an attractive form as Octa-



THE EMPEROR AUGUSTUS

vius, whom we may now call by his official title of Augustus. We have been accustomed to think of this man as merely a shrewd politician. But when we contrast the distracted condition of Rome during the last hundred years with the peace and prosperity which he brought with him, we shall be inclined to look upon him as a wise and successful statesman. His whole policy was a policy of conciliation. He wished to wipe out the hatreds of the civil war. He regarded himself as the chief of no party,

but as the head of the whole state. He tried to reconcile the conservative and the progressive men of his time. All the cherished forms of the republic he therefore preserved; and he exercised his powers under titles which were not hateful to the senate or the people.

The Titles and Powers of Augustus. — Soon after returning to Rome, Augustus resigned the powers which he had hitherto exercised, giving "back the commonwealth into the hands of the senate and the people" (B.C. 27). The first official title which he then received was the surname *Augustus*, bestowed by the senate in recognition of his dignity and his services to the state. He then received the proconsular power (*imperium*

proconsular) over all the frontier provinces, or those which required the presence of an army. He had also conferred upon himself the tribunician power (*tribunicia potestas*), by which he became the protector of the people. He moreover was made *pontifex maximus*, and received the title of *Pater Patriæ*. Although Augustus did not receive the permanent titles of consul and censor, he occasionally assumed, or had temporarily assigned to himself, the duties of these offices. He still retained the title of *Imperator*, which gave him the command of the army. But the title which Augustus chose to indicate his real position was that of *Princeps Civitatis*, or "the first citizen of the state." The new "prince" thus desired himself to be looked upon as a magistrate rather than a monarch—a citizen who had received a trust rather than a ruler governing in his own name.

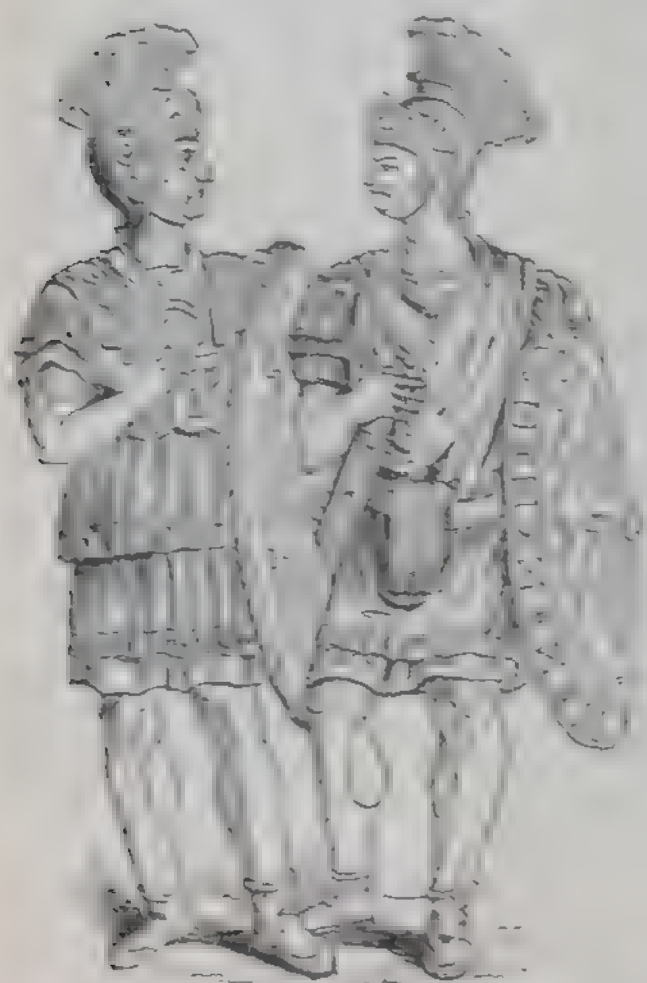
Augustus and the Senate.—Augustus showed his conciliatory policy in fixing the position which the senate was to assume in the new government. He did not adopt fully the plan either of Sulla or of Julius Cæsar; but combined as far as possible their different ideas. He restored to the senate the dignity which it had in the time of Sulla. He did this by excluding the provincials and freedmen whom Cæsar had introduced into it, and by reducing its number from nine hundred to six hundred members. But still he did not confer upon it the great legislative power which Sulla intended it should have; he rather made it a kind of advisory body, according to Cæsar's idea. In theory the senate was to assist the emperor in matters of legislation; but in fact it was simply to approve the proposals which he submitted to it.

The Assemblies of the People.—Augustus did not formally take away from the popular assemblies their legislative power, but occasionally submitted to them laws for their approval. This was, however, hardly more than a discreet concession to custom. The people in their present unwieldy assemblies, the emperor did not regard as able to decide upon important matters of state. Their duties were therefore practically

restricted to the election of the magistrates, whose names he usually presented to them.

The Republican Magistrates.—In accordance with his general policy Augustus did not interfere with the old republican offices, but allowed them to remain as undisturbed as possible. The consuls, praetors, quaestors, and other officers continued to be elected just as they had been before. But the emperor did not generally use these magistrates to carry out the details of his administration. This was performed by other officers appointed by himself. The position of the old republican

magistrates was rather one of honor than one of executive responsibility.



PRAETORIAN GUARDS

The Army.—While the emperor knew that his power must have some military support, he was careful not to make the army a burden to the people. He therefore reduced the number of legions from fifty to twenty-five. As each legion contained not more than six thousand men, the whole army did not exceed one hundred and fifty thousand soldiers. These legions were distributed through the frontier provinces; the inner provinces and Italy were thus not burdened by the quartering

of troops. To support the imperial authority at home, and to maintain public order, Augustus organized a body of nine thousand men called the "praetorian guard," which force was stationed at different points outside of Rome.

II. AUGUSTUS AND THE ROMAN WORLD

Rome, Italy, and the Provinces.—We can get some further idea of the policy of Augustus by looking at the way in which he governed the different parts of the Roman world. The

whole empire may be regarded as made up of three parts — Rome, Italy, and the provinces. We are now to look at the improvements which he made in these three spheres of administration.



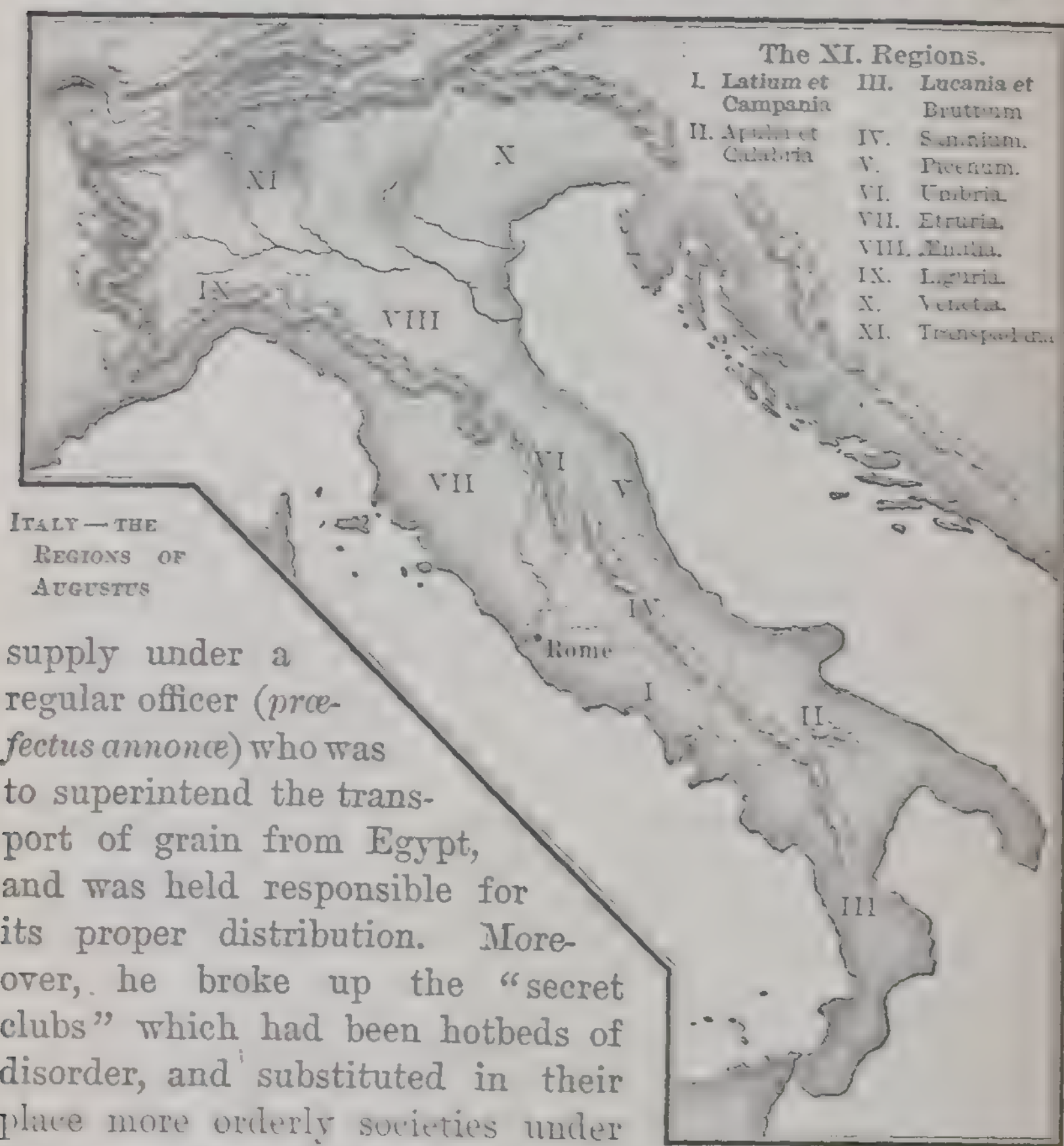
ROME UNDER AUGUSTUS

The "Regiones" of Augustus: I. Porta Capena; II. Caelianum; III. Isola di Serapis; IV. Templum Pacis; V. Esquiliæ; VI. Alta Semita; VII. Via Lata; VIII. Forum Romanum; IX. Circus Flaminius; X. Palatium; XI. Circus Maximus; XII. Piscina Publica; XIII. Aventinus; XIV. Trans Tiberim.

Chief Buildings: 1, Arx; 2, Capitolium; 3, Forum Romanum; 4, Basilica Julia; 5, Curia (senate house); 6, Forum of Julius; 7, Forum of Augustus; 8, Palace of the Cæsars; 9, Forum Boarium; 10, Cloaca Maxima; 11, Circus Flaminius; 12, Portico of Pompey; 13, Theater of Pompey; 14, Sæpta Julia (voting booths); 15, Baths of Agrippa; 16, Pantheon; 17, Solarium (obelisk); 18, Mausoleum of Augustus; 19, Circus Maximus; 20, Tomb of Scipio; 21, Temple of Mars.

The Administration of Rome. — We have read enough of the distracted condition of the Roman city during the last hundred years to see the need of some improvement. Augustus met this need by creating certain new officers to keep the city under better control. In the first place, he established a city police under the charge of a chief (*præfectus urbi*), to preserve order

and prevent the scenes of violence which had been of such frequent occurrence. In the next place, he created a fire and detective department under the charge of another chief (*præfectus vigillum*), to have jurisdiction over all incendiaries, burglars, and other night-prowlers. He then placed the grain



supply under a regular officer (*præfectus annonæ*) who was to superintend the transport of grain from Egypt, and was held responsible for its proper distribution. Moreover, he broke up the "secret clubs" which had been hotbeds of disorder, and substituted in their place more orderly societies under the supervision of the government. For administrative purposes the city was divided into fourteen districts, or wards. By these arrangements, life and property became more secure, and the populace became more orderly and law-abiding.

The Administration of Italy. — Italy was now extended to the Alps, the province of Cisalpine Gaul having lately been

joined to the peninsula. The whole of Italy was divided by Augustus into eleven "regions," or administrative districts. In order to maintain the splendid system of roads which had been constructed during the republican period, the emperor appointed a superintendent of highways (*curator viarum*) to keep them in repair. He also established a post system by which the different parts of the peninsula could be kept in communication with one another. He suppressed brigandage by establishing military patrols in the dangerous districts. It was his policy to encourage everywhere the growth of a healthy and vigorous municipal life. To relieve the poverty of Italy he continued the plan of Julius Caesar in sending out colonies into the provinces, where there were better opportunities to make a living.

The Administration of the Provinces. — During the reign of Augustus the number of provinces was increased by taking in the outlying territory south of the Rhine and the Danube. The new frontier provinces were Rætia, Noricum, Pannonia, and Moesia. The provinces were not only increased in number, but were thoroughly reorganized. They were first divided into two groups, — the *senatorial*, or those which remained under the control of the senate; and the *imperial*, or those which passed under the control of the emperor. The latter were generally on the frontiers, and required the presence of an army and a military governor. The governors of the imperial provinces were lieutenants (*legati*) of the emperor. Appointed by him, and strictly responsible to him, they were no longer permitted to prey upon their subjects, but were obliged to rule in the name of the emperor, and for the welfare of the people. The senatorial provinces, on the other hand, were still under the control of proconsuls and propraetors appointed by the senate. But the condition of these provinces was also greatly improved. The establishment of the new government thus proved to be a great benefit to the provincials. Their property became more secure, their commerce revived, their cities became prosperous, and their lives were made more tolerable.

The Finances of the Empire. — With the division of the provinces, the administration of the finances was also divided between the senate and the emperor. The revenues of the senatorial provinces went into the treasury of the senate, or the *ararium* ; while those of the imperial provinces passed into the treasury of the emperor, or the *fiscus*. The old wretched system of farming the revenues, which had disgraced the republic and impoverished the provincials, was gradually abandoned. The collection of the taxes in the senatorial as well as the imperial provinces was placed in the charge of imperial officers. It was not long before the cities themselves were allowed to raise by their own officers the taxes due to the Roman government. Augustus also laid the foundation of a sound financial system by making careful estimates of the revenues and expenditures of the state ; and by raising and expending the public money in the most economical and least burdensome manner.

The Frontiers of the Empire. — By the wars of Augustus, the boundaries of the empire were extended to the Rhine and the Danube (including the Alpine region) on the north, to the Atlantic Ocean on the west, to the desert of Africa on the south, and nearly to the Euphrates on the east. The only two great frontier nations which threatened to disturb the peace of Rome were the Parthians on the east and the Germans on the north. The Parthians still retained the standards lost by Crassus ; but Augustus by his skillful diplomacy was able to recover them without a battle. He abandoned, however, all design of conquering that Eastern people. But his eyes looked longingly to the country of the Germans. He invaded their territory ; and after a temporary success his general, Varus, was slain and three Roman legions were utterly destroyed by the great German chieftain Arminius at the famous battle of the Teutoberg forest (9 A.D.). The frontiers remained for many years where they were fixed by Augustus ; and he advised his successors to govern well the territory which he left to them rather than to increase its limits.

III. THE AGE OF AUGUSTUS

The Advisers of Augustus. — The remarkable prosperity that attended the reign of Augustus has caused this age to be called by his name. The glory of this period is largely due to the wise policy of Augustus himself; but in his work he was greatly assisted by two men, whose names are closely linked to his own. These men were Agrippa and Mæcenas.

Agrippa had been from boyhood one of the most intimate friends of Augustus, and during the trying times of the later republic had constantly aided him by his counsel and his sword. The victories of Augustus before and after he came to power were largely due to this able general. By his artistic ability Agrippa also contributed much to the architectural splendor of Rome.

The man who shared with Agrippa the favor and confidence of Augustus was Mæcenas, a wise statesman and patron of

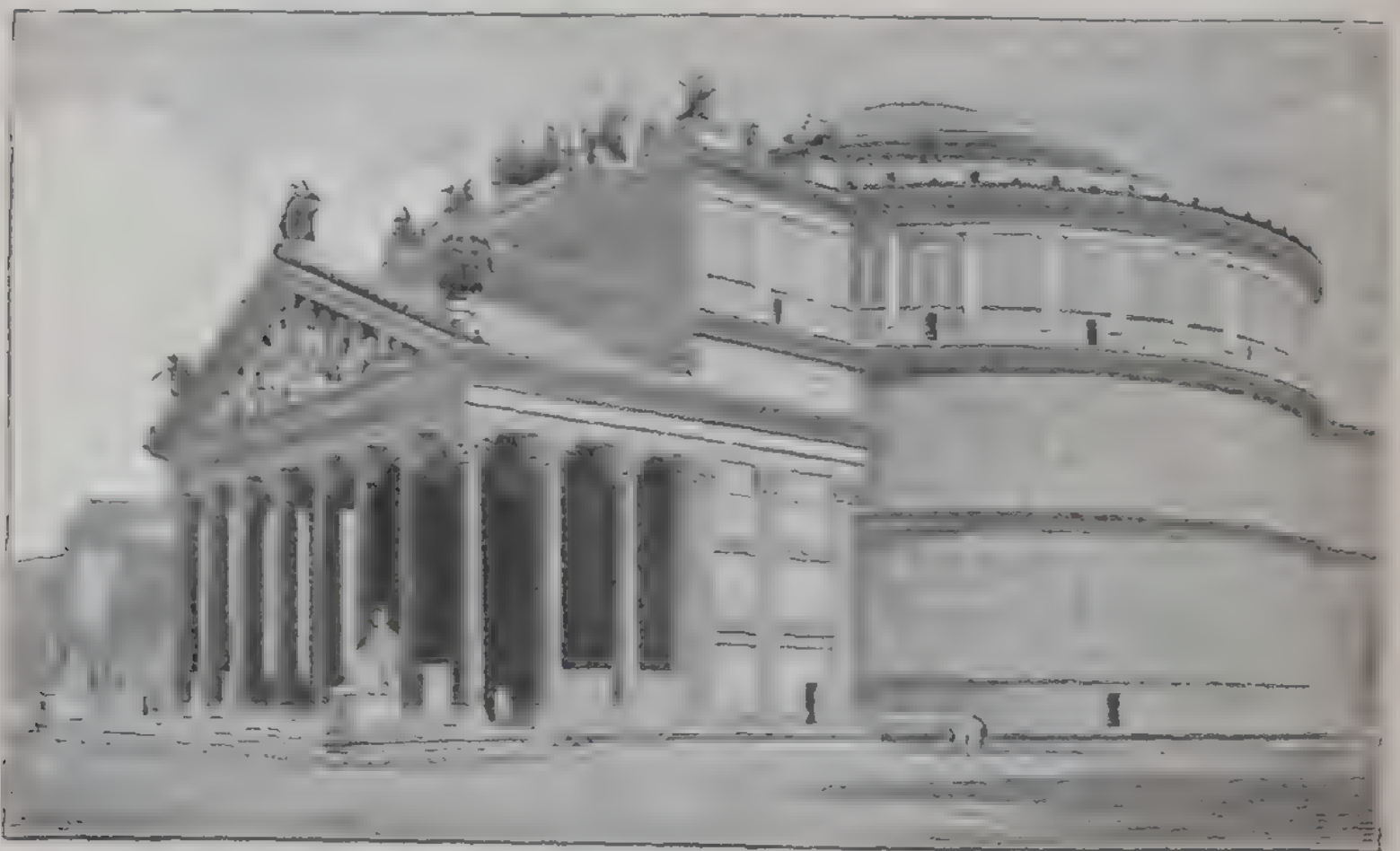


MÆCENAS

literature. It was by the advice of Mæcenas that many of the important reforms of Augustus were adopted and carried out. But the greatest honor is due to Mæcenas for encouraging those men whose writings made this period one of the "golden ages" of the world's literature. It was chiefly the encouragement given to architecture and literature which made the reign of Augustus an epoch in civilization.

Encouragement to Architecture. — It is said that Augustus boasted that he "found Rome of brick and left it of marble."

He restored many of the temples and other buildings which had either fallen into decay or been destroyed during the riots of the civil war. On the Palatine hill he began the construction of the great imperial palace, which became the magnificent home of the Cæsars. He built a new temple of Vesta, where the sacred fire of the city was kept burning. He erected a new temple to Apollo, to which was attached a library of Greek and Latin authors; also temples to Jupiter Tonans and to the Divine Julius. One of the noblest and most useful



THE PANTHEON (Restoration)

of the public works of the emperor was the new Forum of Augustus, near the old Roman Forum and the Forum of Julius. In this new Forum was erected the temple of Mars the Avenger (*Mars Ultor*), which Augustus built to commemorate the war by which he had avenged the death of Cæsar. We must not forget to notice the massive Pantheon, the temple of all the gods, which is to-day the best preserved monument of the Augustan period. This was built by Agrippa, in the early part of Augustus's reign (B.C. 27), but was altered to the form shown above by the emperor Ha'drian (p. 267).

Patronage of Literature. — But more splendid and enduring

than these temples of marble were the works of literature which this age produced. At this time was written Vergil's "*Æneid*," which is one of the greatest epic poems of the world. It was then that the "*Odes*" of Horace were composed, the grace and rhythm of which are unsurpassed. Then, too, were written the elegies of Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid. Greatest among the prose writers of this time was Livy, whose "*pictured pages*" tell of the miraculous origin of Rome, and her great achievements in war and in peace. During this time also flourished certain Greek writers whose works are famous. Dionysius of Halicarnassus wrote a book on the antiquities of Rome, and tried to reconcile his countrymen to the Roman sway. Strabo, the geographer, described the subject lands of Rome in the Augustan age. The whole literature of this period was inspired with a growing spirit of patriotism, and an appreciation of Rome as the great ruler of the world.

Religious and Social Reforms. — With his encouragement of art and literature Augustus also tried to improve the religious and moral condition of the people. The old religion was falling into decay. With the restoration of the old temples, he hoped to bring the people back to the worship of the ancient gods. The worship of Juno, which had been neglected, was restored, and assigned to the care of his wife, Livia, as the representative of the matrons of Rome. Augustus tried to purify the Roman religion by discouraging the introduction of the foreign deities whose worship was corrupt. He believed that even a great Roman had better be worshiped than the degenerate gods and goddesses of Syria and Egypt; and so the



LIVIA, WIFE OF AUGUSTUS

Divine Julius was added to the number of the Roman gods. He did not favor the Jewish religion: and Christianity had not yet been preached at Rome.

With the attempt to restore the old Roman religion, he also wished to revive the old morality and simple life of the past. He himself disdained luxurious living and foreign fashions. He tried to improve the lax customs which prevailed in respect to



TOMB OF AUGUSTUS (Restoration)

marriage and divorce, and to restrain the vices which were destroying the population of Rome. But it is difficult to say whether these laudable attempts of Augustus produced any real results upon either the religious or the moral life of the Roman people.

Death and Character of Augustus. — Augustus lived to the age of seventy-five: and his reign covered a period of forty-five years. During this time he had been performing the difficult part of ruling without appearing to rule, of being at once the autocrat of the civilized world and the first citizen

of a free commonwealth." His last words are said to have been, "Have I not played my part well?" But it is not necessary for us to suppose that Augustus was a mere actor. The part which he had to perform in restoring peace to the world was a great and difficult task. In the midst of conflicting views which had distracted the republic for a century, he was called upon to perform a work of reconciliation. And it is doubtful whether any political leader ever performed such a work with greater success. When he became the supreme ruler of Rome he was fully equal to the place, and brought order out of confusion. He was content with the substance of power and indifferent to its form. Not so great as Julius Cæsar, he was yet more successful. He was one of the greatest examples of what we may call the "conservative reformer," a man who accomplishes the work of regeneration without destroying existing institutions.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Capes, *Early Empire*, Ch. 1, "Augustus" (7).¹

Pelham, *Bk. V.*, Ch. 3, "Foundation of the Principate" (1).

Bury, *Roman Empire*, Ch. 2, "The Principate" (7).

Taylor, Ch. 18, "The Princeps and the Government" (1).

Merivale, *Gen. Hist.*, Ch. 52, "Provinces under Augustus" (1).

Freeman, *Hist. Geog.*, Ch. 3, "Formation of the Roman Empire" (14).

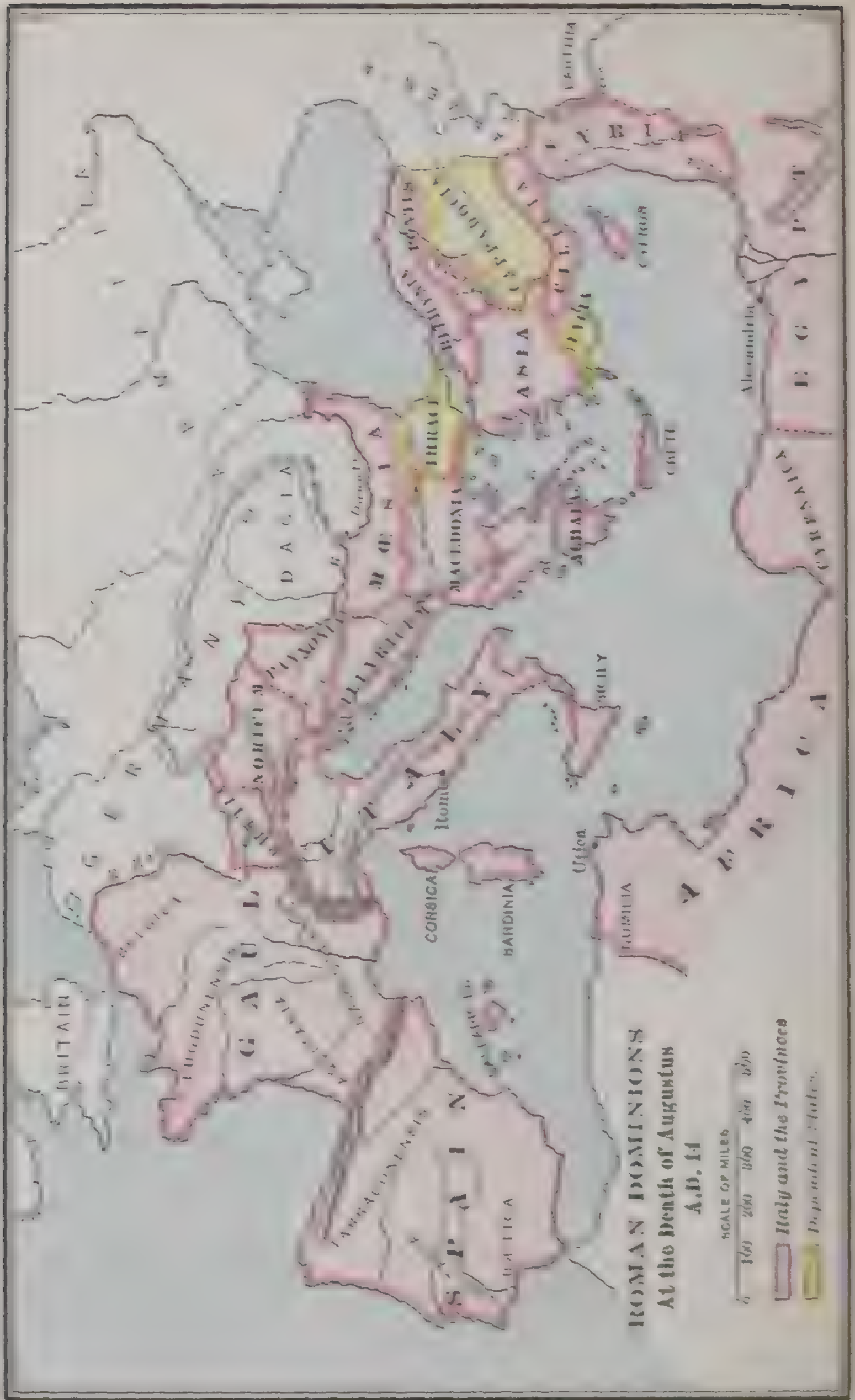
Abbott, Ch. 12, "The Establishment of the Empire" (13).

SPECIAL STUDY

THE WRITERS OF THE AUGUSTAN AGE. — Bury, *Roman Empire*, Ch. 11 (7); Lawton, *Bk. III.* (17); Cruttwell, *Part II.* (17). See also Appendix (17) "Literature."

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

PROGRESSIVE MAP No. 6.



CHAPTER XXIV

THE JULIAN EMPERORS—TIBERIUS TO NERO

I. THE REIGN OF TIBERIUS (A.D. 14-37)

The Character of Tiberius. — The system established by Augustus was put to a severe test by the character of the men who immediately followed him. The emperors who made up the Julian line were often tyrannical, vicious, and a disgrace to Rome. That the empire was able to survive at all is, perhaps, another proof of the thoroughness of the work done by the first emperor. Of the four Julian emperors who succeeded Augustus, Tiberius was perhaps the ablest. He had already shown his ability as a general; and having been adopted by Augustus and associated with him in the government, he was prepared to carry out the policy already laid down. But in his personal character he presented a strong contrast to his predecessor. Instead of being generous and conciliatory, he was cruel and tyrannical to those with whom he was brought into personal relations. But we must distinguish between the way in which he treated his enemies and the way in which he ruled the empire. He had a certain sense of duty, and tried to maintain the authority which devolved upon him. If he could not ac-



TIBERIUS

accomplish this by the winning ways of Augustus, he could do it by more severe methods.

Campaigns of Germanicus. — The first duty which fell to Tiberius was to gain the support of the army. The legions on the Rhine and the Danube were at first not disposed to accept his authority. Those on the Danube were soon subdued by Drusus, the son of Tiberius, who took advantage of an eclipse of the moon to appeal to the superstitious dread of the soldiers. The legions on the Rhine were more determined, and desired to place their favorite general, Germanicus (a nephew of Tiberius), on the throne in place of Tiberius. But Germanicus, loyal to his chief, resisted this first attempt of the army to enthrone an emperor. To turn their minds from thoughts of treason, he planned the invasion and conquest of Germany. Three successful campaigns were made across the Rhine. A portion of the German territory was occupied, and the lost standards of Varus were recovered. These campaigns in Germany were cut short by Tiberius, who recalled Germanicus from the Rhine, and sent him to the East to oppose the Parthians. Whether this act was inspired by envy or by wisdom on the part of Tiberius, we cannot say. After a brief and unsuccessful career in the East, Germanicus died, whether as the result of natural causes or as the result of foul play, we are also at a loss to determine.

Despotic Measures of Tiberius. — While Tiberius pursued in many respects the policy of Augustus, he adopted certain measures which showed that he had little sympathy with the "disguises of monarchy." In the first place, he extinguished the political rights of the people by taking away from the assemblies what little legislative power had been left to them; and also by transferring to the senate the election of the regular magistrates. The popular assemblies were thus reduced to a mere shadow.

In the next place, he gave a new meaning to the law of treason (*læa maiestas*). This law had hitherto referred only to actual crimes against the state. Now it was made to include

any words or conduct, looks or gestures, which could be interpreted as hostile to the emperor. This is what we call "constructive treason"; and at Rome, as in any other country where it has been tolerated, it became an instrument of despotism. Again, in order to punish his enemies, Tiberius encouraged the practice of "delation"; that is, he offered rewards to all persons who would give information regarding



THE BAY OF NAPLES

offenders. There thus sprang up at Rome a class of informers (*delatores*), who acted as professional spies, or inquisitors, to detect the enemies of the emperor.

Finally, we may mention another change made by Tiberius. This was the bringing together of the prætorian cohorts into one camp near Rome, to protect the person of the emperor and thus to secure more strongly his power.

The Influence of Sejanus.—The removal of the prætorian camp to Rome was done at the suggestion of Seja'nus, a wily

and unscrupulous officer, who had obtained command of these cohorts. As Tiberius was suspicious of every one else, he selected Sejanus as his trusted adviser. Sejanus was to Tiberius what Agrippa or Mæcenas had been to Augustus. But unlike those imperial friends, Sejanus was desirous of power and was treacherous to his master. To secure his posi-



MODERN NAPLES

tion, Sejanus caused the murder of Drusus, the son of Tiberius. He even induced the emperor himself to retire from Rome to the island of Cap'rea in the Bay of Naples, and to leave him in control of the government. The schemes and crimes of Sejanus formed a large part of this despotic reign. When his treason was discovered by Tiberius, he was deposed from his place and strangled in prison. The fall of Sejanus was followed by the prosecution of his fellow-conspirators, or those who were suspected of plotting against the emperor. Although

these prosecutions were made under the forms of law, the law was the *lex maiestatis* ; and the methods of its execution produced a reign of terror at Rome.

Prosperity of the Provinces. — The cruel tyranny of Tiberius was restricted mainly to the city of Rome, and to those persons whom he suspected as his personal enemies. The provinces were relieved from this suspicion, and hence they continued to be prosperous as they had been under Augustus. Indeed, Tiberius seemed to be especially anxious regarding their welfare. Like Augustus he tried to protect them from unjust government and oppressive taxation. His favorite maxim is said to have been, "A good shepherd should shear his flock, and not flay them." While he prosecuted his own enemies, he also brought to justice the provincial governors who were guilty of extortion. It is said that while he was hated at Rome, he was loved in the provinces. When many cities of Asia were destroyed by an earthquake, he sent to them relief in the form of money and remitted their taxes for five years. When he died, his faults were exaggerated by the Roman historians, and his virtues were extolled by the provincials.

II. THE REIGN OF CALIGULA (A.D. 37-41)

The Early Promise of Caligula. — Tiberius had made no provision for a successor. Hence the choice lay entirely with the senate, which selected a favorite of the army. This was Gaius Cæsar, the son of the famous general, Germanicus. He was familiarly called by the soldiers "Calig'ula,"¹ by which name he is generally known. He was joyfully welcomed by the people, and gave promise of a successful reign. He declared his intention of devoting himself to the public welfare. But

¹ *Caligula* is the diminutive of *caliga*, the name given to a soldier's boot, such as is shown in the appended illustration. Hence Caligula might be translated "Little Boots."



SOLDIER'S BOOT

the high hopes which he raised at his accession were soon dashed to the ground, when it was discovered that the empire was in



CALIGULA

the hands of a man who had lost his reason. The brief career of Caligula may be of interest as showing the vagaries of a diseased and unbalanced mind; but they have no special political importance, except as proving that the empire could survive even with a mad prince on the throne.

His Insanity and Extravagances. — Caligula was subject in childhood to epileptic fits, and his mind was evidently diseased. When he was placed in the high position of emperor his brain

was turned and he revealed all the grotesque symptoms of insanity. He believed himself a god. He wasted the money of the treasury in senseless projects. He built a bridge from the Palatine hill, where he resided, to the Capitoline, that he might be "next door neighbor to Jupiter." To lead his army over the sea he constructed a bridge three miles long over the Gulf of Bai'æ, a part of the Bay of Naples, and conducted his soldiers over it in a triumphal procession. He professed to lead an expedition against Britain; and when he had collected his soldiers on the seashore as if for embarkation, he suddenly issued an order to them to gather the shells from the beach and carry them to Rome as "the spoils of the ocean." The senate was directed to deposit these spoils among the treasures of the Capitol. It is said that he nominated his horse for consul. In order to exceed the luxuries of Lucullus, he expended an amount equal to \$240,000 on a single meal. He threatened

to set up his own image in the temple at Jerusalem and to compel the Jews to worship it. Numerous other stories of a similar kind are told of this delirious man — stories which are more suited to illustrate a treatise on insanity than to burden the pages of history.

Significance of his Reign. — The reign of Caligula, which was fortunately limited to the brief space of four years,



RUINS OF THE PALACE OF CALIGULA

shows to us the perils inherent in a despotic form of government that permitted a madman to rule the civilized world. The Roman Empire had no provision by which any prince could be held responsible, either to law or to reason. A cruel tyrant could revel in blood, or a maniac could indulge in the wildest excesses without restraint. The only limit to such a despotism was assassination; and by this severe method the reign of Caligula was brought to an end.

III. THE REIGN OF CLAUDIUS (A.D. 41-54)

His Elevation by the Prætorians. — Claudius was the first emperor proclaimed by the army. The murder of Caligula



CLAUDIUS

had been provoked by an insult given to an officer of the prætorian guard. When the senate hesitated to choose a successor, the prætorians, accidentally finding Claudius in the palace, and recognizing him as the brother of Germanicus, assumed the right to name him as emperor. The senate was obliged to submit; and for a long time after this the prætorians continued to exercise the right of naming the prince. Claudius is usually represented

as a weak imbecile; but his reign stands out in refreshing contrast to the cruel tyranny of Tiberius and the wild extravagances of Caligula.

The Emperor's Household. — Claudius was naturally weak and timid, and came under the influence of the members of his household—his wives and freedmen. The intrigues and crimes of his wife Messali'na, and of his niece Agrippi'na, whom he married after the death of Messalina, were a scandal to Roman society. So far as he was influenced by these abandoned women, his reign was a disgrace. But the same can scarcely be said of the freedmen of his household—Narcissus, his secretary; Pallas, the keeper of accounts; and Polybius, the director of his studies. These men were educated Greeks, and although they were called menials, he took them into his

confidence and received benefit from their advice. Indeed, it has been said that "from Claudius dates the transformation of Caesar's household servants into ministers of state."

His Public Works. — Claudius followed the example of Augustus in the execution of works of public utility. He constructed the Claudian aqueduct, which brought water to the city from a distance of forty-five miles. For the purpose of giving Rome a good harbor where the grain supplies from Egypt might be landed, he built the *Portus Romanus* at the



RUINS OF THE CLAUDIAN AQUEDUCT

mouth of the Tiber near Ostia. To improve the agriculture of the Marsians, he constructed a great tunnel to drain the Fucine Lake, a work which required the labor of thirty thousand men for eleven years. He celebrated the completion of this work by a mimic naval battle on the waters of the lake.

The Conquest of Southern Britain. — But the most important event of the reign of Claudius was the invasion and partial conquest of Britain. Since the invasion of Julius Caesar a hundred years before, the Romans had taken little interest in this island. With the aid of his lieutenants, Aulus Plautius and Vespasian, Claudius now effected a permanent landing in Britain. He was opposed by the famous Celtic chief Caractacus, but suc-

ceeded in subduing the southern part of the island. Britain was thus opened to the benefits of Roman civilization.

His Care of the Provinces. — It is to the credit of Claudius that he was greatly interested in the condition of the provinces. He spent much time in regulating the affairs of the East. The kingdom of Thrace was changed into a province, and governed by a Roman procurator. Lycia, in Asia Minor, also was made a province, as well as Mauretania in Africa. One of the most important changes which he made was the restoration of the kingdom of the Jews to Herod Agrippa. This he did out of respect for this people, and to allay the bad feeling which had been stirred up during the previous reign. But Claudius especially showed his interest in the provinces by extending to them the rights of Roman citizenship. The *civitas* was granted to a large part of Gaul, thus carrying out the policy which had been begun by Julius Cæsar. If we except the scandals of the court, the reign of Claudius may be regarded as inspired by prudence and a wise regard for the welfare of his subjects.

IV. THE REIGN OF NERO (A.D. 54–68)

The “Quinquennium Neronis.” — Nero was the grandson of Germanicus and a descendant of Augustus. He was proclaimed by the prætorians and accepted by the senate. He had been educated by the great philosopher Seneca; and his interests had been looked after by Burrhus, the able captain of the prætorian guards. His accession was hailed with gladness. He assured the senate that he would not interfere with its powers. The first five years of his reign, which are known as the “Quinquennium Neronis,” were marked by a wise and beneficent administration. During this time he yielded to the advice and influence of Seneca and Burrhus, who practically controlled the affairs of the empire and restrained the young prince from exercising his power to the detriment of the state. Under their influence delation was forbidden, the taxes were reduced, and the authority of the senate was respected.

Tyranny and Crimes of Nero. — But Nero's worst foes were those of his own household, especially his unscrupulous and ambitious mother, Agrippina. The intrigues of this woman to displace Nero and to elevate Britannicus, the son of Claudius, led to Nero's first domestic tragedy — the poisoning of Britannicus. He afterward yielded himself to the influence of the infamous Poppæa Sabina, the most beautiful and the wickedest woman of Rome. At her suggestion, he murdered first his mother, and then his wife. He discarded the counsels of Seneca and



NERO

Burrhus, and accepted those of Tigellinus, a man of the worst character. Then followed a career of wickedness, extortion, atrocious cruelty, which it is not necessary to describe, but which has made his name a synonym for all that is vicious in human nature, and despicable in a ruler.

Burning and Rebuilding of the City. — In the tenth year of his reign occurred a great fire which destroyed a large part of the city of Rome. It is said that out of the fourteen regions, six were reduced to ashes. Many ancient temples and public buildings were consumed, such as the temple of Jupiter Stator ascribed to Romulus, and the temples of Vesta and Diana, which dated from the time of the kings. The reports which have come to us of the conduct of Nero during this great disaster are very diverse. Some represent him as gloating over the destruction of the city and repeating his own poem on the "Sack of Troy." Other reports declare that he

never showed himself in a more favorable light, exerting himself to put out the flames, opening the public buildings and the



TEMPLE OF VESTA (Restored)

imperial palace for the shelter of the homeless, and relieving the suffering by reducing the price of grain. But it is charged that if he performed these charities, it was to relieve himself of the suspicion of having caused the conflagration. Whatever may be the truth

as to his conduct, the burning of Rome resulted in rebuilding the city on a more magnificent scale. The narrow streets were widened, and more splendid buildings were erected. The vanity of the emperor was shown in the building of an enormous and meretricious palace, called the "golden house of Nero," and also in the erection of a colossal statue of himself near the Palatine hill. To meet the expenses of these structures the provinces were obliged to contribute; and the cities and temples of Greece were plundered of their works of art to furnish the new buildings.

First Persecution of the Christians.—In order to shield himself from the suspicion of firing the city, Nero accused the Christians and made them the victims of his cruelty. Nothing can give us a more vivid idea of this first persecution than the account of the Roman historian Tac'itus, which is of great interest to us because it contains the first reference found in any pagan author to Christ and his followers. This passage shows not only the cruelty of Nero and the terrible sufferings of the early Christian martyrs, but also the pagan prejudice against the new religion.

Tacitus says: "In order to drown the rumor, Nero shifted the guilt on persons hated for their abominations and known

as Christians, and punished them with exquisite tortures. Christ, from whom they derive their name, had been punished under Tiberius by the procurator Pontius Pilate. Checked for a time, this pernicious religion broke out again not only in Judea but in Rome. Those who confessed their creed were first arrested; and then by their information a large number were convicted, not so much on the charge of burning the city, as of hating the human race. In their deaths they were made the subjects of sport; for they were covered with the skins of wild beasts, worried to death by dogs, nailed to crosses, burned to serve for torches in the night. Nero offered his own gardens for this spectacle. The people were moved with pity for the sufferers; for it was felt that they were suffering to gratify Nero's cruelty, not from considerations for the public welfare." ("Annals," Bk. XV., Ch. 44.)

General Condition of the Empire.—In spite of such enormous crimes as those practiced by Nero, the larger part of the empire was beyond the circle of his immediate influence, and remained undisturbed. While the palace and the city presented scenes of intrigue and bloodshed, the world in general was tranquil and even prosperous. Except the occasional extortion by which the princes sought to defray the expenses of their debaucheries, Italy and the provinces were reaping the fruits of the reforms of Julius Caesar and Augustus. During this early period, the empire was better than the emperor. Men tolerated the excesses and vices of the palace, on the ground that a bad ruler was better than anarchy.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Pelham, Bk. V., Ch. 4, "The Julian Line" (1).¹

Capes, Early Empire, Ch. 2, "Tiberius," Ch. 3, "Caligula," Ch. 4, "Claudius," Ch. 5, "Nero" (7).

Bury, Empire, Ch. 13, Sect. 1, "Civil Government of Tiberius" (7).

Merivale, Empire, Vol. IV., Ch. 29, "Unity of the Empire" (7).

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

Cruttwell, Bk. III., Ch. 3, "Seneca" (17).

Suetonius, "Tiberius," "Caligula," "Claudius," "Nero" (11).

Tacitus, *Annals*, Bk. I., Chs. 11-15. Tiberius and the Senate (4).

SPECIAL STUDY

THE LAW OF "MAJESTAS" AND DELATION. — Leighton, p. 442 (1); Bury, *Empire*, pp. 194, 195 (7); Capes, *Early Empire*, pp. 57-61 (7); Merivale, *Gen. Hist.*, pp. 446, 447 (1); Merivale, *Empire*, Vol. V., pp. 114-139 (7).

CHAPTER XXV

THE FLAVIAN EMPERORS — VESPASIAN TO DOMITIAN

I. THE DISPUTED SUCCESSION

Extinction of the Julian Line. — With the death of Nero, the imperial line which traced its descent from Julius Caesar and Augustus became extinct. We are now about to discover one of the great defects of the empire as established by Augustus. With all his prudence, Augustus had failed to provide a definite law of succession. In theory the appointment of a successor depended upon the choice of the senate, with which he was supposed to share his power. But in fact it depended quite as much upon the army, upon which his power rested for support. Whether the appointment was made by the senate or by the army, the choice had hitherto always fallen upon some member of the Julian family. But with the extinction of the Julian line, the imperial office was open to any one.

The War of Succession. — Under such circumstances we could hardly expect anything else than a contest for the throne. Not only the prætorian guards, but the legions in the field, claimed the right to name the successor. The rival claims of different armies to place their favorite generals on the throne led to a brief period of civil war — the first to break the long peace established by Augustus.

Galba (A.D. 68–69). — At the time of Nero's death, the Spanish legions had already selected their commander, Galba, for the position of emperor.

Advancing upon Rome, this general was accepted by the prætorians and approved by the senate. He was a man of high birth, and with a good military record. But his career was a brief one. The legions on the Rhine revolted against him. The prætorians were discontented with his severity and small donations. He soon found a rival in Otho, the husband of the infamous Poppæa Sabina who had disgraced the



GALBA

reign of Nero. Otho enlisted the support of the prætorians, and Galba was murdered to give place to his rival.

Otho (A.D. 69). — The brief space of three months, during which Otho was emperor, cannot be called a reign, but only an attempt to reign. On his accession the new aspirant to the throne found his right immediately disputed by the legions of Spain and Gaul, which proclaimed Vitellius. The armies of these two rivals met in northern Italy, and fortune declared in favor of Vitellius.

Vitellius (A.D. 69). — No sooner had Vitellius begun to revel in the luxuries of the palace, than the standard of revolt was again raised, this time by the legions of the East in favor of their able and popular commander, Vespasian. The events of the previous contest were now repeated; and on the same battlefield in northern Italy where Otho's army had been defeated by that of Vitellius, the forces of Vitellius were now

defeated by those of Vespasian. Afterward a severe and bloody contest took place in the streets of Rome, and Vespasian made his position secure.

The only significance of these three so-called reigns, and the civil wars which attended them, is the fact that they showed the great danger to which the empire was exposed by having no regular law of succession.

II. THE REIGN OF VESPASIAN (A.D. 69-79)

Beginning of a New Era. — The accession of Vespasian was the beginning of a new era for Rome. Indeed, the next century



VESPASIAN

may be regarded as the most prosperous in her whole history. The ideals of Julius Cæsar and Augustus seemed to be realized. The hundred and eleven years which elapsed from the beginning of Vespasian's reign to the death of Marcus Aurelius, have been called the happiest in the history of mankind. The new emperor belonged to the Flavian family, which furnished three rulers, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian. Vespasian was

an able and efficient prince. He rescued Rome from the bankrupt condition into which it had been plunged by his predecessors. He retrenched the expenses of the court and set the example of moderation. He appointed good governors for the provinces, and extended the Latin right, that is, the *commercium*, to the people of Spain.

Roman Civilization in Gaul. — The first duty of Vespasian was to suppress a revolt in Gaul which, under Claudius Civilis, threatened to deprive Rome of that province. After three defeats Civilis was obliged to give up his ambitious scheme, and Gaul again was pacified. Nowhere in the West, outside of Italy, did the civilization of Rome take a firmer hold. Gaul became the seat of Roman colonies: its cities were united by Roman roads; and the Roman language, literature, law,

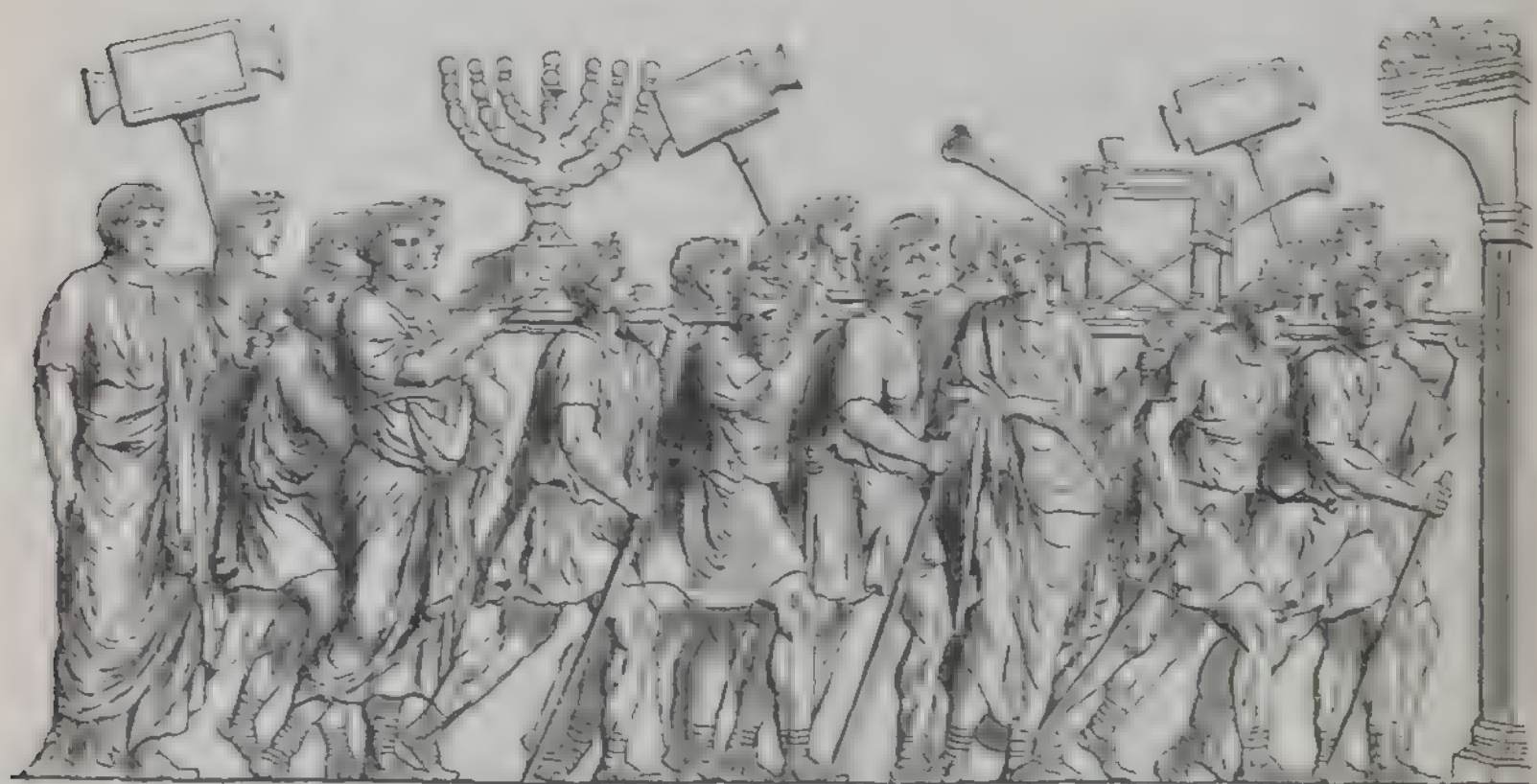


AQUEDUCT OF NISMES, FRANCE

manners, and art found there a congenial home. The ruins which we find to-day in France, of the ancient buildings, baths, aqueducts and amphitheatres, show how completely the province of Gaul was Romanized.

Destruction of Jerusalem (A.D. 70). — The most unfortunate event in the reign of Vespasian was the revolt of the Jews, which finally resulted in the destruction of Jerusalem. There had been many changes in the government of Judea since its first conquest by Pompey. Some of these changes had been made to reconcile the Jews to the Roman sway. But there had been many things to awaken the opposition of the people;

for example, the unreasonable prejudice against them at Rome, the insane attempt of Caligula to place his statue in their temple, as well as the harsh government of Nero. At last the Jews were provoked into a general rebellion. Vespasian was conducting the war against them when he was proclaimed emperor by his legions. The war was then left in the hands of his son Titus, who, in spite of desperate resistance, captured and destroyed the sacred city. The Jews were left without a national home; and Judea became a separate province of the



SPOILS OF JERUSALEM (From the Arch of Titus)

empire. The representation of the golden candlestick cut upon the arch of Titus is a striking memorial of this unfortunate war.

The Public Buildings. — By the strictest economy Vespasian was able to replenish the treasury; and by the means thus obtained he spent large sums upon the public buildings of Rome. He restored the Capitoline temple, which had been destroyed during the late civil war. He laid out a new Forum which bore his name. He built a temple to Peace, the goddess whom he delighted to honor. But the most memorable of his works was the Flavian Amphitheater, or as it is sometimes called, the Colosse'um (see p. 313; also pp. 302, 303). This

stupendous building occupied about six acres of ground, and was capable of seating nearly fifty thousand spectators. The sports which took place in this great structure were the most popular of all the Roman amusements.

Amusements of the Romans. — The chief public amusements of the Romans were those which took place in the circus, the theater, and the amphitheater.

The greatest circus of Rome was the Circus Maximus. It was an inclosure about two thousand feet long and six hundred feet wide. Within it were arranged seats for different classes of citizens, a separate box being reserved for the imperial family. The games consisted chiefly of chariot races. The excitement was due to the reckless and dangerous driving of the charioteers, each striving to win by upsetting his competitors. There were also athletic sports; running, leaping, boxing, wrestling, throwing the quoit, and hurling the javelin. Sometimes sham battles and sea fights took place.

The Romans were not very much addicted to the theater, there being only three principal structures of this kind at Rome, those of Pompey, Marcellus, and Balbus (pp. 302, 303). The theater was derived from the Greeks and was built in the form of a semicircle, the seats being apportioned, as in the case of the circus, to different classes of persons. The shows consisted largely of dramatic exhibitions, of mimes, pantomimes, and dancing. It is said that the poems of Ovid were acted in pantomime.

The most popular and characteristic amusements of the Romans were the sports of the amphitheater. This building was in the form of a double theater, forming an entire circle or ellipse. Such structures were built in different cities of the empire, but none equaled the colossal building of Vespasian. The sports of the amphitheater were chiefly gladiatorial shows and the combats of wild beasts. The amusements of the Romans were largely sensational, and appealed to the tastes of the populace. Their influence was almost always bad, and tended to degrade the morals of the people.



A ROMAN CHARIOT RACE

III. REIGN OF TITUS (79-81)

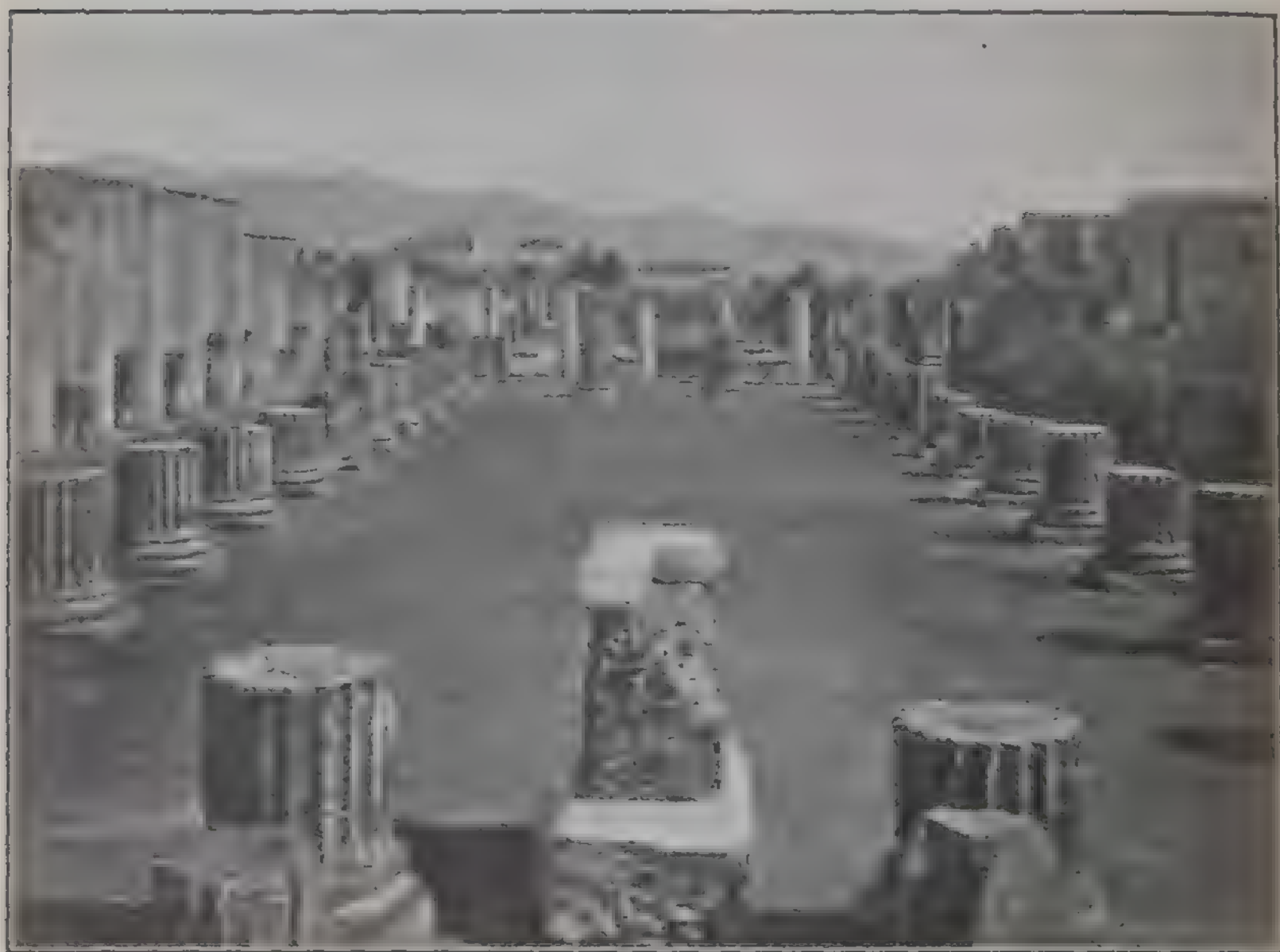
The "Delight of Mankind." — Vespasian had prepared for his death by associating with him in the government his son, Titus; so the change to the new reign was attended by no war of succession or other disturbance. The great aim of Titus was to make himself loved by the people. He was lavish in the giving of public shows. He dedicated the great amphitheater built by his father with a magnificent naval spectacle. He ruled with so much kindness and moderation that he became the most popular of the emperors, and was called the "Delight of Mankind." It is related that one evening he remembered that he had bestowed no gift upon any one, and in regret exclaimed to his friends, "I have lost a day."



TITUS

Destruction of Herculaneum and Pompeii. — But the reign of Titus, delightful as it was, was marked by two great calamities. One was a great fire which consumed the new temple of the Capitoline Jupiter, which his father had just erected; and which also injured the Pantheon, the baths of Agrippa, and the theaters of Pompey and Marcellus. But the greatest calamity of this reign was due to the terrible eruption of Mt. Vesuvius, which destroyed the two cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii, situated on the Bay of Naples (see map, p. 239). The Romans had never suspected that this mountain was a volcano, although a few years before it had been shaken by an earth-

quake. The scenes which attended this eruption are described by the younger Pliny, whose uncle, the elder Pliny, lost his life while investigating the causes of the eruption. The buried city of Pompeii has been exhumed, and its relics reveal in a vivid way the private life and customs of the Roman people.



RUINS OF POMPEII

IV. LIFE AND MANNERS OF THE ROMANS

Houses of the Romans.—The uncovered ruins of Pompeii show to us a great many houses, from the most simple to the elaborate “House of Pansa.” The ordinary house (*domus*) consisted of front and rear parts connected by a central area, or court. The front part contained the entrance hall (*vestibulum*); the large reception room (*atrium*); and the private room of the master (*tablinum*), which contained the archives of the family. The large central court was surrounded by columns (*peristylum*). The rear part contained the more private apart-

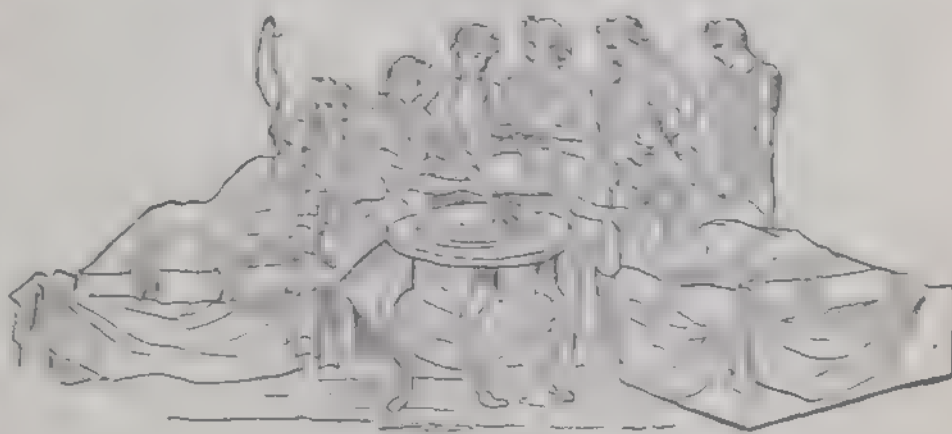
ments — the dining room (*triclinium*), where the members of the family took their meals reclining on couches; the kitchen (*culina*); and the bathroom (*balneum*). The Romans had no



ROMAN HOUSE, SHOWING THE ATRIUM IN THE FOREGROUND

stoves like ours, and rarely did they have any chimneys. The house was warmed by portable furnaces (*foculi*), like fire pans, in which coal or charcoal was burned, the smoke escaping

through the doors or an open place in the roof; sometimes hot air was introduced by pipes from below. The rooms were lighted either by candles (*candelæ*) made of tallow or wax; or by oil lamps (*lucernæ*) made of terra cotta, or of bronze, worked sometimes into exquisite designs.

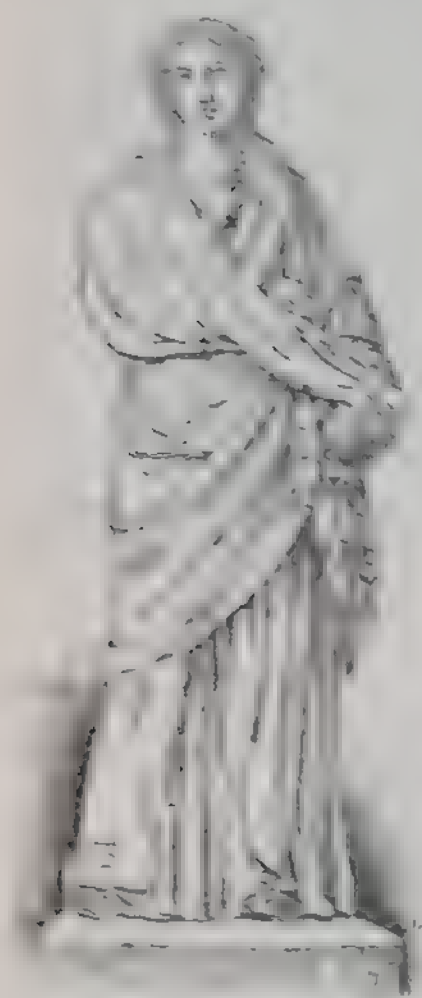


DINING COUCHES

Meals. — There were usually three daily meals: the breakfast

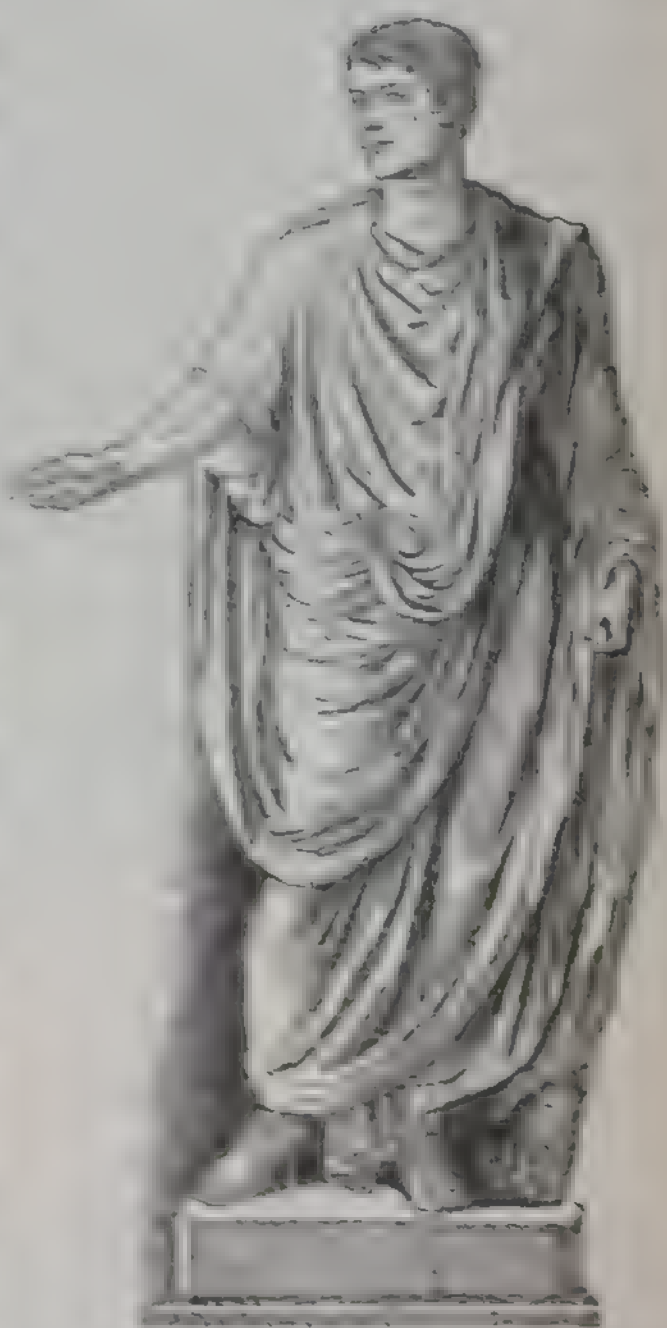
(*coenaculum*), soon after rising: the *luncheon*, or midday meal (*prandium*); and the *dinner*, or supper (*cena*), in the afternoon. The food of the poorer classes consisted of a kind of porridge, or breakfast food (*poculum*) made of a coarse species of wheat (*far*), together with ordinary vegetables, such as turnips and onions, with milk and olives. The wealthy classes vied with one another in procuring the rarest delicacies from Italy and other parts of the world.

Dress. — The characteristic dress of the man was the *capa*, a loose garment thrown about the person in ample folds, and covering a closer garment called the tunic (*tunica*). The Romans wore sandals on the feet, but generally no covering for the head. The dress of a Roman matron con-



STOLA AND PALLA

sisted of three parts: the close-fitting *tunica*; the *stola*, a gown reaching to the feet; and the *palla*, a shawl large enough to cover the whole figure. The ladies took great pains in arranging the hair, and possessed the usual fondness for ornaments —



TUNICA

necklaces, bracelets, earrings, and costly jewels.

Writing Materials. — For writing the Romans used different materials: first, the tablet (*tabula*), or a thin piece of board covered with wax, which was written upon with a sharp iron pencil (*stylus*); next, a kind of paper (*papyrus*) made from the

plant called *papyrus*; and, finally, parchment (*membrana*) made from the skins of animals. The paper and parchment were written upon with a pen made of reed sharpened with a penknife, and ink made of a mixture of lampblack. When a book (*liber*) was written, the different pieces of paper or parchment were pasted together in a long sheet and rolled upon a round stick. When collected in a library (*bibliotheca*), the rolls were arranged upon shelves or in boxes.



WRITING MATERIALS

The **Employments** of the Romans comprised many of the chief occupations and trades with which we are familiar to-day, including professional, commercial, mechanical, and agricultural pursuits. To the learned professions belonged the priest, the lawyer, the physician, and the teacher. The commercial classes included the merchant, the banker, the broker, the contractor, to whom may also be added the taxgatherer of earlier times. The mechanical trades comprised a great variety of occupations, such as the making of glass, earthenware, bread, cloth, wearing apparel, articles of wood, leather, iron, bronze, silver, and gold. The artisans were often organized into societies or guilds (*collegia*) for their mutual benefit: these guilds were very ancient, their origin being ascribed to Numa. The agriculturists of Rome comprised the large landowners, who were regarded as a highly respectable class, and the small proprietors, the free laborers, and the slaves, the last mentioned forming a great part of the tillers of the soil. In general, the Roman who claimed to be respectable disdained all manual labor, and resigned such labor into the hands of slaves and freedmen.

Marriage. — The marriage customs comprised, first, the ceremony of betrothal (*sponsalia*), which included the formal consent of the bride's father, and an announcement in the form of a festival or the presentation of the betrothal ring; secondly,

the marriage ceremony, which might be either a religious ceremony, in which a consecrated cake was eaten in the presence of the priest (*confarreatio*), or a secular ceremony, in which the father gave away his daughter by the forms of a legal sale (*coemptio*). In the time of the empire it was customary for persons to be married without these ceremonies, by their simple consent. During this time, also, divorces became common, and the general morals of society became corrupt.

Life in the Towns. — The towns of the empire were in their general appearance reflections of the capital city on the Tiber. Each town had its forum, its temples, its courthouse (*basilica*), and its places of entertainment. Its government seemed to be copied after the old city government of Rome. It had its magistrates, chief among whom were two men (*duoviri*), something like the old consuls. It had its municipal council or senate (*curia*), controlled by a municipal aristocracy (*ordo*). Its people delighted in the same kind of shows and amusements that we have seen at Rome (p. 249). At Pompeii we find in the graffiti, or writings left upon the walls of buildings, some remarkable evidences of the ordinary life of the townsmen. Some of these writings hardly rise above the dignity of mere scribblings. They are most numerous upon the buildings in those places frequented by the crowds. There we find advertisements of public shows, memoranda of sales, cookery receipts, personal lampoons, love effusions, and hundreds of similar records of the common life of this ancient people.

If we should attempt to draw a distinction among the various towns of the empire, we might observe that the people of the Western towns became more Romanized than those of the Eastern towns. The Latin language prevailed in the West, and the Greek language in the East. But still the Latin was used as the official language in the East as well as in the West; and, on the other hand, the knowledge of the Greek was a mark of culture in the West as in the East.

V. THE REIGN OF DOMITIAN (A.D. 81-96)

Exceptional Tyranny of Domitian. — The happy period begun by Vespasian and Titus was interrupted by the exceptional tyranny of Domitian, the younger brother of Titus. Domitian seemed to take for his models Tiberius and Nero. He ignored the senate and the forms of the constitution. He revived the practice of delation, and was guilty of confiscations and extortions. He teased and irritated all classes. He persecuted the Jews and the Christians. Like Tiberius, he was suspicious, and lived in perpetual fear of assassination. His fears were realized;



DOMITIAN

a conspiracy was organized against him, and he was murdered by a freedman of the palace.

Agricola in Britain. — The chief event of importance in the reign of Domitian was the extension of the Roman power in Britain. Agricola had already been appointed governor of Britain by Vespasian; but it was not until this time that his arms were crowned with marked success. The limits of the province were now pushed to the north, and a new field was opened for the advance of civilization. Britain became dotted with Roman cities, united by great military roads. As in Gaul, the Roman law and customs found a home, although they did not obtain so enduring an influence as in the continental provinces.

The Silver Age of Roman Literature. — The period of Roman

literature which followed the age of Augustus is often called "the Silver Age." The despotic rule of the Julian emperors had not been favorable to literature. Only two names of that period stand out with prominence, those of Seneca, the Stoic philosopher, and Lucan, who wrote an epic poem describing the civil war between Pompey and Caesar. Under the Flavians occurred a revival of letters, which continued under the subsequent emperors. Among the most noted writers who flourished at this time were Juvenal, the satirist; Tacitus, the historian; Suetonius, the biographer of the "Twelve Caesars"; Martial, the epigrammatist; Quintilian, the rhetorician; and Pliny the Younger, the writer of epistles. Although the writings of the Silver Age do not equal those of the age of Augustus in grace of style, they show quite as much vigor and originality.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Cicero, *Early English*, Ch. 9, "Vespasian," Ch. 10, "Titus," Ch. 11, "Domitian" (7).¹

Merivale, *Gen. Hist.*, Ch. 60, "The Wars of Succession" (1).

Bury, *Empire*, Ch. 31, "Roman Life and Manners" (7).

Thomas, Ch. 1, "At Pompeii"; Ch. 8, "Country Life" (16).

Merivale, *Empire*, Vol. IV., Ch. 41, "Life in Rome" (7).

Inge, Ch. 9, "Amusements" (16).

Gold and Koser, pp. 331-341, "Amplified Roman Games" (13).

Pratt and Dodge, II., "The House and Every Day Life" (16).

See also Appendix (16), "Life and Manners."

SPECIAL STUDY

THE ROMAN HOUSE. — Inge, pp. 241-245 (16); Eschschmann, pp. 199-202 (8); Gold and Koser, pp. 331-341, 417-420 (13); Harper's *Dom. Antiqq.*, "Domus" (8); Becker, Gallus, pp. 231-314 (16).

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE FIVE GOOD EMPERORS,—NERVA TO MARCUS AURELIUS

I. THE REIGN OF NERVA (A.D. 96–98)

Prosperity of the Empire.—With the death of Domitian the empire came back into the hands of wise and beneficent rulers. The “five good emperors,” as they are usually called, were Nerva, Trajan, and Hadrian (who were related to one another only by adoption), and the two An’tonines, Antoni’nus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. The period of general prosperity which began under Vespasian continued under these emperors. It is during this time that we are able to see Roman civilization at its best, its highest stage of development. Nerva was chosen neither by the prætorians nor by the legions, but by the senate. Within the brief time that he sat upon the throne, he could do little except to remedy the wrongs of his predecessor. He forbade the practice of delation, recalled the exiles of Domitian, relieved the people from some oppressive taxes and was tolerant to the Christians. His wise and just reign is praised by all ancient writers. In order to prevent any trouble at his death, he adopted Trajan as his successor and gave him a share in the government.



NERVA

Nerva's Attempt to relieve the Poor. — One of the characteristic features of Nerva's short reign was his attempt to relieve the poor. In the first place, he bought up large lots of land from the wealthy landlords, and let them out to the needy citizens. It is noteworthy that he submitted this law to the assembly of the people. In the next place, he showed his great interest in the cause of public education. He set apart a certain fund, the interest of which was used to educate the children of poor parents. This interest in providing for the care and education of the poorer classes was continued by his successors.

Roman Education. — Education among the Romans, though not usually endowed by the state, was very general and was



BOY WITH CALCULATING BOARD

highly appreciated. Its main features were derived from the Greeks. It was intended to develop all the mental powers, and to train a man for public life. Children — both boys and girls — began to attend school at six or seven years of age. The elementary studies were reading, writing, and arithmetic. The children were tempted to learn the alphabet by playing with pieces of ivory with the letters marked upon them. They were taught writing by a copy, set upon their tablets; and arithmetic by means of the calculating board (*abacus*) and counters (*calculus*). The higher education comprised what were called the liberal arts (*artes liberales*), including the Latin and Greek languages, composition and oratory, and mental and moral philosophy. An important part of education consisted in public recitals and declamations, which were intended to train young men for the forum, and which were often held in the temples. The state sometimes patronized education, as we have already seen in the case of Nerva. Hadrian afterward instituted a public school in a building

called the *Athenæum*. Public fees were sometimes paid to the instructors (*professores*) in addition to the fees of the pupils.

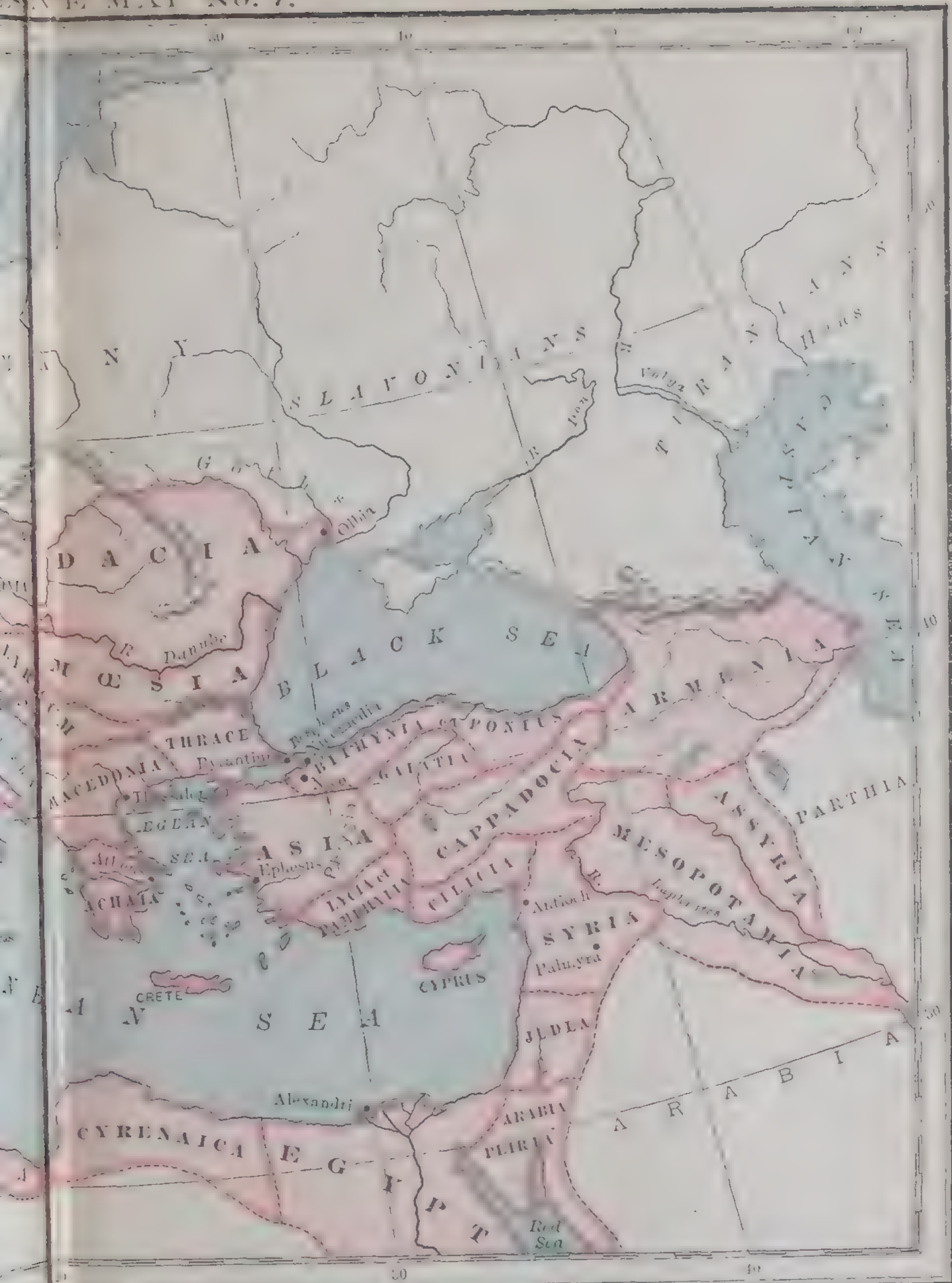
II. THE REIGN OF TRAJAN (A.D. 98-117)

The Greatness of Trajan. — After Julius Caesar and Augustus, Trajan may be called, in many respects, the greatest of the Roman sovereigns. Adopted by Nerva, he was accepted by the senate. He made himself popular with the army and with the great body of the people. He was a Spaniard by birth; and the fact that he was the first emperor who was not a native of Italy, shows that the distinction between Romans and provincials was passing away. He was a brave general, a wise statesman, and a successful administrator. He continued the efforts of Nerva to remedy the evils which the early despotism had brought upon Rome. To the people he restored the elective power; to the senate, liberty of speech and of action; to the magistrates, their former authority. He abolished the law of treason (*læa maiestatis*), and assumed his proper place as the chief magistrate of the empire. He was a generous patron of literature and of art. He also desired to relieve the condition of the poor. It is said that five thousand children received from him their daily allowance of food. So highly was Trajan esteemed by the Romans that to his other imperial titles was added that of “*Optimus*” (the Best).



TRAJAN





A LIST OF THE CHIEF ROMAN PROVINCES

WITH THE DATES OF THEIR ACQUISITION OR ORGANIZATION

I. EUROPEAN PROVINCES

1. *Western.*

Spain (B.C. 205-19).
 Gaul (B.C. 120-17).
 Britain (A.D. 43-84).

2. *Central.*

Rhætia et Vindelicia (B.C. 15).
 Noricum (B.C. 15).
 Pannonia (A.D. 10).

3. *Eastern.*

Illyricum (B.C. 167-59).
 Macedonia (B.C. 146).
 Achaia (B.C. 146).
 Moesia (B.C. 29).
 Thrace (A.D. 46).
 Dacia (A.D. 107).

II. AFRICAN PROVINCES

Africa proper (B.C. 146).
 Cyrenaica and Crete (B.C. 74, 63).
 Numidia (B.C. 46).
 Egypt (B.C. 30).
 Mauretania (A.D. 42).

III. ASIATIC PROVINCES

1. *In Asia Minor.*

Asia proper (B.C. 133).
 Bithynia et Pontus (B.C. 74, 65).
 Cilicia (B.C. 67).
 Galatia (B.C. 25).
 Pamphylia et Lycia (B.C. 25, A.D. 43).
 Cappadocia (A.D. 17).

2. *In Southwestern Asia.*

Syria (B.C. 64).
 Judea (B.C. 63-A.D. 70).
 Arabia Petræa (A.D. 105).
 Armenia (A.D. 114).
 Mesopotamia (A.D. 115).
 Assyria (A.D. 115).

IV. ISLAND PROVINCES

Sicily (B.C. 241).
 Sardinia et Corsica (B.C. 238).
 Cyprus (B.C. 58).

Total, 32.

NOTE. — Many of these chief provinces were subdivided into smaller provinces, each under a separate governor — making the total number of provincial governors more than one hundred. For a complete list of the Roman provinces in A.D. 117, see Leighton, p. xxix.

The Conquests of Trajan. — Since the death of Augustus there had been made no important additions to the Roman territory, except Britain. But under Trajan the Romans became once more a conquering people. The new emperor carried his conquests across the Danube and acquired the province of Dacia. He then extended his arms into Asia, and brought into subjection Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria, as the result of a



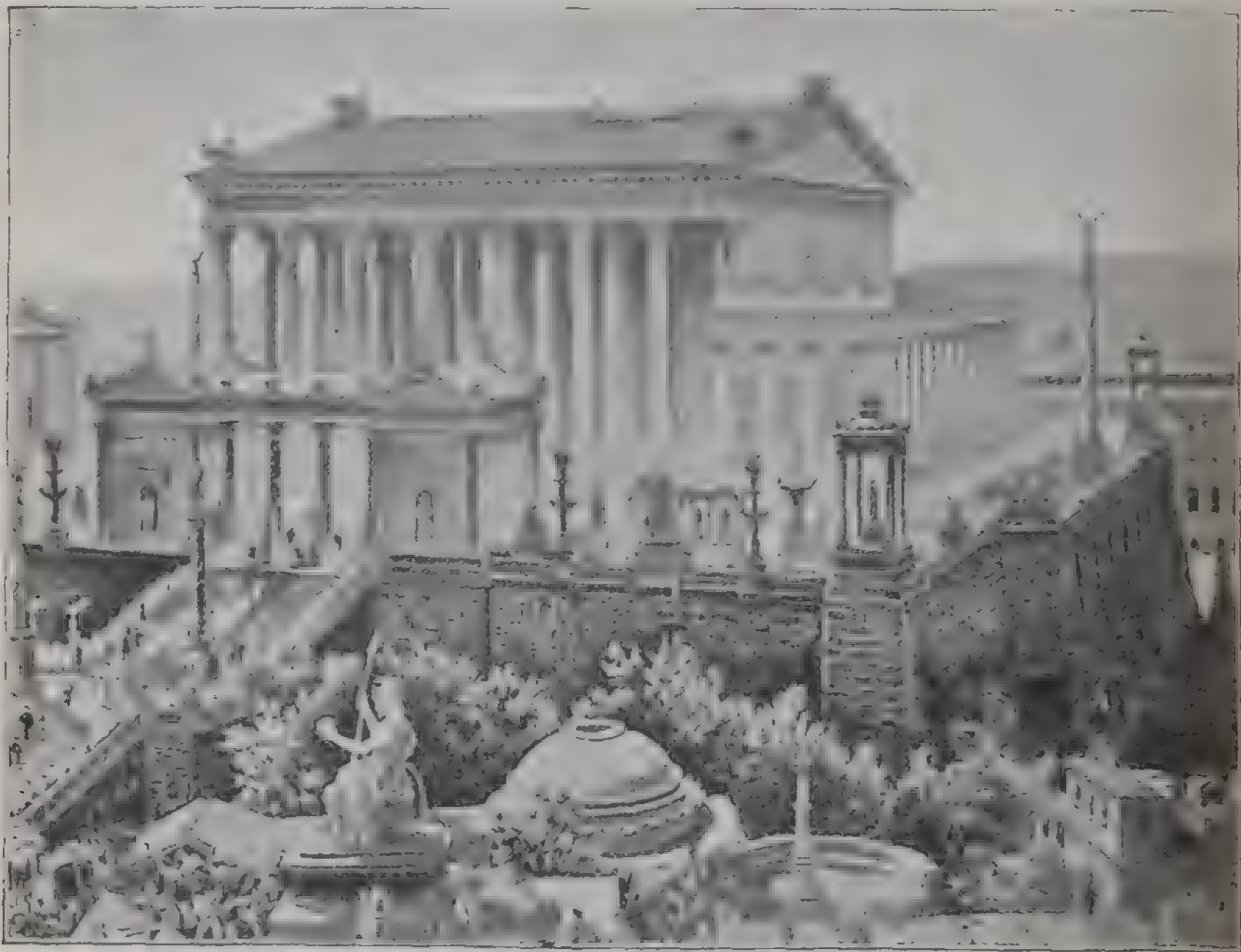
FORUM AND COLUMN OF TRAJAN

short war with the Parthians. Under Trajan the boundaries of the empire reached their greatest extent.

His Public Works and Buildings. — Rome and Italy and the provinces all received the benefit of his wise administration; and the empire reached its highest point of material grandeur. Roads were constructed for the aid of the provincials. He restored the harbors of Italy, and improved the water supply of Rome. He built two new baths, one of which was for the exclusive use of women. The greatest monument of Trajan

was the new Forum, in which a splendid column was erected to commemorate his victories.

Roman Art. — During this period Roman art reached its highest development. The art of the Romans, as we have before noticed, was modeled in great part after that of the Greeks. While lacking the fine sense of beauty which the Greeks possessed, the Romans yet expressed in a remarkable



TEMPLE OF JUPITER CAPITOLINUS (Restoration)

degree the ideas of massive strength and of imposing dignity. In their sculpture and painting they were least original, reproducing the figures of Greek deities, like those of Venus and Apollo, and Greek mythological scenes, as shown in the wall paintings at Pompeii. Roman sculpture is seen to good advantage in the statues and busts of the emperors, and in such reliefs as those on the arch of Titus and the column of Trajan.

But it was in architecture that the Romans excelled; and by their splendid works they have taken rank among the world's

greatest builders. We have already seen the progress made during the later Republic and under Augustus. With Trajan, Rome became a city of magnificent public buildings. The architectural center of the city was the Roman Forum (see frontispiece), with the additional Forums of Julius, Augustus, Vespasian, Nerva, and Trajan (see map, p. 303). Surrounding these were the temples, the basilicas or halls of justice, por-



TEMPLE OF JUNO MONETA (Restoration)

ticoes, and other public buildings. The most conspicuous buildings which would attract the eyes of one standing in the Forum were the splendid temples of Jupiter and Juno upon the Capitoline hill. While it is true that the Romans obtained their chief ideas of architectural beauty from the Greeks, it is a question whether Athens, even in the time of Pericles, could have presented such a scene of imposing grandeur as did Rome in the time of Trajan and Hadrian, with its forums, temples, aqueducts, basilicas, palaces, porticoes, amphitheaters, theaters, circuses, baths, columns, triumphal arches, and tombs.

III. THE REIGN OF HADRIAN (A.D. 117-138)

The Statesmanship of Hadrian. — At the death of Trajan, his adopted son Hadrian was proclaimed by the praetorian guards. But Hadrian did not regard this as a constitutional act; and he requested to be formally elected by the senate. In some respects he was similar to Trajan, with the same generous spirit and desire for the welfare of the people, and with the



HADRIAN

same wish to add to the architectural splendor of Rome. He was, like Trajan, a friend of literature and a patron of the fine arts. But he differed from Trajan in not thinking that the greatness of Rome depended upon military glory. He believed that the army should be maintained; but that foreign conquest was less important than the prosperity of his subjects. In his political ideas and administrative ability he was a type of the true statesman. He is said to

have been a man of wider acquirements and greater general capacity than any previous ruler since Julius Caesar. He was in the best sense liberal and cosmopolitan. He was tolerant of the Christians, and put himself in sympathy with the various races and creeds which made up the empire. Against the Jews only, who rose in revolt during his reign, did he show a spirit of unreasonable severity.

His Abandonment of Trajan's Conquests. — Hadrian did not believe that the mission of Rome was to conquer the world, but to civilize her own subjects. He therefore voluntarily

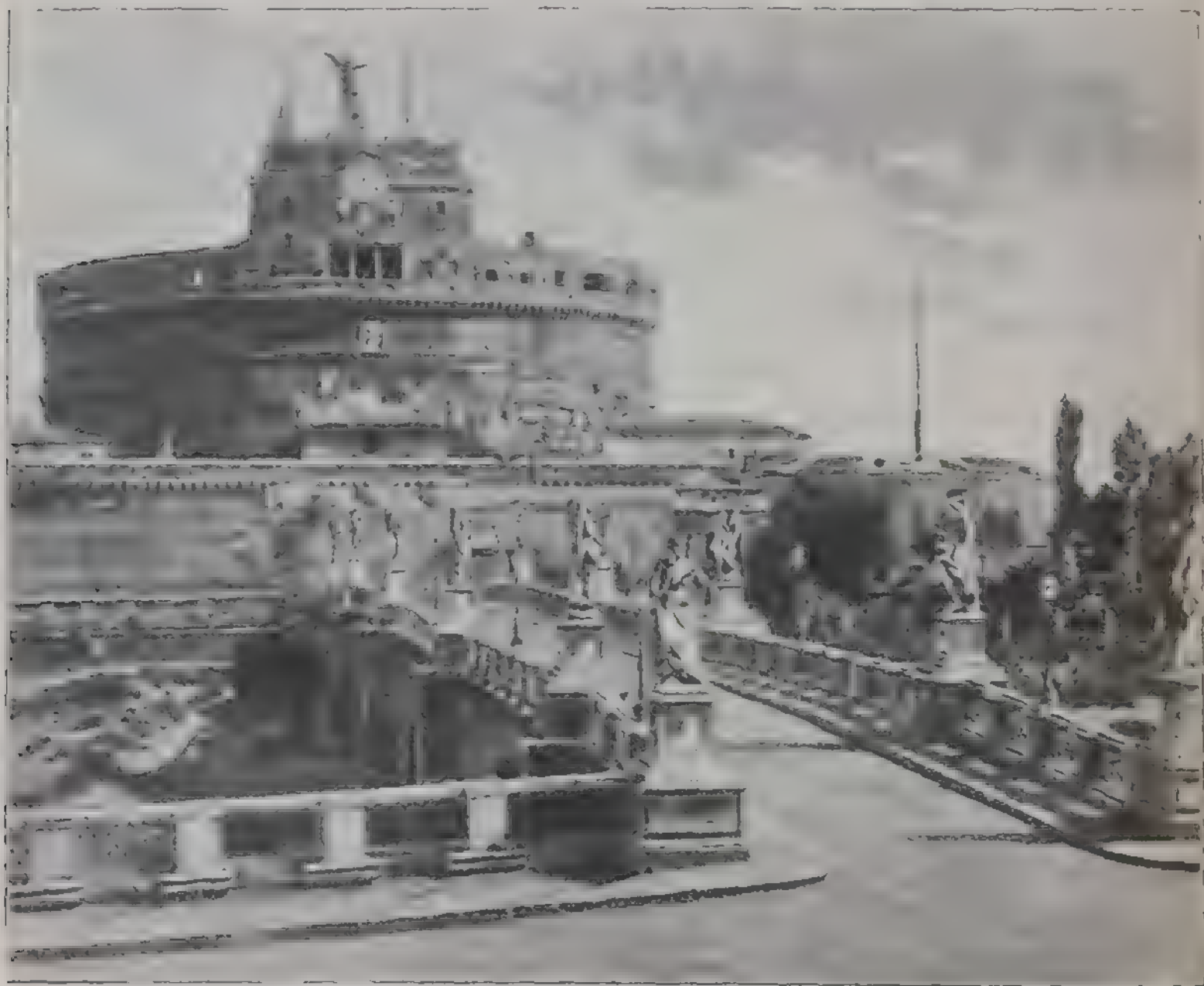
gave up the extensive conquests of Trajan in the East, the provinces of Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria. He declared that the Eastern policy of Trajan was a great mistake. He openly professed to cling to the policy of Augustus, which was to improve the empire rather than to enlarge it.

The Imperial Council. — Another evidence of the statesmanship of Hadrian is seen in the fact that he was willing to take advice. While he is said to have shown on some occasions an exceptional irritability of temper, he is represented as a man distinguished on the whole by “an affability rarely equaled by the Roman princes” (Merivale). He paid great deference to the senate; and the body of imperial counselors (*consilium principis*), which had been occasionally consulted by the previous emperors, became from his time a permanent institution. The emperor was not now the victim of unworthy advisers, as in the time of Tiberius, but was surrounded by men noted for their learning and wisdom. These men were often trained lawyers, who were skilled in the rules of justice.

The Perpetual Edict of Salvius Julianus. — Perhaps the most important event in the reign of Hadrian was his compilation of the best part of the Roman law. Since the XII. Tables there had been no collection of legal rules. That ancient code was framed upon the customs of a primitive people. It did not represent the actual law by which justice was now administered. A new and better law had grown up in the courts of the prætors and of the provincial governors. It had been expressed in the edicts of these magistrates; but it had now become voluminous and scattered. Hadrian delegated to one of his jurists, Salvius Julia'nus, the task of collecting this law into a concise form, so that it could be used for the better administration of justice throughout the empire. This collection was called the Perpetual Edict (*Edictum Perpetuum*).

The Visitation of the Provinces. — Hadrian showed a stronger sympathy with the provinces than any of his predecessors, and under his reign the provincials attained a high degree of prosperity and happiness. He conducted himself as a true

sovereign and friend of his people. To become acquainted with their condition and to remedy their evils, he spent a large part of his time in visiting the provinces. Of his long reign of twenty-one years, he spent more than two thirds outside of Italy. He made his temporary residence in the chief cities of the empire, — in York, in Athens, in Antioch, and in Alexandria — where he was continually looking after the in-



MAUSOLEUM OF HADRIAN (Castle of St. Angelo)

terests of his subjects. In the provinces, as at Rome, he constructed many magnificent public works: and won for himself a renown equal, if not superior, to that of Trajan as a great builder. Rome was decorated with the temple of Venus and Roma, and the splendid mausoleum which to-day bears the name of the Castle of St. Angelo. Hadrian also built strong fortifications to protect the frontiers, one of these connecting the head waters of the Rhine and the Danube, and another built on the northern boundary of Britain.

Life in the Provinces: Travel, Correspondence, Commerce.—The general organization of the provinces remained with few changes. There were still the two classes, the senatorial, governed by the proconsuls and proprætors, and the imperial, governed by the *legati*, or the emperor's lieutenants. The improvement which took place under the empire in the condition of the provinces was due to the longer term of office given to the governors, the more economic management of the finances, and the abolition of the system of farming the revenues.

The good influence of such emperors as Hadrian is seen in the new spirit which inspired the life of the provincials. The people were no longer the prey of the tax-gatherer, as in the times of the later republic. They could therefore use their wealth to improve and beautify their own cities. The growing public spirit is seen in the new buildings and works, everywhere erected, not only by the city governments, but by the generous contributions of private citizens. The relations between the people of different provinces were also becoming closer by the improvement of the means of communication. The roads were now extended throughout the empire, and were used not merely for the transportation of armies, but for travel and correspondence. The people thus became better acquainted with one another. Many of the highways were used as post-roads, over which letters might be sent by means of private runners or government couriers.

The different provinces of the empire were also brought into closer communication by means of the increasing commerce, which furnished one of the most honored pursuits of the Roman citizen. The provinces encircled the Mediterranean Sea, which was now the greatest highway of the empire. The sea was traversed by merchant ships exchanging the products of various lands. The provinces of the empire were thus joined together in one great commercial community.

IV. THE REIGN OF ANTONINUS PIUS (A.D. 138-161)

The Virtues of Antoninus. — If we desired to find in Roman history a more noble character than that of Hadrian, we should perhaps find it in his adopted son and successor, Antoninus, surnamed Pius. The description given of him by his son, Marcus Aurelius, is worthy to be read by the young people of all times. "In my father," he says, "I saw mildness of manners, firmness of resolution, contempt of vain glory. He



ANTONINUS PIUS

knew when to rest as well as to labor. He taught me to forbear from all improper indulgences, to conduct myself as an equal among equals, to lay on my friends no burden of servility. From him I learned to be resigned to every fortune and to bear myself calmly and serenely; to rise superior to vulgar applause, and to despise vulgar criticism; to worship the gods without superstition and to serve mankind without ambition. He was ever

prudent and moderate; he looked to his duty only, and not to the opinions that might be formed of him. Such was the character of his life and manners — nothing harsh, nothing excessive, nothing rude, nothing which showed roughness and violence."

The "Reign without Events." — The reign of Antoninus, although a long one of twenty-three years, is known in history as the uneventful reign. Since much that is usually called "eventful" in history is made up of wars, tumults, calamities,

and discords, it is to the greatest credit of Antoninus that his reign is called uneventful. We read of no conquests, no insurrections, no proscriptions, no extortions, no cruelty. His reign is an illustration of the maxim, "Happy is the people which has no history." Although not so great a statesman as Hadrian, he yet maintained the empire in a state of peace and prosperity. He managed the finances with skill and economy. He was kind to his subjects; and interfered to prevent the persecution of the Christians at Athens and Thessaloni'ca.

His Influence upon Law and Legislation. — If we should seek for the most distinguishing feature of his reign, we should doubtless find it in the field of law. His high sense of justice brought him into close relation with the great jurists of the age, who were now beginning to make their influence felt. With them he believed that the spirit of the law was more important than the letter. One of his maxims was this: "While the forms of the law must not be lightly altered, they must be interpreted so as to meet the demands of justice." He laid down the important principle that every one should be regarded as innocent until proved guilty. He mitigated the evils of slavery, and declared that a man had no more right to kill his own slave than the slave of another. It was about the close of his reign that the great elementary treatise on the Roman law, called the "*Institutes*" of Gaius, appeared.

Roman Jurisprudence. — Some one has said that the greatest bequests of antiquity to the modern world were Christianity, Greek philosophy, and the Roman law. We should study the history of Rome to little purpose if we failed to take account of this, the highest product of her civilization. It is not to her amphitheatres, her circuses, her triumphal arches, or to her sacred temples that we must look in order to see the most distinctive and enduring features of Roman life. We must look rather to her basilicas — that is, her courthouses — where the principles of justice were administered to her citizens and her subjects in the forms of law.

The Government and Administration. — It was during the period of the Antonines that the imperial government reached its highest development. This government was, in fact, the most remarkable example that the world has ever seen of what we may call a "paternal autocracy" — that is, a government in the hands of a single ruler, but exercised solely for the benefit of the people. In this respect the



INTERIOR OF THE BASILICA OF TRAJAN (RESTORATION)

ideals of Julius and Augustus seem to have been completely realized. The emperor was looked upon as the embodiment of the state, the personification of law, and the promoter of justice, equality, and domestic peace. Every department of the administration was under his control. He had the selection of the officials to carry into execution his will. The character of such a government the Romans well expressed in their maxim, "What is pleasing to the prince has the force of law."

V. THE REIGN OF MARCUS AURELIUS (A.D. 161-180)

The Philosopher on the Throne. — Marcus Aurelius was the adopted son of Antoninus Pius, and came to the throne at his father's death. The new emperor was first of all a philosopher. He had studied in the school of the Stoics, and was himself the highest embodiment of their principles. He was wise, brave, just, and temperate. The history of the pagan world presents no higher example of uprightness and manhood. In whatever he did he acted from a pure sense of duty. But his character as a man was no doubt greater than his ability as a statesman. So far as we know, Marcus Aurelius never shrank from a known duty, private or public; but it is not so clear that his sense of personal duty was always in harmony with the best interests of the empire.



MARCUS AURELIUS

Misfortunes of his Reign. — In judging of this great man we must not forget that his reign was a time of great misfortunes. Rome was afflicted by a deadly plague and famine, the most terrible in her history. From the East it spread over the provinces, carrying with it death and desolation. One writer affirms, with perhaps some exaggeration, that half the population of the empire perished. The fierce barbarians of the north were also trying to break through the frontiers, and threatening to overrun the provinces. But Marcus Aurelius met all these dangers and difficulties with courage and patience.

His Persecution of the Christians. — The most striking example of the fact that the emperor's sense of duty was not always in harmony with the highest welfare of the people is shown in his persecution of the Christians. The new religion had found its way throughout the eastern and western provinces. It was at first received by the common people in the cities. As it was despised by many, it was the occasion of bitter opposition and often of popular tumults. The secret meetings of the Christians had given rise to scandalous stories about their practices. They were also regarded as responsible in some way for the calamities inflicted by the gods upon the people. Since the time of Nero, the policy of the rulers toward the new sect had varied. But the best of the emperors had hitherto been cautious like Trajan, or tolerant like Hadrian, or openly friendly like Antoninus. But Marcus Aurelius sincerely believed that the Christians were the cause of the popular tumults, and that the new sect was dangerous to the public peace. He therefore issued an order that those who denied their faith should be let alone, but those who confessed should be put to death. The most charitable judgment which can be passed upon this act is that it was the result of a great mistake made by the emperor regarding the character of the Christians and their part in disturbing the peace of society.

Encroachments upon the Frontiers. — During this reign the peace of the empire was first seriously threatened by invasions from without. The two great frontier enemies of Rome were the Parthians on the east and the Germans on the north. The Parthians were soon repelled. But the barbarians from the north, the Marcomanni and Quadi, continued their attacks for fourteen years. Pressed by the Slavonians and the Turgonians on the north and east, these tribes were the forerunners of that great migration of the northern nations which finally overran the empire. With courage and a high sense of his mission the emperor struggled against these hordes, and succeeded for the most part in maintaining the northern frontier. He died in his camp at Vienna, at his post of duty. However

much we may condemn his policy with reference to the Christians, we must always admire him for the purity of his life and his nobility as a man.

Roman Philosophy. — Marcus Aurelius expressed in his life and writings the highest ideas of Roman philosophy. The Romans cannot, however, be said to have shown any originality in their philosophical systems. These they derived almost entirely from the Greeks. The two systems which were most popular with them were Epicureanism and Stoicism. The Epicureans believed that happiness was the great end of life. But the high idea of happiness advocated by the Greek philosophers became degraded into the selfish idea of pleasure, which could easily excuse almost any form of indulgence. In Rome we see this idea of life exercising its influence especially upon the wealthy and indolent classes. The Stoics, on the other hand, believed that the end of life was to live according to the highest law of our nature. This doctrine tended to make strong and upright characters. It could not well have a degrading influence; so we find some of the noblest men of Rome adhering to its tenets — such men as Cato, Cicero, Seneca, and Marcus Aurelius. The Stoic philosophy also exercised a great and beneficial influence upon the Roman jurists, who believed that the law of the state should be in harmony with the higher law of justice and equity.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Capes, *Antonines*, Ch. 1, "Nerva," Ch. 2, "Trajan," Ch. 3, "Hadrian," Ch. 4, "Antoninus Pius," Ch. 5, "Marcus Aurelius" (7).¹

Pelham, *Bk. VI.*, Ch. 1, "The Antonines" (1).

Bury, *Empire*, Ch. 30, "Roman World under the Empire" (7).

Dyer, *City*, Sect. 4, "Rome from Augustus to Hadrian" (9).

Merivale, *Empire*, Vol. IV., Ch. 40, "Great Cities of the Empire" (7).

Merivale, *Gen. Hist.*, Ch. 79, "The City of Rome" (1).

Farrar, chapter on "Marcus Aurelius" (18).

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

SPECIAL STUDY

THE FORUMS OF ROME. — Bury, *Empire*, see index, "Forum" (7); Barr., *Cls.* 2, 4 (2); Parker, *Arch. Hist.*, *Cl.* 11 (10); Harp., *Cl.* 4 (14); Millington, *Ancient Rome*, *Cls.* 5, 6, 8 (10); Leachman, *Rules*, pp. 252-254 (9).

CHAPTER XXVII

THE DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE

I. THE TIMES OF THE SEVERI

Review of the Early Empire. — As we review the condition of the Roman world since the time of Augustus, we can see that the fall of the republic and the establishment of the empire were not an evil, but a great benefit to Rome. In place of a century of civil wars and discord which closed the republic, we see more than two centuries of internal peace and tranquillity. Instead of an oppressive and avaricious treatment of the provincials, we see a treatment which is with few exceptions mild and generous. Instead of a government controlled by a proud and selfish oligarchy, we see a government controlled, generally speaking, by a wise and patriotic prince. From the accession of Augustus to the death of Marcus Aurelius (B.C. 31—A.D. 180), a period of two hundred and eleven years, only three emperors who held power for any length of time — Tiberius, Nero, and Domitian — are known as tyrants; and their cruelty was confined almost entirely to the city, and to their own personal enemies. The establishment of the empire, we must therefore believe, marked a stage of progress and not of decline in the history of the Roman people.

Symptoms of Decay. — But in spite of the fact that the empire met the needs of the people better than the old aristocratic republic, it yet contained many elements of weakness. The Roman people themselves possessed the frailties of human

nature; and the imperial government was not without the imperfection of all human institutions. The decay of religion and morality among the people was a fundamental cause of their weakness and ruin. If we were asked what were the symptoms of this moral decay, we should answer: the selfishness of classes; the accumulation of wealth, not as the fruit of legitimate industry, but as the spoils of war and of cupidity; the love of gold and the passion for luxury; the misery of poverty and its attendant vices and crimes; the terrible evils of slave labor; the decrease of the population; and the decline of the patriotic spirit. These were moral diseases, which could hardly be cured by any government.

Military Despotism. — The great defect of the imperial government was the fact that its power rested upon a military basis, and not upon the rational will of the people. It is true that many of the emperors were popular and loved by their subjects. But back of their power was the army, which knew its strength, and which now more than ever before asserted its claims to the government. This period, extending from the death of Marcus Aurelius to the accession of Diocle'tian (A.D. 180–284), has therefore been aptly called “the period of military despotism.” It was a time when the emperors were set up by the soldiers, and generally cut down by their swords. During this period of one hundred and four years, the imperial title was held by twenty-nine different rulers,¹ some few of whom were able and high-minded men, but a large number of

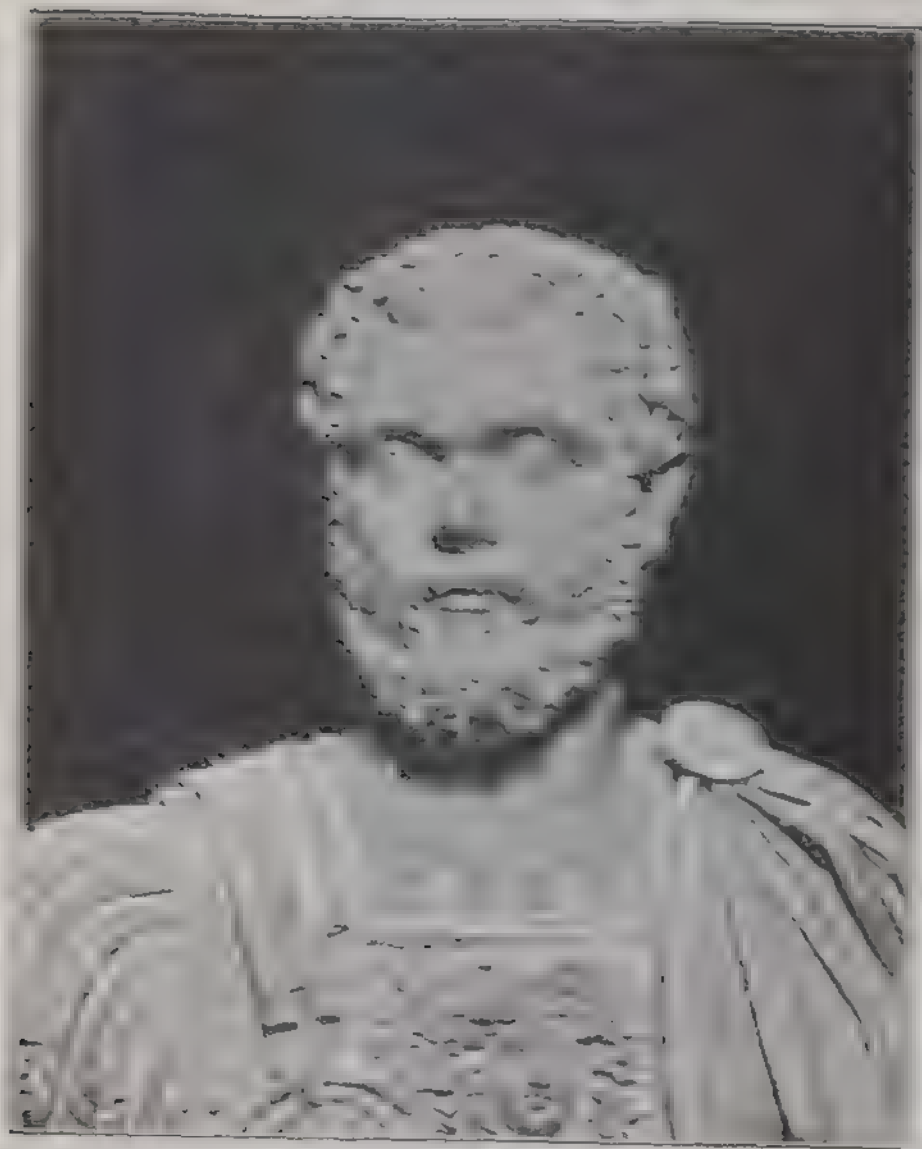
¹ The following table shows the names of these emperors and the dates of their accession:—

Com'modus . . . A.D. 180	Gordia'nus I. }	Gallie'nus . . . A.D. 260
Per'tinax . . . “ 193	Gordianus II. }	Claudius II. . . . “ 268
Julianus “ 193	Pupie'nus Maximus }	Aurelian “ 270
Septimius Seve'rus “ 193	Balbi'nus }	Tacitus “ 275
Caracalla } . . . “ 211	Gordianus III. . . “ 238	Flavia'nus “ 276
Geta } . . . “ 211	Philip'pus “ 244	Probus “ 276
Macri'nus “ 217	Decius “ 249	Carus “ 282
Elagab'alus . . . “ 218	Gallus “ 251	Cari'nus “ 283
Alexander Severus “ 222	Æmilia'nus . . . “ 253	Numeria'nus } . . “ 283
Maximi'nus . . . “ 235	Valerian “ 253	

them were weak and despicable. Some of them held their places for only a few months. The history of this time contains for the most part only the dreary records of a declining government. There are few events of importance, except those which illustrate the tyranny of the army and the general tendency toward decay and disintegration.

After the reign of Commodus, the unworthy son of Marcus, the soldiers became the real sovereigns of Rome. His successor Pertinax was dispatched by their swords; and the empire was offered to the one who would give them the largest donation. This proved to be a rich senator by the name of Didius Julianus, who offered for the vacant throne a sum equal to \$15,000,000. He held this place for about two months. In the meantime three different armies—in Britain, in Pannonia, and in Syria—each proclaimed its own leader as emperor.

Septimius Severus (A.D. 193-211). — The commander of the



SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS

army in the neighboring province of Pannonia was the first to reach Rome; and was thus able to secure the throne against his rivals. The reign of Septimius is noted for the re-forming of the prætorian guard, which Augustus had organized and Tiberius had encamped near the city. In place of the old body of nine thousand soldiers, Septimius organized a Roman garrison of forty thousand troops selected from the best soldiers of the legions. This was in-

tended to give a stronger military support to the government;

but in fact it gave to the army a more powerful influence in the appointment of the emperors. Septimius destroyed his enemies in the senate, and took away from that body the last vestige of its authority. He was himself an able soldier and made several successful campaigns in the East.

Edict of Caracalla (A.D. 211). — The Roman franchise, which had been gradually extended by the previous emperors, was now conferred upon all the free inhabitants of the Roman world. This important act was done by Caracalla, the worthless son and tyrannical successor of Septimius Severus. The edict was issued to increase the revenue by extending the inheritance tax, which had heretofore rested only upon citizens. Notwithstanding the avaricious motive of the emperor this was in the line of earlier reforms and effaced the last distinction between Romans and provincials. The name of Caracalla is infamous, not only for his cruel proscriptions, but especially for his murder of Papinian, the greatest of the Roman jurists, who refused to defend his crimes.



CARACALLA

Alexander Severus (A.D. 222–235). — After the brief reign of Macrinus, and the longer reign of the monster Elagabalus, the most repulsive of all the emperors, the throne was occupied by a really excellent man, Alexander Severus. In a corrupt age, he was a prince of pure and blameless life. He loved the true and the good of all times. It is said that he set up in his private chapel the images of those whom he regarded as the

greatest teachers of mankind, including Abraham and Jesus Christ. He tried as best he could to follow the example of the best of the emperors. He selected as his advisers the great jurists, Ulpian and Papinian. The most important event of his reign was his successful resistance to the Persians, who had just established a new monarchy on the ruins of the Parthian kingdom (A.D. 226).

II. THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE EMPIRE

Foreign Enemies of Rome. — Never before had the Roman Empire been beset by such an array of foreign enemies as it encountered during the third century. On the east was the



ALEXANDER SEVERUS

new Persian monarchy established under a vigorous and ambitious line of kings, called the Sassan'idæ. The founder of this line, Artax'ares (Ardashir), laid claim to all the Asiatic provinces of Rome as properly belonging to Persia. The refusal of this demand gave rise to the war with Alexander Severus, just referred to, and to severe struggles with his successors.

But the most formidable enemies of Rome were the German barbarians on the frontiers of the Rhine and the Danube. On the lower Rhine near the North Sea were several tribes known as the Chatti, Chauci, and the Cherusci, who came to be united with other tribes under the common name of "Franks." On the upper Rhine in the vicinity of the Alps were various tribes gathered together under the name of Alemanni (all men). Across the Danube and on the northern shores of the Black Sea was the great nation of the Goths,

which came to be the terror of Rome. Under a succession of emperors whose names have little significance to us, the Romans were engaged in wars with these various peoples — not now wars for the sake of conquest and glory as in the time of the republic, but wars of defense and for the sake of existence.

Invasion of the Goths in the East. — The Goths made their first appearance upon the Roman territory in the middle of the third century (A.D. 250). At this time they invaded Dacia, crossed the Danube, and overran the province of Mœsia. In a great battle in Mœsia perished the brave emperor Decius, a descendant of the Decius Mus who devoted his life at Mt. Vesuvius in the heroic days of the republic. His successor, Gallus, purchased a peace of the Goths by the payment of an annual tribute. It was not many years after this that the same barbarians, during the reigns of Valerian and Gallienus (A.D. 253–268), made a more formidable invasion, this time by way of the Black Sea and the Bosphorus. With the aid of their ships they crossed the sea, besieged and plundered the cities of Asia Minor. They destroyed the splendid temple of Diana at Ephesus; they crossed the Ægean Sea into Greece, and threatened Italy; and finally retired with their spoils to their homes across the Danube.

Invasion of the Franks and Alemanni in the West. — In the meantime the western provinces were invaded by the barbarians who lived across the Rhine. The Franks entered the western regions of Gaul, crossed the Pyrenees, and sacked the cities of Spain; while the Alemanni entered eastern Gaul and invaded Italy as far as the walls of Raven'na. It was then that the Roman garrison, which took the place of the old prætorian guard, rendered a real service to Rome by preventing the destruction of the city.

Attacks of the Persians in Asia. — But all the disasters of Rome did not come from the north. The new Persian monarchy, under its second great king, Sapor, was attempting to carry out the policy of Artaxares and expel the Romans from their Asiatic provinces. Sapor at first brought under his con-

trol Armenia, which had remained an independent kingdom since the time of Hadrian. He then overran the Roman provinces of Syria, Cilicia, and Cappadocia; Antioch and other cities of the coast were destroyed and pillaged; and the emperor Valerian was made a prisoner. The story of Sapor's pride and of Valerian's disgrace has passed into history; to humiliate his captive, it is said, whenever the Persian monarch mounted his horse, he placed his foot on the neck of the Roman emperor.

The Time of the "Thirty Tyrants." — In the midst of these external perils Rome beheld another danger which she had never seen before, at least to the same extent, and that was the appearance of usurpers in every part of the empire — in Asia, in Egypt, in Greece, in Illyricum, and in Gaul. This is called the time of the "thirty tyrants"; although Gibbon counts only nineteen of these so-called tyrants during the reign of Gallienus. If we should imagine another calamity in addition to those already mentioned, it would be famine and pestilence — and from these, too, Rome now suffered. From the reign of Decius to the reign of Gallienus, a period of about fifteen years, the empire was the victim of a furious plague, which is said to have raged in every province, in every city, and almost in every family. With invasions from without and revolts and pestilence within, Rome never before seemed so near to destruction.

III. THE ILLYRIAN EMPERORS

Partial Recovery of the Empire. — For a period of eighty-eight years — from the death of Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 180) to the death of Gallienus (A.D. 268) — the imperial government had gradually been growing weaker until it now seemed that the empire was going to pieces for the want of a leader. But we have before seen Rome on the verge of ruin — in the early days of the Gauls, during the invasion of Hannibal, and under the attacks of the Cimbri. As in those more ancient

times, so now the Romans showed their remarkable fortitude and courage in the presence of danger. Under the leadership of five able rulers — Claudius II., Aurelian, Tacitus, Probus, and Carus — they again recovered; and they maintained their existence for more than two hundred years in the West and for more than a thousand years in the East. Let us see how Rome recovered from her present disasters, and we may also understand how the early empire as established by Augustus was changed into the new empire established by Diocletian and Con'stantine.

Claudius II. and the Defeat of the Goths (A.D. 268–270). — One of the reasons of the recent revolts in the provinces had been general distrust of the central authority at Rome. If the Roman emperor could not protect the provinces, the provinces were determined to protect themselves under their own rulers. When a man should appear able to defend the frontiers the cause of these revolts would disappear. Such a man was Claudius II., who came from Illyricum. He aroused the patriotism of his army and restored its discipline. Paying little attention to the independent governors, he pushed his army into Greece to meet the Goths, who had again crossed the Danube and had advanced into Macedonia. By a series of victories he succeeded in delivering the empire from these barbarians, and for this reason he received the name of *Claudius Goth'icus*.

Aurelian and the Restored Empire (A.D. 270–275). — The fruits of the victories of Claudius were reaped by his successor Aurelian, who became the real restorer of the empire. He first provided against a sudden descent upon the city by rebuilding the walls of Rome, which remain to this day and are known as the walls of Aurelian. He then followed the prudent policy of Augustus by withdrawing the Roman army from Dacia and making the Danube the frontier of the empire. He then turned his attention to the rebellious provinces; and recovered Gaul, Spain, and Britain from the hand of the usurper Tet'ricus. He finally restored the Roman authority

in the East: and destroyed the city of Palmy'ra, which had been made the seat of an independent kingdom, where ruled the famous Queen Zenobia.

The "Silent Invasions." — The successors of Aurelian — Tacitus, Probus, and Carus — preserved what he himself had achieved. The integrity of the empire was in general maintained against the enemies from without and the "tyrants" from within. It is worthy of notice that at this time a con-



RUINS AT PALMYRA

ciliatory policy toward the barbarians was adopted, by granting to them peaceful settlements in the frontier provinces. This step began what are known as the "silent invasions." Not only the Roman territory, but the army and the offices of the state, military and civil, were gradually opened to the Germans who were willing to become Roman subjects.

The New Class of "Coloni." — It became a serious question what to do with all the newcomers who were now admitted into the provinces. The most able of the barbarian chiefs were sometimes made Roman generals. Many persons were

admitted to the ranks of the army. Sometimes whole tribes were allowed to settle upon lands assigned to them. But a great many persons, especially those who had been captured in war, were treated in a somewhat novel manner. Instead of being sold as slaves they were given over to the large landed proprietors, and attached to the estates as permanent tenants. They could not be sold off from these estates like slaves; but if the land was sold they were sold with it. This class of persons came to be called *coloni*. They were really serfs bound to the soil. The *colonus* had a little plot of ground which he could cultivate for himself, and for which he paid a rent to his landlord. But the class of *coloni* came to be made up not only of barbarian captives, but of manumitted slaves, and even of Roman freemen, who were not able to support themselves and who gave themselves up to become the serfs of some landlord. The *coloni* thus came to form a large part of the population in the provinces.

This new class of persons, which held such a peculiar position in the Roman empire, has a special interest to the general historical student; because from them were descended, in great part, the class of serfs which formed a large element of European society after the fall of Rome, during the middle ages.

Transition to the Later Empire. — The successful efforts of the last five rulers showed that the Roman Empire could still be preserved if properly organized and governed. In the hands of weak and vicious men, like Commodus and Elagabalus, the people were practically left without a government, and were exposed to the attacks of foreign enemies and to all the dangers of anarchy. But when ruled by such men as Claudius II. and Aurelian they were still able to resist foreign invasions and to repress internal revolts. The events of the third century made it clear that if the empire was to continue and the provinces were to be held together there must be some change in the imperial government. The decline of the early empire thus paved the way for a new form of imperialism.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

- Feltgen, *Em.* VI, Ch. 2, "The Empire in the Third Century" (11);
 Martindale, *Empire*, Vol. VII, Ch. 28, "Symptoms of Decline" (7);
 Martindale, *Gen. Hist.*, Ch. 24, "The Barbarian Confederations" (1);
 Gibbon, *Decline*, Ch. 10, "Emperor Decius, etc." (7).
 Gibbon, *abridged*, Ch. 2, "Septimius Severus" (7).
 Dyer, *City*, Sect. 5, "From Hadrian to Constantine" (9).
 Curteis, Ch. 3, "The Barbarians on the Frontiers" (7).

SPECIAL STUDY

ROMAN SLAVERY. — *Inst.*, pp. 166-171 (10); *Gall and Koser*, pp. 411-420 (10); *Estlin*, pp. 255-260 (5); *Harker's Dom. Antiqu.*, "Slaves" (8); *Hamsey and Lumsden*, pp. 124-130 (5); *Baker, Julius*, pp. 190-225 (16); *Blair, Inquiry* (21).

* The figure in parentheses refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

PERIOD VIII. THE LATER ROMAN EMPIRE (A.D. 284-476)

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE REORGANIZATION OF THE EMPIRE

I. THE REIGN OF DIOCLETIAN (A.D. 284-305)

The New Imperialism. — The accession of Diocletian brings us to a new era in the history of the Roman Empire. It has been said that the early empire of Augustus and his successors was an absolute monarchy *disguised* by republican forms. This is in general quite true. But the old republican forms had for a long time been losing their hold, and at the time of Diocletian they were ready to be thrown away entirely. By the reforms of Diocletian and Constantine there was established a new form of imperialism — an absolute monarchy *divested* of republican forms. Some of their ideas of reform no doubt came from the new Persian monarchy, which was now the greatest rival of Rome. In this

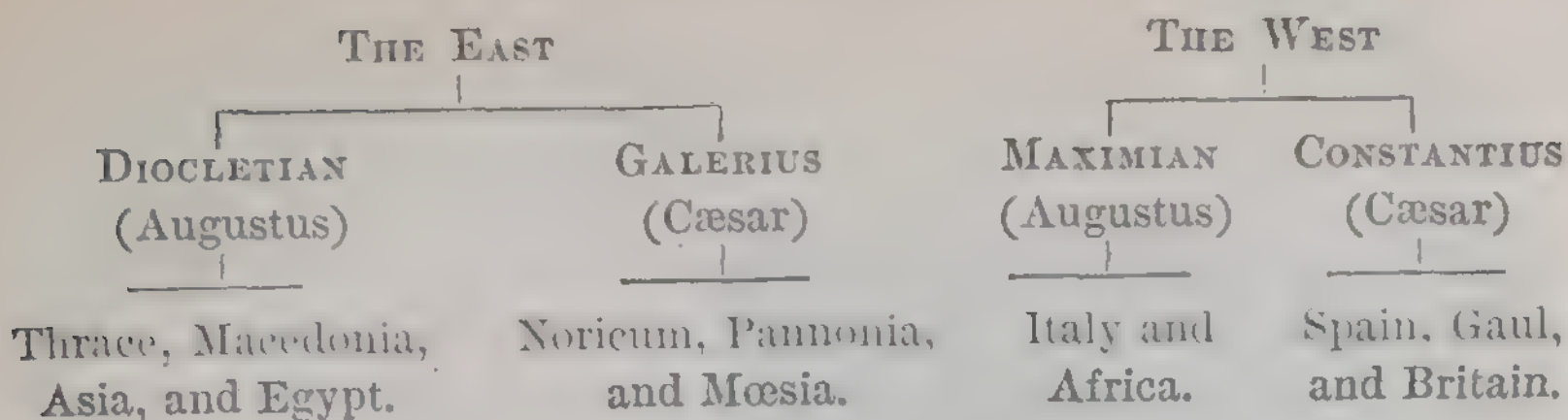


DIOCLETIAN

powerful monarchy the Romans saw certain elements of strength which they could use in giving new vigor to their own government. By adopting these Oriental ideas, the Roman Empire may be said to have become Orientalized.

The Policy of Diocletian. — Diocletian was in many respects a remarkable man. Born of an obscure family in Dalmatia (part of Illyricum), he had risen by his own efforts to the high position of commander of the Roman army in the East. It was here that he was proclaimed emperor by his soldiers. He overcame all opposition, assumed the imperial power, and made his residence not at Rome, but in Nicomedia, a town in Asia Minor (see map, p. 294). His whole policy was to give dignity and strength to the imperial authority. He made of himself an Oriental monarch. He assumed the diadem of the East. He wore the gorgeous robes of silk and gold such as were worn by eastern rulers. He compelled his subjects to salute him with low prostrations, and to treat him not as a citizen, but as a superior being. In this way he hoped to make the imperial office respected by the people and the army. The emperor was to be the sole source of power, and as such was to be venerated and obeyed.

The "Augusti" and "Cæsars." — Diocletian saw that it was difficult for one man alone to manage all the affairs of a great empire. It was sufficient for one man to rule over the East, and to repel the Persians. It needed another to take care of the West and to drive back the German invaders. He therefore associated with him his trusted friend and companion in arms, Maximian. But he was soon convinced that even this division of power was not sufficient. To each of the chief rulers, who received the title of *Augustus*, he assigned an assistant, who received the title of *Cæsar*. The two Cæsars were Galerius and Constan'tius; and they were to be regarded as the sons and successors of the chief rulers, the Augusti. Each Cæsar was to recognize the authority of his chief; and all were to be subject to the supreme authority of Diocletian himself. The Roman world was divided among the four rulers as follows: —

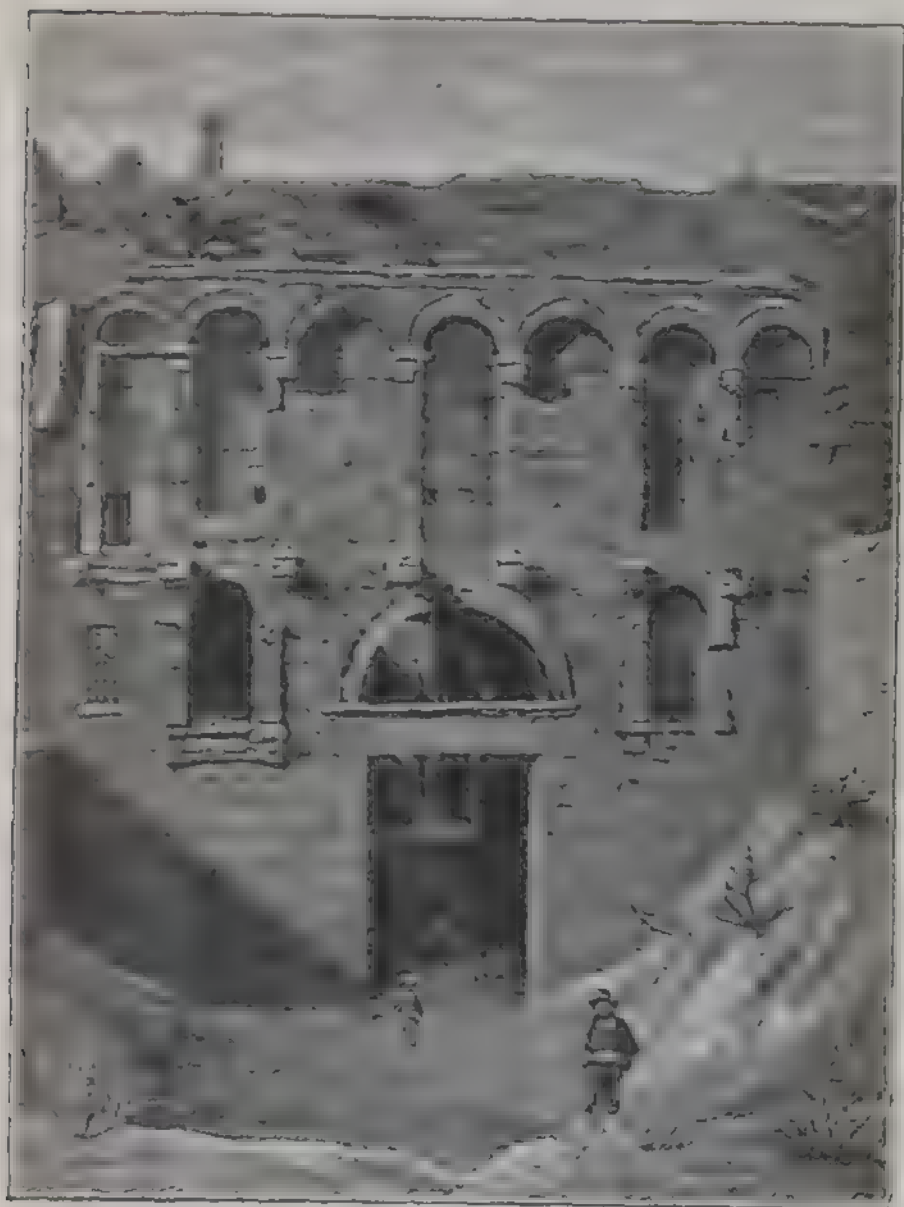


The Last Persecution of the Christians. — Diocletian himself was not a cruel and vindictive man, and was at first favorably disposed toward the Christians. But in the latter part of his reign he was induced to issue an edict of persecution against them. It is said that he was led to perform this infamous act by his assistant Galerius, who had always been hostile to the new religion, and who filled the emperor's mind with stories of seditions and conspiracies. An order was issued that all churches should be demolished, that the sacred Scriptures should be burned, that all Christians should be dismissed from public office, and that those who secretly met for public worship should be punished with death. The persecution raged most fiercely in the provinces subject to Galerius; and it has been suggested that the persecution should be known by his name rather than by the name of Diocletian.

Effects of Diocletian's Policy. — The general result of the new policy of Diocletian was to give to the empire a strong and efficient government. The dangers which threatened the state were met with firmness and vigor. A revolt in Egypt was quelled, and the frontiers were successfully defended against the Persians and the barbarians. Public works were constructed, among which were the great Baths of Diocletian at Rome. At the close of his reign he celebrated a triumph in the old capital.

Abdication of Diocletian. — After a successful reign of twenty-one years Diocletian voluntarily gave up his power, either on account of ill health, or else to see how his new system would work without his own supervision. He retired to his native province of Dalmatia, and spent the rest of his days in his

new palace at Salo'na on the shores of the Adriatic. He loved his country home; and when he was asked by his old colleague



RUINS OF DIOCLETIAN'S PALACE

Maximian to resume the imperial power, he wrote to him, "Were you to come to Salona and see the vegetables which I raise in my garden with my own hands, you would not talk to me of empire." But before he died (A.D. 313) Diocletian saw the defects of the system which he had established. Rivalries sprang up among the different rulers, which led to civil war. At one time there were six emperors who were trying to adjust between themselves the government of the empire.

Out of this conflict Constantine arose as the man destined to carry on and complete the work of Diocletian.

II. THE REIGN OF CONSTANTINE (A.D. 313-337)

Accession and Policy of Constantine.—By a succession of victories over his different rivals, which it is not necessary for us to recount, Constantine became the sole ruler, and the whole empire was reunited under his authority. He was a man of wider views than Diocletian, and had even a greater genius for organization. The work which Diocletian began, Constantine completed. He in fact gave to Roman imperialism the final form which it preserved as long as the empire existed, and the form in which it exercised its great influence upon modern governments. We should remember that it was not

so much the early imperialism of Augustus as the later imperialism of Constantine which reappeared in the empires of modern Europe. This fact will enable us to understand the greatness of Constantine as a statesman and a political reformer. His policy was to centralize all power in the hands of the chief ruler; to surround his person with an elaborate court system and an imposing ceremonial; and to make all officers, civil and military, responsible to the supreme head of the empire.



CONSTANTINE

The Deputant

Conversion of Constantine. — Constantine is generally known as the “first Christian emperor.” The story of his miraculous conversion is told by his biographer, Euse'bius. It is said that while marching against his rival Maxentius, he beheld in the heavens the luminous sign of the cross, inscribed with the words, “By this sign conquer.” As a result of this vision, he accepted the Christian religion; he adopted the cross as his battle standard; and from this time he ascribed his victories to God, and not to himself. The truth of this story has been doubted by some historians; but that Constantine looked upon Christianity in an entirely different light from his predecessors, and that he was an avowed friend of the Christian church, cannot be denied. His mother, Hel'ena, was a Christian, and his father, Constantius, had opposed the persecutions of Diocletian and Galerius. He had himself, while he was ruler in only the West, issued an edict of toleration (A.D. 313) to the Christians in his own provinces.

Adoption of Christianity. — The attitude of the Roman government toward Christianity varied at different times. At first indifferent to the new religion, it became hostile and often bitter during the “period of persecutions” from Nero to Diocletian. But finally under Constantine Christianity was accepted as the religion of the people and of the state. A large part of the empire was already Christian, and the recognition of the new religion gave stability to the new government. Constantine, however, in accepting Christianity as the state



SITE OF CONSTANTINOPLE

religion, did not go to the extreme of trying to uproot paganism. The pagan worship was still tolerated, and it was not until many years after this time that it was proscribed by the Christian emperors. For the purpose of settling the disputes between the different Christian sects, Constantine called (A.D. 325) a large council of the clergy at Nice (*Nicaea*), which decided what should thereafter be regarded as the orthodox belief.

Removal of the Capital to Constantinople (A.D. 328). — The next important act of Constantine was to break away from the traditions of the old empire by establishing a new capital. The old Roman city was filled with the memories of paganism

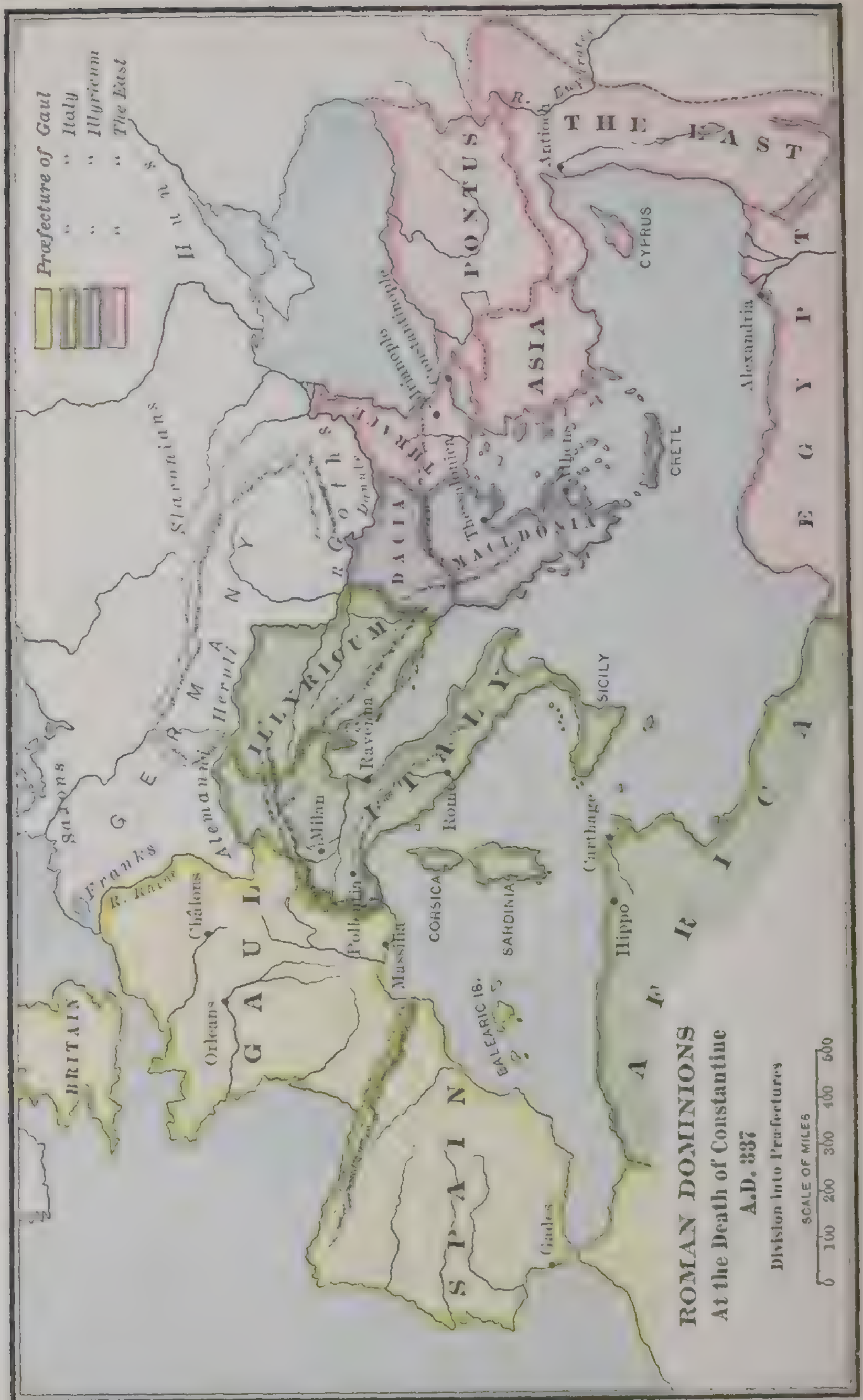
and the relics of the republic. It was the desire of Constantine to give the empire a new center of power, which should be favorably situated for working out his new plans, and also for defending the Roman territory. He selected for this purpose the site of the old Greek colony, Byzantium, on the confines of Europe and Asia. This site was favorable alike for defense, for commerce, and for the establishment of an Oriental system of government. Constantine laid out the city on an extensive scale, and adorned it with new buildings and works of art. The new capital was called, after its founder, the city of Constantine, or Constantinople.

The New Court Organization. — Constantine believed with Diocletian that one of the defects of the old empire was the fact that the person of the emperor was not sufficiently respected. He therefore not only adopted the diadem and the elaborate robes of the Asiatic monarchs, as Diocletian had done, but reorganized the court on a thoroughly eastern model. An Oriental court consisted of a large retinue of officials, who surrounded the monarch, who paid obeisance to him and served him, and who were raised to the rank of nobles by this service. All the powers of the monarch were exercised through these court officials.

These Oriental features were now adopted by the Roman emperor. The chief officers of the court comprised the grand chamberlain, who had charge of the imperial palace; the chancellor, who had the supervision of the court officials and received foreign ambassadors; the quæstor, who drew up and issued the imperial edicts; the treasurer-general, who had control of the public revenues; the master of the privy purse, who managed the emperor's private estate; and the two commanders of the bodyguard. The imperial court of Constantine furnished the model of the royal courts of modern times.

The New Provincial System. — Another important reform of Constantine was the reorganization of the Roman territory in a most systematic manner. This was based upon Diocletian's division, but was much more complete and thorough. The

PROGRESSIVE MAP No. 8.

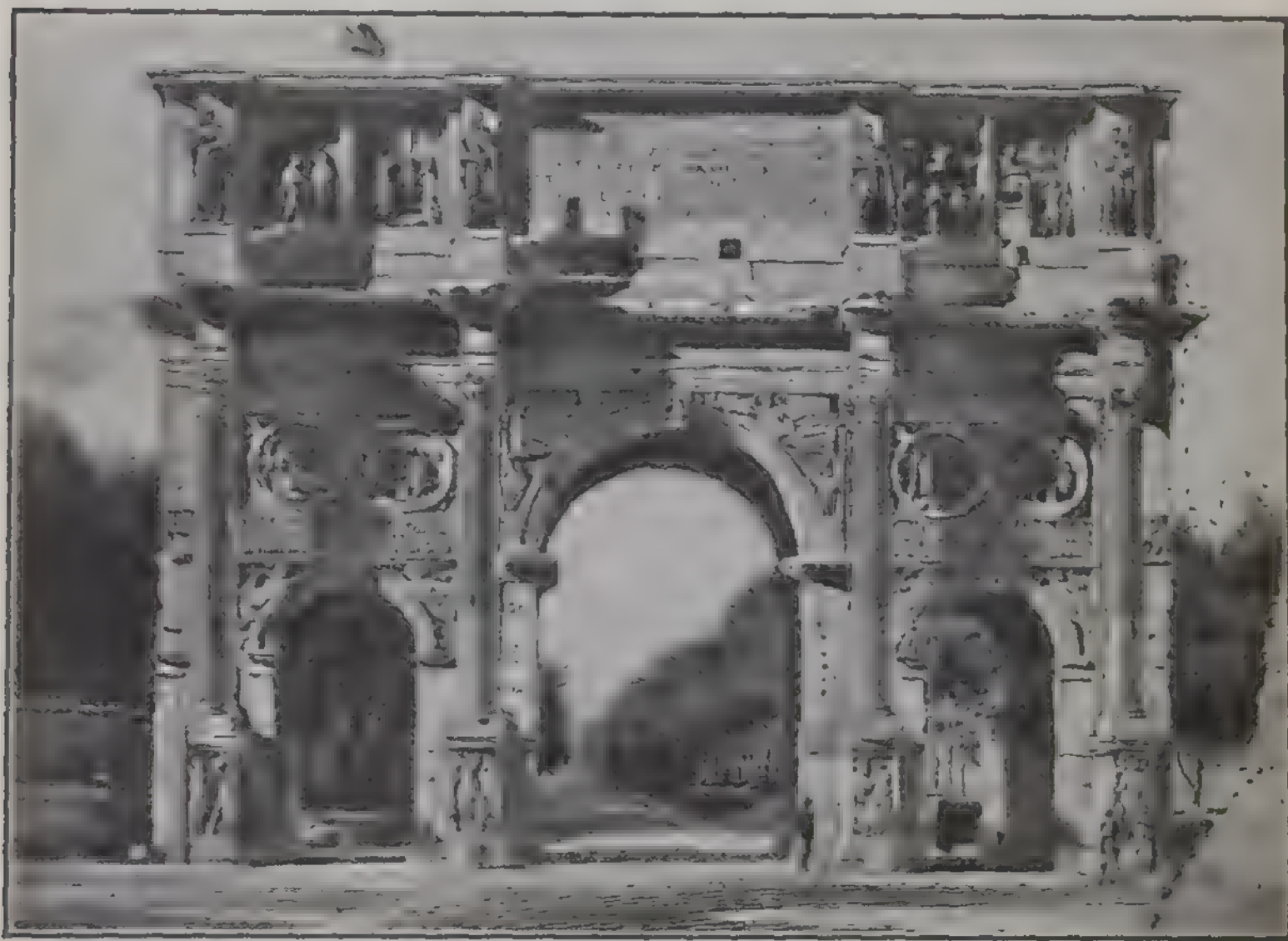


whole empire was first divided into four great parts, called "praefectures," each under a praetorian prefect subject to the emperor. These great territorial divisions were (1) the Praefecture of the East; (2) the Praefecture of Illyricum; (3) the Praefecture of Italy; (4) the Praefecture of Gaul. Each praefecture was then subdivided into dioceses, each under a diocesan governor, called a vicar, subject to the praetorian prefect. Each diocese was further subdivided into provinces, each under a provincial governor called a consular, president, duke, or count. Each province was made up of cities and towns, under their own municipal governments. Each city was generally governed by a city council (*curia*) presided over by two or four magistrates (*duumviri, quattuorviri*). It had also in the later empire a defender of the people (*defensor populi*), who, like the old republican tribune, protected the people in their rights. The new divisions of the empire may be indicated as follows:—

I PRÆFECTURE OF THE EAST <i>Five Dioceses</i>	II PRÆFECTURE OF ILLYRICUM <i>Two Dioceses</i>
(1) The East . . . (15 provinces) (2) Egypt . . . (6 ") (3) Asia . . . (11 ") (4) Pontus . . . (11 ") (5) Thrace . . . (6 ") 49 provinces	(1) Dacia . . . (5 provinces) (2) Macedonia . . (6 ") 11 provinces
III PRÆFECTURE OF ITALY <i>Three Dioceses</i>	IV PRÆFECTURE OF GAUL <i>Three Dioceses</i>
(1) Italy . . . (17 provinces) (2) Illyricum . . (7 ") (3) Africa . . . (6 ") 30 provinces	(1) Spain . . . (7 provinces) (2) Gaul . . . (17 ") (3) Britain . . . (5 ") 29 provinces

Total, 13 dioceses and 119 provinces.

The New Military Organization. — Scarcely less important than the new provincial system was the new military organization. One of the chief defects of the early empire was the improper position which the army occupied in the state. This defect is seen in two ways. In the first place, the army was not subordinate to the civil authority. We have seen how the prætorian guards really became supreme, and brought about that wretched condition of things, a military despotism. In the



ARCH OF CONSTANTINE

next place, the military power was not separated from the civil power. In the early empire, every governor of a province had not only civil authority, but he also had command of an army, so that he could resist the central government if he were so disposed. But Constantine changed all this. He abolished the Roman garrison or prætorian guard. He gave to the territorial governors only a civil authority; and the whole army was organized under distinct officers, and made completely subject to the central power of the empire. This change tended to

prevent, on the one hand, a military despotism; and, on the other hand, the revolt of local governors.

The military ability of Constantine cannot be questioned. In commemoration of his early victories, the senate erected in the city of Rome a splendid triumphal arch, which stands to-day as one of the finest specimens of this kind of architecture.

Effect of Constantine's Reforms. — If we should take no account of the effects of Constantine's reforms upon the liberties of the Roman people, we might say that his government was a great improvement upon that of Augustus. It gave new strength to the empire, and enabled it to resist foreign invasions. The empire was preserved for several generations longer in the West, and for more than a thousand years longer in the East. But the expenses necessary to maintain such a system, with its elaborate court and its vast number of officials, were great. The taxes were oppressive. The members of every city council (*curiales*) were held responsible for the raising of the revenues. The people were burdened, and lost their interest in the state. Constantine also, like Augustus, failed to make a proper provision for his successor. At his death (A.D. 337) his three sons divided the empire between them, and this division gave rise to another period of quarrels and civil strife.

III THE SUCCESSORS OF CONSTANTINE (337–395)

Attempt to Restore Paganism. — The first event of grave importance after the reign of Constantine was the attempt of the Emperor Julian (A.D. 360–363) to restore the old pagan religion, for which attempt he has been called “the Apostate.” Julian was in many respects a man of ability and energy. He repelled the Alemanni who had crossed the Rhine, and made a vigorous campaign against the Persians. But he was by conviction a pagan, and in the struggle between Christianity and paganism he took the part of the ancient faith. He

tried to undo the work of Constantine by bringing back paganism to its old position. He did not realize that Christianity was the religion of the future, and was presumptuous in his belief that he could accomplish that in which Marcus Aurelius and Diocletian had failed. He may not have expected to uproot the new religion entirely; but he hoped to deprive it of the important privileges which it had already acquired. The religious changes which he was able to effect in his brief reign were reversed by his successor Jovian (A.D. 363–364), and Christianity afterward remained undisturbed as the religion of the empire.

Revolt of the Goths. — After the death of Jovian the empire was divided between Valentinian and his younger brother Valens, the former ruling in the West, and the latter in the East. Valentinian died (A.D. 375), leaving his sons in control of the West, while Valens continued to rule in the East (till 378). It was during this latter period that a great event occurred which forewarned the empire of its final doom. This event was the irruption of the Huns into Europe. This savage race, emerging from the steppes of Asia, pressed upon the Goths and drove them from their homes into the Roman territory. It was now necessary for the Romans either to resist the whole Gothic nation, which numbered a million of people, or else to receive them as friends, and give them settlements within the empire. The latter course seemed the wiser, and they were admitted as allies, and given new homes south of the Danube, in Mœsia and Thrace. But they were soon provoked by the ill-treatment of the Roman officials, and rose in revolt, defeating the Roman army in a battle at Adriano'ple (A.D. 378) in which Valens himself was slain.

Reign of Theodosius and the Final Division of the Empire (379–395). — Theodo'sius I. succeeded Valens as emperor of the East. He was a man of great vigor and military ability, although his reign was stained with acts of violence and injustice. He continued the policy of admitting the barbarians into the empire, but converted them into useful

and loyal subjects. From their number he reenforced the ranks of the imperial armies, and jealously guarded them from injustice. When a garrison of Gothic soldiers was once mobbed in Thessalonica, he resorted to a punishment as revengeful as that of Marius and as cruel as that of Sulla. He gathered the people of this city into the circus to the number of seven thousand, and caused them to be massacred by a body of Gothic soldiers (A.D. 390). For this inhuman act he was compelled to do penance by St. Ambrose, the bishop of Milan — which fact shows how powerful the Church had become at this time, to compel an emperor to obey its mandates. Theodosius was himself an ardent and orthodox Christian, and went so far as to be intolerant of the pagan religion, and even of the worship of heretics. In spite of his shortcomings he was an able monarch, and has received the name of “Theodosius the Great.” He conquered his rivals and reunited for a brief time the whole Roman world under a single ruler. But at his death (A.D. 395), he divided the empire between his two sons, Arca'dius and Hono'rius, the former receiving the East, and the latter, the West.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

- Gibbon, *Decline*, Ch. 17, “Foundation of Constantinople” (7).¹
 Gibbon, *abridged*, Ch. 7, “Reign of Diocletian” (7).
 Stanley, *Lect.* 6, “The Emperor Constantine” (12).
 Merivale, *Gen. Hist.*, Ch. 73, “Reign of Julian” (1).
 Seeley, *Essay*, “The Later Empire” (7).

SPECIAL STUDY

THE ROMAN BATHS. — Inge, pp. 232–236 (16) ; Bury, *Empire*, pp. 609–612 (7) ; Parker, *Arch. Hist.*, Ch. 10 (9) ; Guhl and Koner, pp. 396–406 (16) ; Harper's *Diet. Antiqq.*, “Balneae” (8) ; Ramsay and Lanciani, pp. 487–490 (8) ; Becker, *Gallus*, pp. 366–387 (16).

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix where a fuller title of the book will be found.

ROME

Under the Later Emperors

SCALE OF FEET
0 500 1000 2000 3500

PRINCIPAL BUILDINGS

I. FORUMS

1. Roman
2. Julius
3. Augustus
4. Nerva
5. Vespasian
6. Trajan

II. TEMPLES

7. Jupiter Capitolinus
8. Quirinus
9. Minerva
10. Pantheon
11. Trajan
12. Hope
13. Fortune
14. Ceres
15. Diana
16. Honor and Virtue
17. Divine Claudius
18. Venus and Rome

III. BATHS

19. Agrippa
20. Alexandrina
21. Titus
22. Trajan
23. Constantine
24. Diocletian
25. Caracalla

IV. THEATERS

26. Pompey
27. Balbus
28. Marcellus

V. AMPHITHEATERS

29. Flavian (Colosseum)
30. Military

VI. CIRCUSES

31. Maximus
32. Flaminius
33. Nero

VII. PORTICOES

34. Pompey
35. Octavius
36. Livia

VIII. BASILICAS

37. Julia
38. Constantine
39. Ulpian
40. Æmilia

IX. PLACES OF ASSEMBLY

41. Site of the Comitium
42. Curia, or Senate House
43. Sæpta Julia (Voting)

X. ARCHES

44. Titus
45. Constantine
46. Septimius Severus

XI. COLUMNS

47. Trajan
48. Antoninus
49. Marcus Aurelius

XII. TOMBS

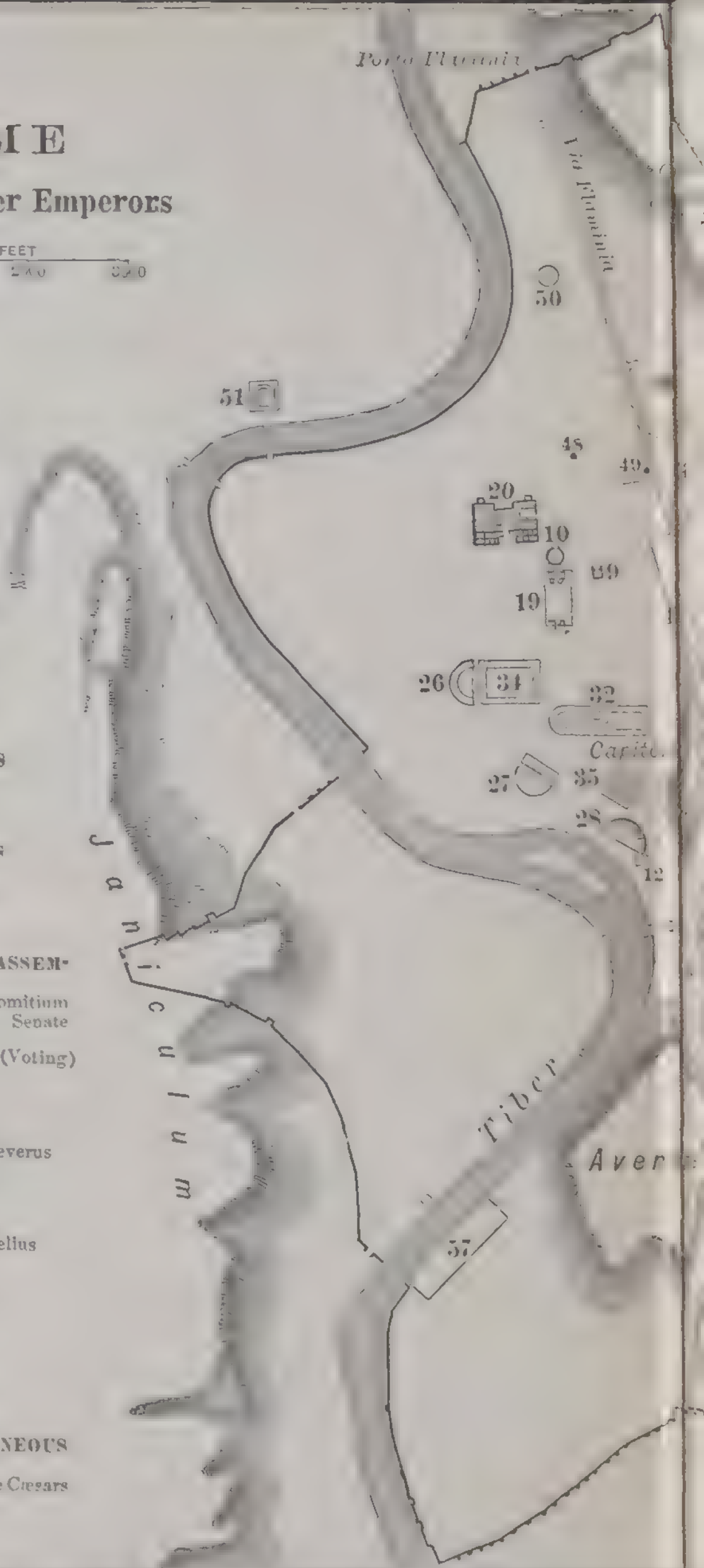
50. Augustus
51. Hadrian
52. Scipio

XIII. CAMPS

53. Prætorian
54. Agrippa

XIV. MISCELLANEOUS

55. Arx
56. Palace of the Cæsars
57. Emporium



CHAPTER XXIX

THE EXTINCTION OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE

I. THE GREAT INVASIONS

The Divided Empire. — The death of Theodosius in A.D. 395 marks an important epoch, not only in the history of the later Roman Empire but in the history of European civilization. From this time the two parts of the empire — the East and the West — became more and more separated from each other, until they became at last two distinct worlds, having different destinies. The eastern part, the history of which does not belong to our present study, maintained itself for about a thousand years with its capital at Constantinople, until it was finally conquered by the Turks (A.D. 1453). The western part was soon overrun and conquered by the German invaders, who brought with them new blood and new ideas, and furnished the elements of a new civilization. We have now to see how the Western Empire was obliged finally to succumb to these barbarians, who had been for so many years pressing upon the frontiers, and who had already obtained some foothold in the provinces.

The General Stilicho. — When the youthful Honorius was made emperor in the West, he was placed under the guardianship of Stil'icho, an able general who was a barbarian in the service of Rome. As long as Stilicho lived he was able to resist successfully the attacks upon Italy. The first of these attacks was due to jealousy and hatred on the part of the Eastern emperor. The Goths of Moesia were in a state of discontent, and demanded more extensive lands. Under their great leader, Al'aric, they entered Macedonia, invaded Greece, and threatened to devastate the whole peninsula. The Eastern emperor, Arcadius, in order to relieve his own territory from

their ravages, turned their faces toward Italy by giving them settlements in Illyricum, and making their chief, Alaric, master-general of that province. From this region they invaded Italy, and ravaged the plains of the Po. But they were defeated by Stilicho in the battle of Pollentia (A.D. 403), and forced to return again into Illyricum. The generalship of Stilicho was also shown in checking an invasion made by a host of Vandals, Burgundians, Sue'vi, and Ala'ni under the lead of Radagai'sus (A.D. 406). Italy seemed safe as long as Stilicho lived; but he was unfortunately put to death to satisfy the jealousy of his ungrateful master, Honorius (A.D. 408).

Invasion of Italy by the Goths. — With Stilicho dead, Italy was practically defenseless. Alaric at the head of the Vis'i-goths (West Goths) immediately invaded the peninsula, and marched to Rome. He was induced to spare the city only by the payment of an enormous ransom. But the barbarian chief was not entirely satisfied with the payment of money. He was in search of lands upon which to settle his people. Honorius refused to grant this demand, and after fruitless negotiations with the emperor, Alaric determined to enforce it by the sword. He took the city of Rome and sacked it (A.D. 410). For three days the city was given up to plunder. He then overran southern Italy and made himself master of the peninsula. He soon died, and his successor, Adolphus (Ataulf), was induced to find in Gaul and Spain the lands which Alaric had sought in Italy.

The Rule of Placidia. — The great invasions which began during the reign of Honorius (A.D. 395–423) continued during the reign of Valentinian III. (A.D. 425–455). As Valentinian was only six years of age when he was proclaimed emperor, the government was carried on by his mother, Placidia, who was the sister of Honorius and daughter of Theodosius the Great. Placidia was in fact for many years during these eventful times the real ruler of Rome. Her armies were commanded by Aëtius and Boniface, who have been called the “last of the Romans.”

Invasion of the Huns under Attila. — The next great invasion of the Western Empire was made by the Huns under Attila. This savage people from Asia had already gained a foothold in eastern Europe north of the Danube. Under their great chieftain, Attila, who has been called "the Scourge of God," they invaded Gaul, and devastated the provinces; they laid siege to the city of Orléans, but were finally defeated by the Roman general Aëtius, with the aid of the Visigoths. The battle was fought near Châlons (A.D. 451), and has been called one of the great decisive battles of the world, because it relieved Europe from the danger of Tartar domination. Attila later invaded Italy, but retired without attacking Rome.

Notwithstanding the brilliant service which Aëtius had rendered, he was made the victim of court intrigue, and was murdered by his jealous prince Valentinian III. The fate of Aëtius, like that of Stilicho before him, shows the wretched condition into which the imperial government had fallen.

Invasion of the Vandals under Genseric. — The Vandals who had fought under Radagaisus had, upon the death of that leader, retreated into Spain, and had finally crossed over into Africa, where they had erected a kingdom under their chief Gen'seric. They captured the Roman city of Carthage and made it their capital; and they soon obtained control of the western Mediterranean. On the pretext of settling a quarrel at Rome, Genseric landed his army at the port of Ostia, took possession of the city of Rome, and for fourteen days made it the subject of pillage (A.D. 455). By this act of Genseric, the city lost its treasures and many of its works of art, and the word "vandalism" came to be a term of odious meaning.

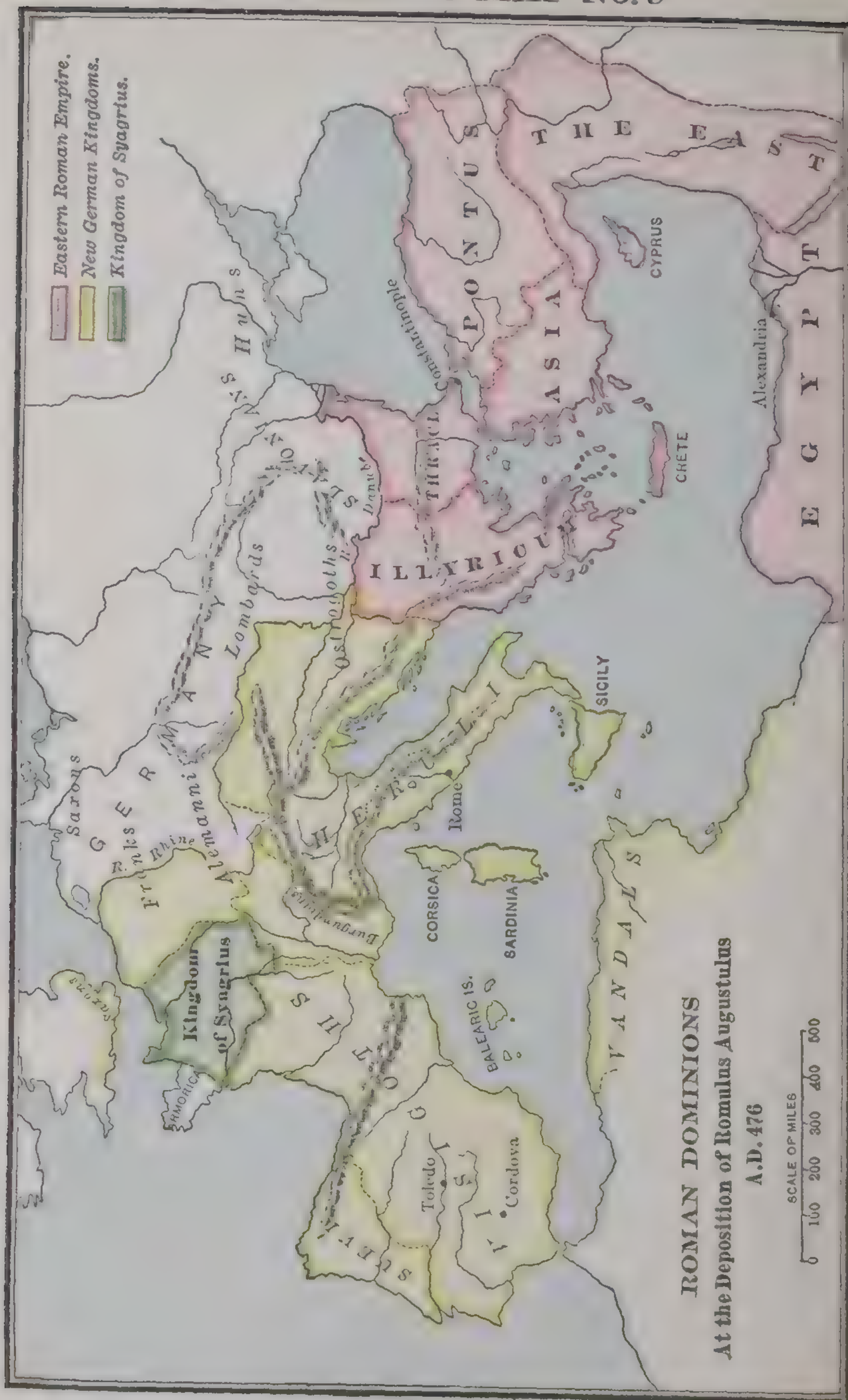
Occupation of Britain by the Saxons. — While the continental provinces were thus overrun by the Goths, the Huns, and the Vandals, the Roman army was withdrawn from the island of Britain. For many years it was left to govern itself. But the tribes of northern Germany, the Jutes and the Saxons, saw in it a desirable place of settlement, and began their migration to the island (A.D. 449).

In the various ways which we have thus briefly described, the provinces of the Western Empire — Spain, Africa, Gaul, and Britain — became for the most part occupied by German barbarians, and practically independent of the imperial authority at Rome.

II. THE FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE

Ricimer and the Last Days of the Empire. — The authority of the Western Roman emperors became limited to Italy, and even here it was reduced to a mere shadow. The barbarians were the real power behind the throne. The Roman armies were made up mostly of barbarians, under the control of barbarian generals; and even the direction of affairs at the capital was in the hands of barbarian chiefs. The place which Stilicho the Vandal had held under Honorius, was filled by Ricimer the Goth during the last years of the empire. This chieftain commanded the foreign troops in the pay of Rome. He received the Roman title of "patrician," which at this time was equivalent to regent of the empire. For seventeen years (455–472) Ricimer exercised absolute authority, setting up and deposing emperors at his will. The Roman Empire in the West had in fact already passed away, and nothing was now left but to extinguish its name.

Odoacer deposes Romulus Augustulus (A.D. 476). — The part which Ricimer had played as "king-maker" was now assumed by Orestes the Pannonian, who received the title of patrician. Orestes placed upon the throne his son, Romulus Augustulus, a boy six years of age. The brief reign of this prince has no other significance than the fact that it was the last. The barbarian mercenaries demanded one third of the lands of Italy, and on the refusal of Orestes, they placed their cause in the hands of Odoacer (a Herulian, or a Rugian chief). Romulus was obliged to resign his title as emperor, and word was sent to the Eastern ruler that there was no need of another separate emperor in the West. Odoacer was given the title of patrician, and ruled over Italy as the vicar of the



Eastern emperor. The West was then deprived of the imperial title; and this event is called the "fall of the Western Roman Empire."

Relation of the West to the Eastern Empire. — If we were asked to define the relation between the East and the West after the deposition of Romulus Augustulus, we might be in doubt how to answer the question. Since Odoacer was made a Roman ruler under the title of patrician, and since he recognized the authority of the Eastern emperor, we might say that the Western Empire was not destroyed, but was simply reunited once more to the Eastern Empire. This would be true so far as it referred to a mere matter of legal form. But as a matter of historical fact this event does not mark a return to the old system of things which existed before the death of Theodosius, but marks a real separation between the history of the East and the history of the West.

Transition to a New Civilization in the West. — The West had gradually become peopled with various German tribes. In Africa were the Vandals; in Spain and southern Gaul, the Visigoths; in northwestern Spain, the Suevi; in southeastern Gaul, the Burgundians; in Britain, the Saxons and the Jutes; in Italy, the Heruli. Only in the northern part of Gaul was the shadow of the Roman authority preserved by the governor, Syagrius, who still maintained himself for ten years longer against the invaders, but was at last conquered by the Franks under Clovis (A.D. 486). The chiefs of the new German kingdom had begun to exercise an independent authority and the Roman people had become subject to new rulers. The customs and manners of the Romans, their laws and their language, were still preserved, but upon them became engrafted new customs, new ideas, and new institutions. As the fall of the old republic was a transition to the empire, and as the decline of the early empire was a transition to a new phase of imperialism; so now the fall of the Roman Empire in the West was in reality a transition to a new state of things out of which has grown our modern civilization.

SELECTIONS FOR READING

- Pelham, Bk. VII., Ch. 2, "Extinction of the Western Empire" (1) ;
 Merivale, Gen. Hist., Ch. 77, "Loss of the Western Provinces" (1) ;
 Freeman, Ch. 4, "Dismemberment of the Empire" (14).
 Gibbon, Decline, Ch. 31, "Invasion of Italy" (7).
 Gibbon, abridged, Ch. 15, "Western Empire under Honorius" (7).
 Lord, Ch. 11, "Fall of Rome" (3).

SPECIAL STUDY

CAUSES OF THE FALL OF THE EMPIRE. — Seeley, Essay II. (7) ;
 Leighton, Ch. 37 (1) ; Lord, Ch. 12 (3) ; Hal-kin, Italy, Vol. II., Ch. 9
 (7) ; Bury, Later Empire, Bk. I., Ch. 3 (7).

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

CHAPTER XXX

THE GIFTS OF ROME TO CIVILIZATION

I. THE MONUMENTS OF ROME

Remains of Roman Civilization. — We have now followed the career of Rome from the foundation of the city to the fall of the Western Empire. We have seen how a small Latin village on the Palatine grew into the seven-hilled city on the Tiber; and how this city became the controlling power of Latium, of Italy, and finally of the whole Mediterranean world. We have also seen how the Romans, with their growing conquests, gradually developed the capacity to govern the countries of the Mediterranean better than they had ever been governed before. Moreover, we have seen how the Roman people, as they came into contact with their neighbors, became more and more civilized, gathering up the ideas of the Etruscans, the Carthaginians, the Greeks, and the countries of the East, and molding them into a new civilization.

But we are interested not only in what Rome did for herself, but in what she has done for others; not only in what she gathered up from the ancient world, but in what she has given to the modern world. It is the gifts of Rome to civilization that make her history especially important to us. Her real greatness must be judged not by that which perished with her fall, but by that which remained after her empire passed away, and which forms a part of the world's possessions to-day—her monuments, her language and literature, her ideas of government, and her legal system.

The Monuments of the Kingdom. — The first and most striking relics of Rome that appeal to us are the monumental buildings and other structures, the pictures of which every traveler brings home from his foreign tour. The person who

visits the city on the Tiber to-day sees everywhere the material evidences of Rome's greatness and power; and the various stages of her growth and progress are recorded in works of stone. There still remain to us the monuments of her kings, which suggest to us the time and place of her birth. As we stand in the Forum to-day, we are standing on the site where the Latins and Sabines found a common meeting place, and where the political life of Rome had its origin. We may see fragments of the original wall which was erected upon the Palatine, and which is known as the "Wall of Romulus." We may see portions of the Servian fortifications, which show to us the material greatness of the city under the later kings. Close by the Capitol, under the walls of a modern church, we may descend into the Mamertine prison, where criminals were confined ages ago. If we walk to the banks of the Tiber, we may see the mouth of the Cloaca Maxima, the great sewer

constructed by the later kings to drain the low places of the city.

The Monuments of the Republic. — There also remain monumental relics of the republic, which show how the Forum became embellished with public buildings. Near the center of this open space we may see three beautiful pillars, which belonged to the temple of Castor and Pollux originally dedicated to the twin gods after the battle of Regillus. Cicero



RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF CASTOR AND POLLUX

speaks of this temple as the most celebrated in Rome in his day; it was afterward rebuilt by Tiberius (A.D. 6). Close by

the Palatine is the site of the temple of Vesta, where the sacred fire of the city was kept, with the palladium (the statue of the goddess Pallas) said to have been brought from Troy. Near the Capitoline stand eight massive columns, a part of the temple dedicated to Saturn, the ancient god who presided over that hill. On the south side of the Forum we may still see the solid foundations of the Basilica Julia, the great hall of justice, or courthouse, built by Julius Cæsar and finished by Augustus. Beneath our feet we can see the pavement of the



RUINS OF THE FLAVIAN AMPHITHEATRE

Sacra Via, over which the victorious armies of the republic marched in triumph to the Capitol. Outside the city, stretching away to the south, can still be seen the Appian Way, begun by Appius Claudius during the wars with Samnium.

The Monuments of the Empire. — The empire has, of course, left us the largest number of architectural monuments. The old Forum itself received new buildings. Near the temple of Saturn still stand three artistic columns from the corner of the temple of Vespasian. New forums were also constructed by the emperors. In that of Augustus we may see the temple of Mars Ultor, which the first emperor dedicated to the god of war after avenging the death of his uncle. In the Forum

of Trajan rises the column dedicated to that emperor, and decorated with a vast number of figures representing scenes in the Dacian wars. On the Palatine hill we may wander among the extensive ruins which mark the site of the palaces of the Cæsars. Everywhere in Rome to-day the evidences of the empire meet the visitor's eye—the great dome of the Pantheon erected by Agrippa—the immense circle of the Flavian Amphitheater—the imposing mausoleum of Hadrian, transformed into the Castle of St. Angelo—the triumphal arches of Titus, of Septimius Severus, and of Constantine—the ruins of the great Baths of Trajan, of Caracalla, and of Diocletian. And also throughout the countries of Europe, especially in the West, in Italy, in Spain, in France, and in England, are scattered similar monuments, which attest the greatness of a people who have passed away, but whose influence still remains.

II. THE LATIN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Character of the Latin Language. — But the most important remains of Roman civilization are not to be found in the ruins of her buildings, imposing as these may be. When we think how many words we use to-day that are derived from the Latin tongue, we may realise that the Romans have given to us some of the means by which we are able to express our thoughts. The speech of the Romans grew up with their growth, and was strengthened with their strength. Just as the Latin people became the ruling people of Italy and of the Mediterranean, so the Latin speech became the ruling speech of Italy and the most important language of the Mediterranean world, especially of the western provinces. The Romans gave to the Latin tongue its dignity and power. Into it they breathed the spirit of patriotism. Over the countries which they conquered they made it an instrument of dominion. And from their more civilized neighbors they derived a refining influence which made it the medium of culture and graceful expression.

Preservation of the Roman Alphabet. — We may, perhaps, get

some idea of the permanence of the Latin language by looking at the way in which the Roman alphabet has been preserved. The letters which the Romans used in writing were for the most part derived directly from old forms used by the Greek colonies in southern Italy, and these in turn came remotely from the Phœnicians. But the Romans gave to these characters more definite forms, which have been substantially preserved by a great many modern nations. The accompanying table may indicate how the Romans learned their letters from the Greeks and Phœnicians, and also how closely these letters are related to our modern alphabet. By comparing the last two columns we may understand the significant words of Professor Whitney when he says, "The Latin alphabet has become the common property of nearly all the enlightened nations of modern times whose civilization is derived from that of Greece and Rome."

The Latin and Modern Languages.—Not only the letters which the Romans used in their writing, but the words with which they expressed their thoughts, have also become the common property of the world. The Latin language was preserved by the Church after the fall of the empire, and it became the language of Christian worship, the language in which the ritual was read by the priests, in which the hymns were written, in which theological discussions were carried on. Moreover, what are to-day called the Romance languages—the Italian, the French, the Spanish, and the Portuguese—are based chiefly

Phœn. an.	Old Greek.	Old Roman.	Mod. in Roman, English, etc.
Α	A	A	A
Β	B	B	B
Γ	C	<C	C
Δ	Δ D	D	D
Ε	Ε	E	E
Ζ	Ζ	F	F
		C	G
Η	Η	H	H
Θ	I	I	I
			J
Κ	K	K	K
	Λ	Λ L	L
Μ	M	M	M
Ν	N	N	N
Ο	O	O	O
Π	Π	Π P	P
Φ	Φ	Φ Q	Q
Ρ	Ρ R	R	R
Σ	Σ S	Σ S	S
Τ	T	T	T
			U
	V	V	V
			W
	X	X	X
			Y
		Z	Z

upon the Latin language spoken by the Roman provincials. The English language, also, has obtained many additions from the Latin, by means of the Norman Conquest, and in other ways. While the Saxon people in England were using the crude words of their barbarian ancestors, the Norman aristocracy was employing the more refined and dignified speech derived from the Latin. And after a while these two forms of speech became fused together into the English language: so that to-day we can scarcely utter a sentence without using some words which were once used by the old Roman people.

Permanence of Roman Literature. — Again, not only the letters and words, but the writings which made up the great body of Roman literature, have also become the common heritage of mankind. How much we owe to the Romans is seen in the fact that we are able to read to-day the thoughts which once amused, instructed, and inspired that great people in the times of the republic and the empire. We can still read the comedies of Plautus and Terence, the historical works of Cæsar and Sallust, of Livy and Tacitus, the poems of Lucretius and Vergil, the satires of Horace and Juvenal, and the masterly orations, the versatile letters, and the philosophical essays of Cicero. And these writings have exercised a wonderful influence upon nearly all the great authors of modern times — upon Dante, Molière, Goethe, and Milton.

Roman Element in Modern Education. — Still further, by the preservation of the Latin language and literature the modern world has acquired some very important means necessary for mental culture and education. When, for example, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Europe waked up to the need of a higher education, Latin and Greek became the most important studies in the schools and universities: and it was believed that these studies were necessary for the best scholarship. We all know that these studies hold an important place in modern education. The boy who is preparing for college still studies the etymology of Latin words, the syntax of Latin sentences, the rhythm of Latin verses, and the thoughts of Latin authors.

But Latin is not simply a study for schoolboys ; every literary man feels that his power to write his own language is not fully developed until he has obtained some culture by the study of the Latin language and literature. So it is that while the Roman state has passed away, the language, the thoughts, and the spirit of the Roman people still remain to enrich the intellectual life of the world.

III. THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF ROME

Roman Genius for Organization.—There are other gifts of Rome to the world which are quite as important as her alphabet, her language, or even her literature. The possessions which we have already noticed she obtained in large measure from her predecessors, the people whom she conquered, and passed them on to the nations which succeeded her. But we should remember that we have received from Rome other valuable gifts, which she did not borrow from her predecessors, but which she may be said to have created. It is in her political system that we may see the special marks of her genius, and her own original contributions to the progress of the world. No nation, before the Romans, had developed a system of government so well suited to maintain an authority over such a wide territory, and to hold together so many different kinds of people. The great glory of Rome does not rest upon her conquests ; but upon the way in which she maintained her conquests in times of peace. It is in her genius for organization that her greatness chiefly consists. We have seen how her ideas of government were slowly developed and expanded with the expansion of her territory ; how she gradually “incorporated” her subjects, and made of them loyal citizens, having equal rights and inspired by her own spirit and ambition ; and how successfully she governed her provinces for hundreds of years. Although we have seen many instances of corruption and bad administration, we may yet truthfully say that before the growth of modern ideas of

representation and constitutional law, the Roman system of government was the most perfect that the world had ever seen.

Preservation of Roman Political Ideas. — If we should study the condition of Europe after the fall of the empire, we should find that the political ideas of Rome continued to exercise an influence after she herself had ceased to rule. The new German settlers from the north, it is true, brought with them certain ideas of freedom and democracy; but they hardly knew what was meant by an efficient and well-organized government. They therefore adopted Roman ideas. Their kings aspired to rule like Roman monarchs. Their officers received Roman titles, and exercised powers like Roman officials. Although the Germans introduced some important principles regarding personal liberty and local self-government, still it is true that the chief states of modern Europe have derived their ideas of a strong central authority and an efficient administration from the political system of Rome.

The Roman Imperial Idea. — We may illustrate how the political ideas of Rome were preserved in Europe after the fall of the empire by the way in which the idea of "imperialism" continued to influence men's minds. The Romans, as we know, came to believe that the highest political power must be exercised by one man, the Caesar, who presided over the nation. To him all must look as the highest source of authority. This idea floated before the minds of the barbarian kings after they had destroyed the empire; and when they built up their new states they aspired to the position and to the name of emperor. Thus it came to pass that Charlemagne, the great king of the Franks, had himself crowned as emperor, and established a new Roman Empire in western Europe. So, afterward, the German kings were crowned as Roman emperors, and their dominions were called the Holy Roman Empire. The influence of this imperial idea which was associated with the name of "Caesar" we see still preserved in the names of the German "Kaiser" and the Russian "Czar."

The Roman Provincial Government. — One of the chief features

of the Roman government was the division and subdivision of the territory for purposes of administration. These provincial districts, whatever they might be called, were controlled by officers sent out from the capital city; and thus the central authority was maintained throughout the whole Roman domain. This method of maintaining the central power over a large territory, by local divisions and subdivisions, has been adopted by modern states. We might say that every modern European country has, to a greater or less extent, modeled its administrative system upon Roman provincial methods. This is perhaps least true as regards England; but even here the English kings who have sought to strengthen the central authority have adopted methods similar to those employed in the Roman provinces.

The Roman Municipal System. — In many respects the most important elements of the whole political system of Rome were the municipalities, or the cities. It has been said that the Roman Empire was a "collection of cities." The conquests which Rome made were conquests of cities. The government which she established was a government over cities. Her life and activities were concentrated in cities. And when the provinces were finally overrun and the last emperor was deposed, the cities still remained with their government and their institutions. On this account the cities of Rome may be regarded as the most permanent features of her political organization. The Roman city was what we should call to-day a "municipal corporation," established by a charter, having the right to elect its own officers and to be governed by its own city council. This idea of the city has descended to modern times, and forms nearly as important an element in our own political system as it did in that of the Romans.

As we look at these various features of the Roman government which have exercised such influence in the formation of modern states, we may not be so strongly impressed by them as we are by the architectural monuments and the literary remains, but we must remember that they have been, none the less, important contributions to the world's civilization.

IV. THE ROMAN LAW

Character of Roman Jurisprudence.—If we were asked what was the most valuable gift of Rome to the modern world, we should probably be obliged to say that it was none of the things which we have thus far mentioned—but her jurisprudence, or system of law. When we remember that our life, our personal security, and our property are protected only by means of the law, we can appreciate how important it is that a nation's laws should be founded upon broad ideas of justice. It was in the development of just and liberal laws, by which the rights of her citizens were protected in their relations with one another, that the Romans showed their greatest ability, and have exercised their most powerful influence upon modern nations. When the Romans began their career on the banks of the Tiber, they had very crude and meager ideas of law and justice. But as they established their authority over other peoples, they gradually learned that it would be the best policy to put their new subjects upon a plane of equality with their older citizens, to regard all men as equal before the law, and to protect them all alike in their rights of person and property. By extending this policy throughout Italy and the provinces, the Romans were able to create a body of just laws, such as the ancient world had never before seen, and from which the modern world has drawn a large part of its jurisprudence. While we must admit that the government of Rome was often corrupt and despotic in its political and financial administration, we must not lose sight of the spirit of fairness and equity which almost uniformly marked her legal system.

Influence of the Roman Jurists.—If we believe that the greatness of men is to be measured by the extent of their influence, we must concede that the greatest men that Rome produced were not her warriors, her poets, her historians, or even her statesmen—but her lawyers and jurists. It is a question whether Cicero or Caesar, whose names are so familiar to us, has exercised so great an influence upon the world as

some other Romans, whose names may not be so familiar to us — Gaius, Ulpian, Paulhus, and Papinian. These were the men who, with others like them, gave to the Roman law its liberal and scientific character, and laid its foundations upon the broad principles of justice. Like the framers of our own Declaration of Independence, they believed that all men are created equal, and that they are all alike entitled to the rights of life and property. With such ideas of right and justice they settled a vast number of legal questions, such as naturally arise among the people of every country. They thus built up a noble system of jurisprudence suited to the wants of those nations which sprang up and became civilized in Europe after the Roman Empire had passed away.

Preservation of the Roman Law. — In order to understand how the Roman law was preserved after the fall of the empire, we must bear in mind what we have already learned, that the empire at the death of Theodosius was divided into two parts, the western part and the eastern part. We must also remember that it was the Western Empire that was overrun and destroyed by the barbarians from the north, while the Eastern Empire remained intact. The Roman people who still lived in the West, that is, in Italy, Spain, and Gaul, found themselves now subject to the new German rulers, and living side by side with the new German people who had conquered their territory. The new German kingdoms were thus made up of two kinds of people, the Romans and the Germans. But the German kings, while ruling their German subjects according to their old barbarian customs, permitted their Roman subjects still to be judged by the laws of Rome. How liberal these barbarian kings were is seen in the fact that they even took the pains to make special collections of the Roman law by which to govern their Roman subjects. They also permitted the Christian clergy to retain the Roman law in the tribunals of the Church.

While the Roman law was thus preserved in the West after the barbarian conquest, it was also preserved in the East

in quite as remarkable a way. The Emperor Justinian, when he was ruling at Constantinople, saw the importance of gathering together the great mass of laws, which had been growing up for centuries, and of putting it into a complete codified form. This collection was called the Body of the Civil Law — *Corpus Iuris Civilis*. It was made up of four parts: (1) the "Code," comprising the laws made by the previous emperors; (2) the "Digest," made up of the numerous writings of the great jurists; (3) the "Institutes," a concise text-book for the use of students; and (4) the "Novels," or the new laws made by Justinian.

Revival of the Study of the Roman Law. — The Roman law never lost its hold upon Europe after the fall of the Western Empire. It was preserved in the cities, in the courts where the Romans were tried, and in the tribunals of the Church. But after the twelfth century, when there came to be a greater demand for scientific education, a renewed interest was shown in the Roman law, and it became the object of eager study. It came to be expounded by learned men in Italy, in Spain, in France, in Holland, in Germany, and in England. Students flocked from all parts of Europe to the great centers of learning to listen to the teachers of the Roman law. And to this day, in the great universities of Europe this important subject has never lost its place as a liberal and scientific study.

The Roman Law in Modern Countries. — By the preservation of the Roman law after the fall of the Western Empire, by its codification by Justinian, and by the revival of its scientific study, it has become in fact the basis of the modern laws of Europe. Professor Bryce says, "Being studied by all the educated men, the poets, the philosophers, the administrators of the Middle Ages, it worked itself into the thoughts of Christendom, losing the traces of its origin as it became the common property of the world." By appreciating this fact the student who reads Blackstone will be able to understand what that writer means when he says that the revival of the Roman law "established in the twelfth century a new Roman Empire over

most of the states of the Continent." In various ways which we cannot here review, the legal principles worked out by the Roman jurists and embodied in the "Digest" of Justinian, have found their way into the laws of nearly all modern countries, and are to-day practiced in nearly every European court. If Rome had done nothing else in the long course of her history, she would be entitled to the gratitude of the world for the noble body of laws which she has left us.

V. THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

The Church and the Empire. — To complete our brief review of the gifts of Rome to civilization we should notice, finally, the influence which she has continued to exercise through the organization of the Christian Church. We must remember that Christianity became the religion of the Roman Empire before it became the religion of the modern world. It may therefore be regarded as one of the valuable possessions which Rome received from her subjects, and which she bequeathed to her descendants.

In the organization of the Church we may see especially the influence of the imperial system. Upon the territorial divisions of the empire were modeled the divisions of the Church. For example, in the town was organized the parish church; the diocese furnished the field of the bishop; the province was the district over which presided the archbishop, or metropolitan; and the great cities of the empire, like Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria, formed the seats of the patriarchates, the largest ecclesiastical divisions. The organization of the empire was thus gradually impressed upon the organization of the Church; and with the adoption of Christianity by Constantine the Church became an integral part of the imperial system. We may, therefore, say that as the Roman Empire became Christianized, the Christian Church became Romanized; and with the preservation of the Church were also preserved the Roman features of its organization.

The Church Fathers, Chrysostom and Augustine. — Moreover, as the empire became Christian, many of the leaders of Roman thought became the leaders and expounders of the new religion. The names which stand out with marked prominence in the literature of the later empire are those of Chrysostom and Augustine, the former the greatest of the Greek fathers, and the latter the greatest of the Latin fathers. Chrysostom received the education of a Roman lawyer; but giving up the bar he became the most eloquent preacher of his day — some say of the world — on account of which he received his name, “the golden-mouthed.” Leaving his native city of Antioch, he became the archbishop of Constantinople, and his eloquence became the terror of evil-doers. His enemies obtained his banishment; but from his retreat he continued his work and became one of the most voluminous writers of the early Church. Augustine received the training of a Roman rhetorician, but afterward became the bishop of Hippo (a town in Africa), and one of the most distinguished expounders of the Christian religion. His most noted work, the “City of God,” was intended to vindicate the Christian faith against those pagans who asserted that the capture of Rome and the other calamities of the time were a judgment of the gods upon the new religion; and to show that the kingdom of God was more enduring than the empire of Rome. Thus it happened that in the midst of moral decay and of external dangers Rome gave to the Church her brightest minds and her strongest defenders.

Conversion of the Barbarians. — Not only did Christianity become the religion of the Roman Empire, it also became the religion of the barbarians who were invading and destroying the empire. When the Goths invaded the provinces in the reign of Gallienus, they carried back with them numbers of Roman captives who were Christians, and who succeeded in converting their new masters. Afterward Ulfilas, the “apostle of the Goths,” came to Constantinople on an embassy, and while there he was consecrated as a Christian priest.

He translated the Bible into the Gothic language, and continued the work of Christianizing his people. It is said that Chrysostom, while archbishop of Constantinople, founded an institution in which the Goths might be trained to preach the gospel to the barbarians. From the Goths the new religion spread among the neighboring tribes of the Vandals and Burgundians. It should be noticed that the barbarians who settled within the empire before its fall, had accepted the Arian form of Christianity, that is, the form which had been condemned as a heresy by the Council of Nice. But in the course of time this form gave way to the prevailing Roman form, or what was regarded as the orthodox faith. It may be said, then, that Rome not only accepted Christianity herself, but was instrumental in giving it to other nations.

The Church succeeds the Empire. — By taking advantage of Roman principles of organization, by appropriating the best intellect of the empire, by adopting rules of the Roman law, and by extending her influence over the invading nations, the Church attained a great degree of solidity and strength. Moreover, the prestige of the city of Rome gave to the bishop of that diocese a commanding position in the West. These were some of the causes which prepared the Latin Church, at the close of the fifth century, to take the place of the Roman Empire as the imperial power in western Europe. When the empire at last fell, the Church remained standing; and assumed the duty of helping to organize and control the new nations which were coming into existence. The spirit of Rome thus remained in the Church, and continued to exercise its powerful influence in the reorganization of European society.

Conclusion. — As we look back over the course of study which we have pursued, we must conclude that there is much truth in the statement of Professor Freeman that "the history of Rome is in truth the same as the history of the world." It is certainly true that the history of Rome touches at some point or other the history of nearly every other people, ancient and modern. Every important nation of the ancient world seems to

have contributed something to her civilization: Phœnicia, her letters; Carthage, her commercial spirit; Egypt, her science; Persia, her court organization; Greece, her art and philosophy; Palestine, her religion. But so complex and comprehensive was the civilization of Rome that it is difficult to indicate all the sources from which it was derived. The more we study the origin of our modern life and institutions, the more shall we be convinced that nearly everything of value which has come to us from antiquity has come to us through Rome. She has thus been one of the great *civilizing* nations of the world. While we think of the events of her history as belonging to ancient times, we must think of her civilization as something which has not passed away, but which remains a permanent possession for all time. This idea of Rome's continued influence cannot perhaps be better expressed than in the eloquent words of the great French jurist D'Aguesseau: "The mighty destinies of Rome have not yet been accomplished; she reigns throughout the world by her reason after having ceased to rule by her authority."

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Gibbon, *Decline*, Ch. 71, "Ruins of Rome" (7).¹

Freeman, *Essays*, 2d Ser., "Mommsen's History of Rome" (3).

Whitney, *Language and the Study of Language*, pp. 462-467, "The Latin Alphabet."

Ramsay and Lanciani, Ch. 9, "Roman Law and the Administration of Justice" (8).

Morey, *Roman Law*, pp. 192-216, "Roman Element in Modern Jurisprudence" (15).

Merivale, *Gen. Hist.*, Ch. 80, "Reflections upon the History of Rome" (1).

SPECIAL STUDY

ROME OF TO-DAY. — Hare, *Walks in Rome* (14); Burn, *Rome and the Campagna* (14); Lanciani, *Ruins* (9); Middleton, *Remains* (9); Baedeker, *Central Italy and Rome* (14); Murray, *Handbook* (14); Story, *Roba di Roma* (14).

¹ The figure in parenthesis refers to the number of the topic in the Appendix, where a fuller title of the book will be found.

CHAPTER XXXI

TRANSITION FROM ROMAN TO MEDIEVAL HISTORY (A.D. 476-800)

I. THE NEW ROMANO-GERMANIC KINGDOMS

The Roman and the Teuton.—Before closing our study of Roman history it will be well for us to try to understand, not only how the Roman Empire was the highest product of the ancient world, but also how it became the foundation of the modern world; not only how Rome developed a noble language and literature, and created a world government and an imperishable system of law, but also how she influenced the new peoples which settled within her provinces. We shall see that the new society which sprang up in Europe after the decline of the old empire grew out of the mingling of Roman and German elements. The Germans infused new blood and vigor into the declining civilization of Rome; and, on the other hand, the rude customs and unrestrained spirit of the German people were refined and subdued by coming into contact with the Roman ideas of law and order.

Character of the Early Germans.—The German people who had found their way into Italy and Spain and Gaul and Britain were in the condition of barbarians, as the Romans themselves, as well as the Greeks, once were. But while the Greeks and the Romans had advanced to a high state of civilization, the Germans had remained in much the same condition as that of their early ancestors. Before they invaded the empire they had lived for many centuries in the lands north of the Rhine and the Danube, and had preserved the customs of a barbarous people. Their institutions were exceedingly simple and democratic in their character. They believed in personal

equality and individual liberty. Tacitus tells us that their chiefs governed by persuasion rather than by authority. The chief was often surrounded by a following (*comitatus*) of young men, who voluntarily attached themselves to him, and who shared his dangers and glory in war.

If we should sum up in the fewest words the most important features of the early German race, we should say that they were distinguished by their ideas of individual freedom and personal loyalty, and by their institution of local self-government, together with a simple kind of federative system. But these ideas and institutions, simple though they were, became united with the more highly developed institutions of Rome, and formed an important element in the genesis of modern society.

To understand the relations of the Roman and the Teuton in this new period, it will not be necessary for us to consider all the German tribes which settled in western Europe (see p. 309). There are only three of these peoples which have for us at present a real historical significance. These peoples are (1) the Anglo-Saxons in Britain, among whom the German ideas became more strongly developed than the Roman; (2) the Goths in Spain and Italy, among whom the Roman influences prevailed over the German; and (3) the Franks in Gaul, among whom the Roman and German elements were more equally balanced and more completely blended.

The Anglo-Saxons in Britain. — The German conquest of Britain resulted from a series of migrations, beginning at the middle of the fifth century and extending over a period of a hundred and fifty years. The people whom we generally call the "Anglo-Saxons" included the Jutes, who settled in Kent; the Saxons, who settled in Sussex, Wessex, and Essex; and the Angles, who settled in East Anglia, Mercia, and Northumberland. These settlements, which grew into as many kingdoms, are often spoken of as the "Anglo-Saxon Heptarchy." Although the province of Britain had previously been made a seat of Roman civilization, many of the remains of which exist

at the present day, the Teutonic institutions became thoroughly transplanted to English soil; and the German ideas of personal liberty and of local self-government became more firmly fixed there than in any other country of Europe.

But still it would be a mistake to suppose that the Roman influence was entirely destroyed. The Roman cities still remained and preserved some of the municipal institutions of the empire. When the Roman missionary, Augustine, was sent to Britain, and the Anglo-Saxons were converted to Christianity, the Church became organized on a Roman basis, and attained a sort of national unity, even before



ANGLO-SAXON HEPTARCHY

the Saxon kingdoms themselves were united. The Christian clergy, who were imbued with Roman ideas, became the advisers of the Saxon kings, and gave them lessons in the art of government and political administration.

When we speak of the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons by Augustine, we must not forget that Christianity had already been established in Britain during the Roman period. When the island was invaded by the pagan Germans, the Celtic Christians took refuge in Scotland and Ireland. The early British, or Celtic, Church was thus preserved in these places, and had a strong seat in the island of Io'na, whence the Celtic missionaries went forth and vied with the missionaries of Rome in the conversion of the Saxons in Britain. This rivalry was finally settled by an agreement to unite under an archbishop appointed by the pope. The man selected was Theodore

of Tarsus, who organized the Anglo-Saxon Church upon a Roman model.

The Goths in Spain and Italy. — If the Anglo-Saxons who settled in Britain were least affected by Roman influence, the Goths who settled in the southern part of Europe were the most thoroughly Romanized. This great people had become divided into two distinct branches, — the Visigoths, or West Goths, who settled in Spain and the southern part of Gaul (A.D. 415–711); and the Ostrogoths, or East Goths, who settled in Italy and Illyricum (A.D. 493–555).

The Visigoths were led into Spain by Adolphus (Ataulf), the successor of Alaric (see p. 305). How much this prince was under the influence of Rome we may judge from his own statement, in which he says that while he wished at first to destroy the Roman name, he was convinced that to maintain the Gothic state it was necessary to preserve the Roman institutions. The Visigothic kings respected the rights of their Roman subjects. While one king, Euric, drew up the barbarian laws for the Gothic people, another king, Alaric II., drew up the Roman laws for the Roman people. The tendency in Spain was to preserve the equality of the Romans and the Goths under the common authority of the king, who ruled more like a Roman emperor than like a barbarian chief. The Visigothic state remained for many years as the chief kingdom of Spain. But its later years were marked by weakness and decay. Its territory in Gaul was conquered by the Franks (p. 332); and the kingdom itself fell at last before the Mohammedan power (p. 338).

The strong Romanizing influence which we have noticed among the Visigoths in Spain was also very marked among the Ostrogoths in Italy. This was especially apparent during the reign of Theodoric, one of the greatest of all the German princes. Brought up at Constantinople, he was well acquainted with the Roman methods of government. At the request of the Eastern emperor, Theodoric took the lead of his people, invaded Italy, defeated Odoacer, the king of the Heruli, and founded the new kingdom of the Ostrogoths. Theodoric

acknowledged a nominal allegiance to the Eastern emperor; but he in fact ruled as an independent sovereign and regarded himself as the successor of Augustus. He restored Italy to a prosperous condition, such as it had not seen since the days of the Antonines. He compiled the Roman law for his Roman subjects; and though an Arian, he respected the rights of the Catholic Church. His ambition was to infuse a new Teutonic vigor into the old civilization of Rome—to preserve the old



TOMB OF THEODORIC AT RAVENNA

institutions, while he gave to them a new spirit. At his death his enemies succeeded in having his ashes scattered: but his tomb at Ravenna still remains as a monument to his greatness.

The Franks in Gaul.—The most equal blending of the Roman and German elements was reserved for the Franks in Gaul. In this province, especially in the south, the Roman civilization had since the time of Vespasian taken a firm hold (see p. 247). When now the Franks, the most warlike of the Ger-

man tribes, gained a foothold in the north, they united with their Roman subjects in building up a strong nation. The founder of the Frankish monarchy was Clovis, the chief of the Salian¹ Franks. This great chieftain, after defeating Syagrius (see p. 309) at the battle of Soissons (A.D. 486; map, p. 342), soon overcame the neighboring tribes in Gaul, — the Alemanni in the northeast, the Burgundians in the southeast, and the Visigoths in the southwest, — and thus brought the whole of Gaul under his authority. He recognized a sort of allegiance to the Eastern emperor by accepting the title of "consul." During his reign and that of his successors the Roman people were respected, their cities were preserved, their language and laws remained untouched; and many of the Romans were even selected to assist the Frankish king in his government.

One of the most noteworthy facts in the reign of Clovis was his conversion to the orthodox form of Christianity, — which followed his victory over the Alemanni. The story of his conversion sounds something like that of Constantine's. In each case Christianity was accepted by the ruler and became the protected religion of his people — in the case of the Frankish king as in that of the Roman emperor; and both events resulted in the closer union of Church and State.

The general effect of the Germanic invasions in Gaul, as in other provinces of the empire, was to bring about a union or fusion of the Roman and German peoples — the mingling of their social and political institutions, their languages, and to a certain extent their systems of law — the blending of Roman ideas of authority with the German spirit of liberty. This fusion of the two peoples laid the basis of a new Romano-German society.

¹ The Franks were divided into two branches: the Salian Franks, who crossed to the west of the Rhine and founded the Frankish monarchy, and the Ripuan'rian Franks, who remained in Germany and became afterward known as the Franco'nians.

II. THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE EAST

The Eastern Empire before Justinian.—While the Roman and the Teuton were uniting to build up a new society in the West, the old Roman Empire still persisted in the East. The emperor at Constantinople still claimed to be the rightful ruler of the whole Roman world, and had succeeded in gaining the nominal allegiance of most of the German kings; but his real authority was confined to the provinces east of the Adriatic. It is true that the East was relieved of such invasions as had destroyed the Western provinces: still the government at Constantinople was very weak, often in the hands of incapable men and under the influence of intriguing women. The capital and the other cities of the empire were distracted by political dissensions and religious discord. Not till we come to the reign of Justinian do we see anything like a revival of the old Roman spirit.

The Reign of Justinian (A. D. 527-565).—Justinian was the most famous ruler of the Eastern Empire, and his deeds are recorded by Procopius, the most eminent historian of that period. A barbarian by birth, Justinian came to Constantinople while yet a young man, and there received an excellent education. He married the famous dancer, Theodora, who afterward became an orthodox Christian, and who at times aided the emperor by her keen intellect and her vigorous spirit. In spite of many stories which detract from the personal character of Justinian, his reign was, after that of Constantine, the most brilliant in the history of the East. He loved pomp and was extravagant in his expenditures. He constructed many public buildings, chief among which was the Church of St. Sophia, dedicated to Wisdom. During his reign the culture of the silk-worm was introduced into Europe, the eggs being stealthily brought from China, it is said, by being concealed in a hollow staff. But the greatest renown of Justinian rests upon his wars and his codification of the Roman law.

His Wars.—Justinian wished to protect the empire from its great enemies on the east and the north—the Persians and

the Bulgarians; and to recover to the orthodox faith the provinces then under heretical rulers — Africa and Italy. In this work he was assisted by the greatest general of the age, Belisarius. The attacks of Persia were repelled, and the Asiatic provinces were successfully defended. Africa was invaded, and the kingdom of the Vandals was overthrown (map, p. 308); and the arms of Justinian were pushed into southern Spain. The war was then carried into Italy; and



CHURCH OF ST. SOPHIA AT CONSTANTINOPLE

when Belisarius was recalled, the power of the Ostrogoths was destroyed by another general, Narses. Italy was then placed under an “exarch,” who ruled in the emperor’s name at Ravenna. Soon after, an invasion by the Bulgarians from the north was repelled by Belisarius. By these victories the authority of Justinian was established over a large part of the old Roman Empire. The story is often told of the ingratitude of Justinian toward Belisarius, who, it is said, was deposed from his office and was obliged to wander as a blind beggar through the streets of Constantinople.

His Codification of the Law. — To the transient fame which resulted from the wars of Justinian was added the more permanent glory which came from his compilation of the Roman

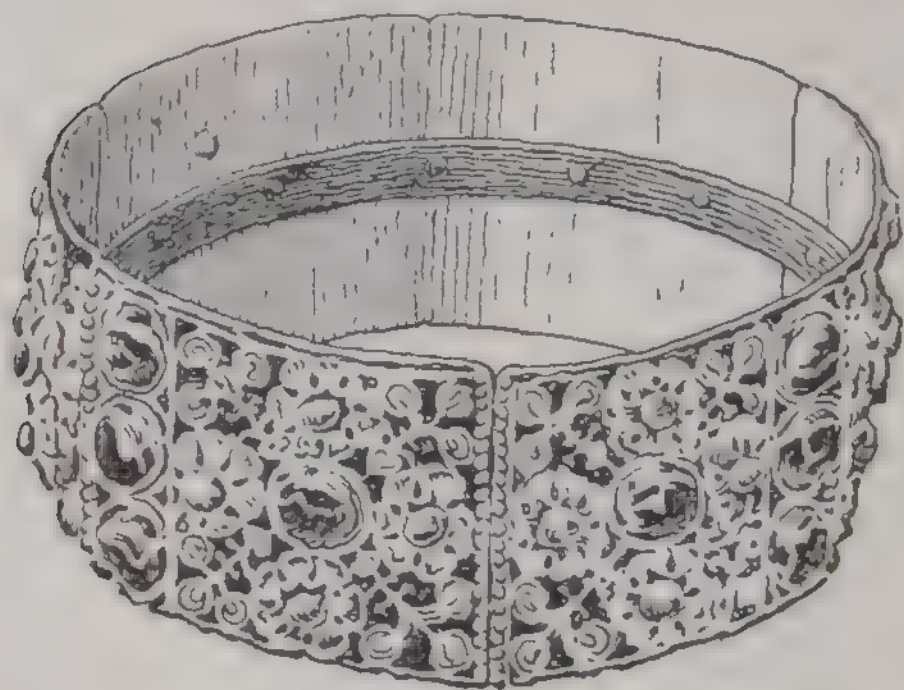
law. We have already noticed the character and the importance of this work (see pp. 320–323). The immense labor of compiling this body of law was performed by a commission of expert lawyers under the lead of Tribonian, whose fame will ever be linked with that of his master.

The Lombards in Italy; Exarchate of Ravenna. — The death of Justinian was followed by another period of weakness and



decline; and a large part of Italy was torn away from the Eastern Empire. The general, Narses, had been made the exarch, or governor, of Italy. It is said that, being deposed from his office, he in revenge informed the Lombards that they would find in Italy a welcome reception. Under their leader, Al'boin, this barbarous German people seized the greater part of the peninsula, — as shown by the map, — and

Pavia became the capital city of the new kingdom. The strip of territory lying between Rome and Venice, together with the other areas colored red on the map, still remained in the hands



THE IRON CROWN OF THE LOMBARDS

of the Eastern emperor, and were ruled by the ex-arch of Ravenna. After his conquest in Italy, the Lombard chief, Alboin, is said to have been put to death by his wife, Rosamond, when he insultingly offered her wine to drink in a cup made from her father's skull.

The coronation of the Lombard kings has a certain peculiar interest, because it is said to have been performed with what has become an interesting historical relic, the "iron crown of the Lombards."¹

Heraclius and the Declining Empire.—The loss of Italy was an evidence of the weakness into which the Eastern Empire had fallen, since it could not protect its own territory. Following the Lombard invasion, the Persians renewed their wars, took possession of Egypt, conquered a large part of the Asiatic provinces, and encamped within sight of Constantinople. From this dangerous condition the empire was temporarily rescued by the heroic efforts of Heraclius (A.D. 610–641), an emperor whose warlike deeds remind us somewhat of Justinian. He boldly attacked the enemy, rescued Egypt and Asia Minor, and carried the war into Persia. But the vigorous reign of

¹ This famous crown takes its name from a small fillet of iron within the broad band of gold and jewels which protects it. The piece of iron is said to have been wrought from a nail taken from the true cross, and to have been owned by Constantine and Pope Gregory the Great before it passed into the hands of the Lombard kings. The crown was afterward used by Charlemagne and Napoleon. It is now in the church of Monza, a town in northern Italy.

Heraclius was hardly more than a parenthesis in the general movement toward decay and degeneracy. The empire was again distracted by civil and religious strife. It was during this time that the famous controversy arose between the party which favored the use of pictures and images in church worship and the party which opposed such forms of worship—the image-breakers, or “iconoclasts,” as they were called. The use of images in worship was prohibited by Leo the Isaurian (A.D. 717–741), but was restored by the Empress Irene (A.D. 780–802). The use of pictorial representations and images in worship was regarded by the Mohammedans as a reproach to true religion; and the fact that a woman was placed upon the throne was used by the Latin Church as a sort of pretext to justify the transference of the imperial title from the East to the West.

III. MOHAMMED AND MOHAMMEDANISM

Mohammed and his Religion.—While the Eastern Empire was struggling to defend itself against Persia, and was distracted by religious controversies, there appeared in Asia a new power which was to prove a more formidable enemy than Persia, and a new religion which was destined to be a rival of Christianity itself. This new religious power sprang from Arabia, of which little had been previously known. Its founder and leader was Mohammed. It is not necessary for us to recount the many stories which are told regarding his life,—his early vocation as a merchant, his miraculous visions, his call to preach, his flight from his native city Mecca (from which date, A.D. 622, begins the Mohammedan era), his failure as a simple prophet, and his use of the sword as a tool of religious conquest. It is enough for us to keep in mind the fact that he welded together a dissimilar people, proclaimed a new religion to his fellow-men, and founded a new empire in the East.

The religion of Mohammed, it has been said, was compounded of an eternal truth and a novel fiction. It may be summed up in the words, “There is only one God, and Mohammed is

His prophet." It was a protest against the polytheistic and idolatrous tendencies of the East. It was also the assertion of the prophetic character of a man who extended religion by means of the sword, and sought to exalt himself by imposing upon the world the choice between the Koran¹, tribute, or death.

Mohammedan Conquests in the East and West.—The conquests begun by Mohammed were carried on by his successors, the "caliphs," as they were called. Of these the greatest warrior and the real founder of the Arabian supremacy in the East was Omar. This caliph united all the people of Arabia under his banner, and entered upon a remarkable career of conquest. He defeated Heraclius, as that emperor was returning from a victorious campaign against Persia, wrested Syria and Palestine



Mosque of Omar.

from the Eastern Empire, and erected an Arabian mosque at Jerusalem on the site of Solomon's Temple. He then defeated the Persians and overthrew the dynasty of the Sassanidæ. He invaded Egypt, and, after besieging Alexandria for fourteen

months, became master of that country. With this beginning under Omar, the Arabians continued to push their conquests in northern Africa to the Atlantic. They then crossed into Spain and destroyed the kingdom of the Visigoths (A.D. 711), leaving only a small Christian kingdom (Asturia) in the extreme north. They invaded Gaul and threatened to overrun all the countries of western Europe, and even to destroy Christianity itself. From this disastrous fate Christian Europe

¹The Koran is the Bible of the Mohammedans: they believe it to have been divinely revealed to the prophet, and accept it as the final authority in civil as well as religious law.

was rescued by the Franks under Charles Martel' at the famous battle near Tours, which may well be called one of the "decisive battles of the world." In a single century, from the death of Mohammed (A.D. 632) to the battle of Tours (A.D. 732), the Arabians, or Saracens, had established an empire extending from the Indus River to the Atlantic Ocean.

Dismemberment of the Caliphate.—By the middle of the eighth century the Mohammedan power had reached its greatest extent under the dynasty called the Ommi'ads, who made their capital at Damascus. From this time the caliphate gradually fell to pieces. The Ommiads were overthrown by a new dynasty, called the Abbas'sids, who removed their capital farther east, to the shores of the Tigris at Bagdad. One of the Ommiads, named Abd-er-Rah'man, escaped and fled to Spain, where he established an independent caliphate, with its capital at Cor'dova. It was not long before another independent caliphate arose in Africa, with its capital at Cairo, under the rule of the Fat'imites, who traced their descent from Fa'tima, the daughter of Mohammed. In spite of these and subsequent divisions, the Mohammedan religion continued to prevail over these countries.

Mohammedan Civilization.—The Mohammedans emerged from their original barbarous life in Arabia, when by their conquests they came into contact with the higher civilizations of Persia and Greece. While western Europe was under the shadow of the German invasions, and the Eastern Empire was going into decline, Bagdad and Cordova, and other Mohammedan cities, were the centers of learning and culture. The Arabians studied philosophy, cultivated mathematics, and excelled in medicine. They obtained their chief ideas of architecture from the cities of the Eastern Empire; but they developed a new and beautiful style of ornamentation, called "arabesque," which is made up of lines and curves, and dispenses with the forms of living beings. The Arabians were not very original; but they took up much of the culture of the East and afterward transmitted it to the peoples of western Europe.

IV. REVIVAL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE WEST

The Franks and the Papacy. — The great victory of Charles Martel at the battle of Tours not only put a stop to the Moham-medan conquests, but prepared the way for a new order of things in the West. By this victory the Franks became recognized as the real defenders of Christendom. Since they had protected Christianity against the Saracens, the Church now looked to them for protection against the Lombards, who were seeking to bring the whole peninsula of Italy under their power. Taking advantage of the troubles which grew out of the iconoclastic controversy, the Lombards, under their king, Lu'itprand, overran the exarchate of Ravenna and the Pentap'olis, and threatened Rome. The pope, Gregory III., in his distress, turned to Charles Martel for assistance; but the latter died before the desired aid could be given.

At the death of Charles Martel, Pep'in (surnamed the Short) succeeded to his father's position, which was that of *maior domus*, "mayor of the palace," a sort of assistant to the king. The kings themselves had become a degenerate race, while the real governing power was in the hands of the mayors of the palace. Pepin was willing to rule; but he also wished the title of king. He therefore appealed to the pope with the question whether he who held the royal power ought not also to hold the royal title. The pope replied in the affirmative; and Pepin was recognized and anointed as king of the Franks. In this way a firm alliance was established between the Franks and the papacy; and the old line of Frankish kings, the Merovin'gians, was succeeded by a new line, the Carlovin'gians (A.D. 752).

The "Donation of Pepin." — The pope could now urge upon Pepin his duty to protect the Church from the encroachment of the Lombards. He crossed the Alps and in person called upon the new Frankish king to come to his aid, at the same time anointing and crowning him in person, and thus emphasizing the papal sanction of the king's title. Pepin was quick to respond to this call. He invaded Italy, defeated the Lom-

bards, and conferred the lands thus rescued — the exarchate of Ravenna, the Pentapolis, and the territory about Rome (see map, p. 335) — not upon the Eastern emperor, who claimed an authority over them, but upon the pope himself (A.D. 754). This gift is called the “donation of Pepin.” It established the temporal power of the popes, who now became political as well as ecclesiastical rulers, and it cemented the alliance of the Frankish monarchy and the Church.

Accession and Conquests of Charlemagne. — Pepin was succeeded by his two sons, Carloman and Charles; but at the death of Carloman,

Charles became sole ruler of the Frankish kingdom. This great man, whom we call Charlemagne, not only followed in the footsteps of his father as defender of the Church, but built up a new empire based upon the union of Church and State and the fusion of the German and the Roman people. When the Church was threatened once more by the Lombards, he conquered their territory, con-



CHARLEMAGNE

firmed the donation of Pepin, and received himself the iron crown of the Lombards. He then attacked the Saracens (Mohammedans), and conquered the northern part of Spain, but on his return the rear guard of his army was attacked in the pass of Roncevalles, where the famous warrior, Roland,



was killed. In spite of this disaster, northern Spain remained the border province of Charlemagne's dominions on the south — the Spanish March. He made war upon the frontier nations on the east — the Avars and Slavs — and added to his territory Bava'ria and other lands. But his most serious wars were with the Saxons on the north, who long resisted his power. He finally subdued this German people, and converted them at the point of the sword. With the conquest of Saxony the authority of Charlemagne was extended over a large part of central Europe. His dominions included the following chief provinces: Saxony and Frisia, Austrasia and Neustria, Burgundy and Aquitaine, Lombardy and Bavaria, and the Spanish March on the south and the Avaric March on the east. These dominions seemed to need only the sanction of the pope to make them in name, as well as in fact, an empire.

Coronation of Charlemagne as Roman Emperor (A.D. 800). — At this time the imperial title at Constantinople was held by a woman — the Empress Irene — whose authority was not recognized in the West. It needed only a suitable occasion to transfer the title to Charlemagne, who was the most conspicuous ruler in Europe and the ablest defender of Christianity. The occasion soon presented itself. When the pope, Leo III., was driven from Rome by an insurrection, Charlemagne, with his army, entered the city and reinstated him. As a reward for this service, the pope on Christmas Day, in the Church of St. Peter, placed upon Charlemagne's head a golden crown, and saluted him as Emperor. This act was regarded as the restoration of the Western Roman Empire.

The Romano-Germanic Civilization. — Charlemagne was the highest representative of the new society which sprang up from the union of Roman and German elements. Himself a German, he was inspired with the spirit of Rome. In his administration, while he preserved to some extent the local government and democratic system of the Germans, he organized his central government upon an imperial model. He used Roman methods in maintaining his authority, in taking control of all

matters of public interest, and in promoting a higher civilization. He encouraged education and learning. In his title and in his organizing skill, he was a Roman emperor. But we must remember that he was a Roman emperor born of the German race, and exercising an authority over a people partly Roman and partly German.

While the German race had gained possession of Europe and had broken down much that was old, the civilization of Rome yet furnished the soil in which the new people took root, and from which they derived their nutriment and support. In this way Rome may be said to have furnished the basis of medieval society, and of the modern world which grew out of that society. From all that we have learned about the growth and influence of Rome, we may understand the words of Professor Freeman when he says: "Rome alone founded a Universal Empire in which all earlier history loses itself, and out of which all later history grew. . . . It was out of the breaking up of the great dominion of Rome that what we may call the states of the new world, the kingdoms and nations of modern Europe, gradually took their rise."

SELECTIONS FOR READING

Green, *Shorter History*, Ch. 1, "The English Kingdoms."

Darby, *Hist. of France*, Ch. 9, "Gaul in the Sixth Century."

Hodgkin, *Life of Theodoric* (Heroes of the Nations).

Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, Ch. 40, "Reign of Justinian."

Milman, *Latin Christianity*, Bk. 4, Ch. 1, "Mohammed"; Ch. 7, "Iconoclasm."

Curtis, *Hist. of the Roman Empire*, Ch. 14, "The Franks and the Papacy."

Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, Ch. 4, "Restoration of the Empire of the West."

SPECIAL STUDY

CHARLEMAGNE. — Eginhard, *Life of Charlemagne*; Milman, *Latin Christianity*, Bk. 5, Ch. 1; Darby, *France*, Ch. 11; Adams, *Civilization during the Middle Ages*, Ch. 7; Gibbon, *Civilization in France*, Lect. 20; Mullinger, *Schools of Charlemagne*.

APPENDIX

A CLASSIFIED LIST OF BOOKS UPON ROMAN HISTORY, FOR READING AND REFERENCE

N.B. — This list includes only English works and English translations.

I. GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

(1) Roman History, Compendis.

- Gilman, A. Story of Rome. N. Y. 1892. (Story of the Nations.)
How, W. W., and Leigh, H. D. History of Rome to the Death of
Cæsar. N. Y. 1896.
Leighton, R. F. History of Rome. N. Y. 1890.
Liddell, H. G. History of Rome. N. Y. 1868.
Matheson, P. E. Skeleton Outlines of Roman History. (Chrono-
logically arranged.) Lond. 1890.
Merivale, C. General History of Rome. N. Y. 1880.
Pelham, H. F. Outlines of Roman History. 4th Ed. N. Y. 1907.
Shuckburgh, E. S. History of Rome to the Battle of Actium.
N. Y. 1894.
Schmitz, L. History of Rome. Andover, 1847.
Taylor, T. M. Constitutional and Political History of Rome.
Lond. 1899.

(2) General Treatises.

- Arnold, T. History of Rome. N. Y. 1866. 3 vols. in one.
Duruy, V. History of Rome and the Roman People. Ed. J. P.
Mahaffy. Bost. 1883. 8 vols.
Ihne, W. History of Rome. English Edition. Lond. 1882. 5 vols.
Mommsen, T. History of Rome. Tr. W. P. Dickson. N. Y. 1871.
4 vols. Abridged by C. Bryans and F. J. R. Hendy. N. Y.
1889.

- Niebuhr, B. G. History of Rome. Tr. L. C. Hare and C. Thirwall. Phil. 1844. 5 vols. in two. Epitomized by T. Twiss. Oxf. 1845.
 ——— Lectures on Roman History. Tr. L. Schmitz. Lond. 1849. 3 vols.

(3) Miscellaneous Works.

- Fowler, W. W. The City-state of the Greeks and the Romans. N. Y. 1893.
 Freeman, E. A. Historical Essays. 2d series. N. Y. 1873.
 Munro, D. C. Source Book of Roman History. Bost. 1904.

(4) Original Histories.

- Ammianus Marcellinus. Roman History. (Bohn.)
 Appian. Roman History. Tr. H. White. N. Y. 1899. 2 vols.
 Cæsar. Commentaries. (Harper's Classical Library.)
 Livy. History of Rome. (Harper's Classical Library.) 2 vols. (Bohn.) 4 vols.
 Polybius. Histories. Tr. E. S. Shuckburgh. Lond. 1889. 2 vols.
 Sallust. Works. (Harper's Classical Library; Bohn.)
 Tacitus. Works. (Harper's Classical Library; Bohn.) 2 vols.
 See also (11) Biography, "Plutarch," "Suetonius."

II. SPECIAL PERIODS

(5) The Kingdom (B.C. 753-510).

- Dyer, T. H. History of the Kings of Rome. Lond. 1868.
 Ihne, W. Early Rome. N. Y. (Epochs of Anc. History.)
 Lewis, G. C. An Inquiry into the Credibility of Early Roman History. Lond. 1855. 2 vols.
 Newman, F. W. Regal Rome. Redfield, 1852.

(6) The Republic (B.C. 510-31).

- Arnold, T. History of the Later Roman Commonwealth. N. Y. 1846.
 ——— Second Punic War. Ed. W. T. Arnold. Lond. 1886.
 Beesly, A. H. The Gracchi, Marius, and Sulla. N. Y.
 Heitland, W. E. Roman Republic. 3 vols. Camb. 1909.
 Long, G. Civil Wars of Rome: Select Lives from Plutarch, newly trans., with notes. Lond. 1844-48. 5 vols.
 ——— Decline and Fall of the Roman Republic. Lond. 1864. 5 vols.

Merivale, C. *The Roman Triumvirates.* N. Y. (Epochs of Anc. History.)

Michelet, J. *History of the Roman Republic.* Tr. W. Hazlitt. Lond. 1847.

Smith, R. B. *Rome and Carthage.* N. Y. (Epochs of Anc. History.)

(7) The Empire (B.C. 31–A.D. 476).

Bury, J. B. *History of the Roman Empire from its Foundation to the Death of Marcus Aurelius.* N. Y. 1893.

— *History of the Later Roman Empire.* Lond. 1889. 2 vols.

Capes, W. W. *The Early Empire.* N. Y. (Epochs of Anc. Hist.)

— *Age of the Antonines.* N. Y. (Epochs of Anc. History.)

Curteis, A. M. *History of the Roman Empire, A.D. 395–800.* Lond. 1875.

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LIST OF "SPECIAL STUDIES"

WHICH FOLLOW THE PRECEDING CHAPTERS AND WHICH
CONTAIN SPECIAL REFERENCE LISTS UPON THE TOPICS
MENTIONED

1. Sources of Roman History	18
2. Credibility of Early Roman History	28
3. The Roman Religion	33
4. The City under the Kings	40
5. The Servian Classes and Centuries	45
6. The Office of Consul	52
7. The Public Land, <i>ager publicus</i>	58
8. The Twelve Tables	63
9. Table of the Republican Magistrates	72
10. Map of Latium and Campania	79
11. Roman Roads	85
12. The Roman Army	91
13. Roman and Latin Colonies	99
14. The Roman Navy	111
15. Battle of Cannæ	125
16. Achæan and Ætolian Leagues	133
17. Taxation of the Provinces	143
18. Cato the Censor and the Greek Influence	152
19. The Roman Equites	162
20. The Roman Senate	179
21. Cæsar's Campaigns in Gaul	201
22. Character of Cicero	215
23. The Writers of the Augustan Age	229
24. The Law of "Maiestas" and Delation	244
25. The Roman House	258
26. The Forums of Rome	278
27. Roman Slavery	288
28. The Roman Baths	301
29. Causes of the Fall of the Empire	310
30. Rome of To-day	326

INDEX

Diacritic marks: *e*, *eh*, as in *chasm*; *ç* as in *ice*; *ğ* as in *gem*; *ñ*, the French nasal. Single Italic letters are silent. The long and short marks used with vowels need no explanation.

(*For abbreviations of proper names see p. 70.*)

- Abas'sids, Mohammedan dynasty, 339.
 Abd-er-Rah'man, 339.
Accen'si, 96.
 Aehæ'an league, 127, 130, 135.
 Aeha'ia, a province, 136.
 Actium (ak'shī-um), battle of, 211.
 Adol'phus (Ataulf), king of the Goths, 306, 330.
 Adriano'ple, battle of, 300.
 Æ'dileş, 55; curule, 71.
 Ægā'tēş Islands, battle at, 108.
 Æne'as, Trojan hero, 19.
 Æ'quians, 16; wars with, 56, 57, 69.
Æra'rium, 224.
 Aëtius (a-ē'shī-us), 305, 306.
 Æto'lian league, 120, 127; intrigues of, 129; subjection of, 130.
A'ger pub'licus, 54. See *Agrarian laws*.
Ager Roma'nus, 45, 92, 93, 170.
 Agra'rian laws, of Sp. Cassius, 56; of Tiberius Gracchus, 157.
 Agrīc'ola, in Britain, 257.
 Agrigen'tum, captured, 105.
 Agrip'pa, adviser of Augustus, 209, 211, 212, 225.
 Agrippi'na, wife of Claudius and mother of Nero, 238, 241.
 Al'aric, king of Visigoths, 304, 305.
 Alaric II., 330.
 Al'ba Lon'ga, 16, 19, 21, 24, 44.
 Al'boin, Lombard chief, 335, 336.
 Al-e-man'ni, 282, 283, 299, 332.
 Alexan'der of Epī'rus, 79.
 Alexan'dria, 126.
 Al'gidus, Mt., battle of, 57.
 Al'lia R., battle of, 68.
 Allies, in Latium, 78; Italian, 94; and C. Gracchus, 161; and Drusus, 168; revolt of, 169; enfranchisement of, 170.
 Ambrā'cia (-shī-a), captured, 130.
 Am'brose, St., bishop of Milan, 301.
 Amphitheater, sports of, 249.
 Amusements of the Romans, 249.
 Anco'na, captured, 90.
 An'cus Marcius (mar'shī-us), 21.
 Andronī'cus, poet, 150.
 Anglo-Sax'ons in Britain, 328; conversion of, 329.
 An'tioeh, destroyed, 284.
 Antī'oehus III. of Syria, 126, 129, 130.
 Antium (an'shī-um), a colony, 93.
 Anto'nus, M. (An'tony), friend of Cæsar, 203; supremacy at Rome, 204; displaced by Octavius, 205; attacked by Cicero, 205; in second triumvirate, 206-209; war with Octavius, 210-212; his death, 212.
 Antonī'nus Pius, emperor, 272-274.
 Anx'ur, a colony, 93.
 Ap'pian Way, 98, 313.
 Apu'lians, 17; join Hannibal, 119.
 A'quæ Sex'tiæ, battle of, 165.
 Aqueduct of Claudius, 239.
 Arau'sio (-shī-o), battle of, 165.

- Arcā'dius, emperor, 301.
 Arches, Roman, 214, 314.
 Architecture, under the Tarquins, 37; under the republic, 214; under Augustus, 225; under Trajan, 266, 267.
 A'rian Christianity, 325.
 Arim'inum, 90, 94.
 Ariovis'tus, German prince, 193.
 Arme'nia, conquered, 265; relinquished, 269.
 Armin'ius, German chief, 224.
 Armor, Roman, 96.
 Army, under Servius Tullius, 42; under the republic, 94; under Augustus, 220; under Constantine, 298.
 Art, under the republic, 150; under the empire, 266. See *Architecture*.
 Artax'arēs, king of Persia, 282.
 As'culum, battle of, 89.
 Asia, a province, 141.
 Assemblies, under early republic, 51; after the conquests, 145; under Sulla, 177; under Augustus, 219; under Tiberius, 232. See also *Comitia* and *Concilium*.
 Assyria, 265, 269.
 Ath'enē, captured by Sulla, 173.
 At'talus III. of Pergamum, 141.
 At'tila, king of the Huns, 306.
 "Augus'ti," office of, 290.
 Au'gustine, 324.
 Augus'tus, emperor, 217-229. See *Octavius, C.*
 Aure'lian, emperor, 285.
 Aure'lius, Marcus, 275-277.
 Bagdad (bahg-dahd'), Abassid capital, 339.
 Basil'ica Ju'lia, 214.
 Baths, Roman, 314.
 Battles (chronologically arranged): Lake Regillus, 49; the Allia, 68; Mt. Gaurus, 75; Suessula, 75; Mt. Vesuvius, 76; Caudine Forks, 80; Lake Vadimonis, 82; Sentinum, 83; Heraclea, 87; Asculum, 89; Beneventum, 89; Mylæ, 106; Ecnomus, 107; Panormus, 107; Drepanum, 108; Ægates Is., 108; Ticinus, 115; Trebia, 115; Trasumenus, 115; Cannæ, 117; Metaurus R., 120; Zama, 123; Cynoscephalæ, 128; Thermopylæ, 130; Magnesia, 130; Pydna, 132; Arausio, 165; Aquæ Sextiæ, 165; Vercellæ, 166; Chæronea, 173; Orchomenus, 173; Clusium, 175; Colline Gate, 175; Dyrrachium, 196; Pharsalus, 196; Thapsus, 197; Munda, 197; Philippi, 208; Actium, 211; Adrianople, 300; Pollentia, 305; Châlons, 306; Soissons, 332; Tours, 339, 340.
 Belisā'rius, general, 334.
 Beneven'tum, battle of, 89.
 Bes'tia, L. Calpur'nius, in Jugurthine war, 164.
 Bib'ulus, L. Calpur'nius, colleague of Cæsar, 189.
 Bithŷn'ia, 126; a province, 185.
 Bon'iface, Roman general, 305.
 Bo-vi-a'num, captured, 82, 169.
 Britain, invaded by Cæsar, 193; under Claudius, 239; under Domitian, 257; occupied by Anglo-Saxons, 306, 328, 329.
 Britan'nicus, son of Claudius, poisoned by Nero, 241.
 Brut'tians, 85; conquered, 90; join Hannibal, 119.
 Bru'tus, Dec'imus, 204, 205, 206.
 Brutus, L. Ju'nius, 35, 48, 49.
 Brutus, M., conspirator, 201; assigned to Macedonia, 204; defeated at Philippi, 208.
 Burgun'dians, 305, 309, 332.
 Bur'rhus, adviser of Nero, 240, 241.
 Bŷzan'tium (-shĭ-um), 295.
 Cæ'rē, 24; partial citizenship of, 78.

- Cæ'sar, C. Julius, leader of the popular party, 185 ; in first triumvirate, 188 ; consulship of, 189, 190 ; conquest of Gaul, 191-193 ; war with Pompey, etc., 195, 196, 197 ; titles, 198 ; reforms, 198-200 ; death, 201 ; "Commentaries," 215.
- Cæsar, C., 235.
- "Cæsars," office of, 290.
- Calig'ula, emperor, 235-237.
- Cā'liphs, successors of Mohammed, 338, 339.
- Camil'lus, his capture of Veii, 67 ; consecrates temple to Concord, 71.
- Campā'nia, 14 ; in Samnite wars, 74, 75, 80-82 ; in Latin war, 76 ; invaded by Hannibal, 116.
- Cam'pus Mar'tius (-shī-us), 44, 179.
- Can'næ, battle of, 117.
- Canu-le'ian law, 63.
- Cap'ua, occupied by Samnites, 74 ; taken by the Romans, 75 ; joins Hannibal, 119 ; recovery of, 130 ; gladiatorial school at, 182.
- Căracăl'la, emperor, 281.
- Carac'tacus, Celtic chief, 239.
- Car'bo, Cn. Papīr'ius, consul, 174.
- Car'thage, 101-103 ; treaty with Rome, 123 ; revival of, 136 ; destruction of, 138 ; captured by Vandals, 306.
- Că'rus, emperor, 286.
- Cassius Longī'nus, C. (kash'ī-us), conspirator, 201 ; assigned to Syria, 204 ; defeated at Philippi, 208.
- Cassius, Sp., league of, 56, 66 ; his agrarian law, 56.
- Căt'ī-line, conspiracy of, 186.
- Că'to, M. Porcius (pōr'shī-us), censor, at Thermopylæ, 130 ; his hatred of Carthage, 137.
- Cato Uticen'sis, M. Porcius, leader of senatorial party, 185, 187 ; governor of Crete, 190 ; threatens Cæsar, 195 ; death at Utica, 197.
- Catul'lus, poet, 215.
- Cat'ulus, C. Lutā'tius (-shī-us), 108.
- Catulus, Q. Lutatius, consul (B.C. 102), at battle of Vercellæ, 165.
- Catulus, Q. Lutatius, consul (B.C. 78), defeats Lepidus, 180.
- Cau'dine Forks, battle of, 80.
- Celtic church, 329.
- Censors, appointed, 65.
- Centuries, Servian, 42.
- Chærone'a, battle of, 173.
- Çhâlōns', battle of, 306.
- Çhar'lemagne, 341-343.
- Charles Martel', 339, 340.
- Christianity, adopted by Constantine, 294 ; by barbarians, 324.
- Christians, favored by Nerva, 259 ; by Hadrian, 267 ; by Antoninus Pius, 273 ; persecuted under Nero, 242 ; under Marcus Aurelius, 276 ; under Diocletian, 291.
- Chrys'ostom, 324, 325.
- Church, 323-325, 340.
- Ciç'ero, M. Tullius, party leader, 185 ; suppresses Catilinian conspiracy, 186 ; banished, 190 ; recalled, 191 ; leader of the senate, 203, 204 ; attacks Antony in the "Philippics," 205 ; death and character, 207 ; his writings, 215.
- Cilicia (si-lish'ī-a), a province, 185.
- Cim'bric war, 164-166.
- Cincinnā'tus, rescues the Roman army, 57 ; dictator, 65.
- Cin'e-as, envoy of Pyrrhus, 87.
- Cin'na, L. Corne'lius, 173, 174.
- Cir'cus Max'imus, 39, 249.
- Cisal'pine Gaul, 14 ; conquered, 110 ; province of Cæsar, 190 ; united to Italy, 222.
- Citizenship, 64. See also *Franchise*.
- Civita'tēs fœdera'tæ, immu'nes, stipendia'riæ*, 147.
- Classes, Servian, 42.
- Clau'dius, emperor, 238-240.
- Claudius II., emperor, 285.

- Claudius, Appian, the minor, his tyranny, 61.
 Claudius, Appian, censor, opposes embassy of Claudius, 80.
 Claudius, Appian, consul, in the first Punic war, 104.
 Claudius, P., at Drepanum, 107, 108.
 Claudius Civi'lis, revolt of, 247.
 Claudius Nero, C., at battle of the Metaurus, 121.
 Cleopatra, and Caesar, 193, 197; and Antony, 210, 211; and Octavius, 212.
 Clients, 29.
Claudia Maxima, 38, 312.
 Claudius, P., agent of Caesar, 180; killed, 184.
 Clodius, king of the Franks, 300, 302.
 Clusium (cl'zhi-um), battle of, 175.
 Cnecilius, colleague of Brutus, 48.
 Col'line gate, battle of, 175.
 Col'ui of the later empire, 283.
 Colonies, Latin and Roman, 78, 93; military, of Sulla, 177.
 Colosse'um, amphitheater, 248.
 Comitatus, German custom, 328.
 Comitatus centuriatus (Eng. pron. k'omish'i-a), 44, 51, 145.
 Comitatus curia'tus, 51, 51, 145.
 Comitatus tribu'tus, 62, 71, 145, 177.
 Comitia, 26.
 Comitiac'um, 64.
 Com'modus, emperor, 280.
 Comitiatus p'obis, 55, 62.
 Comitiatus p'ri'cipis, 269.
 Con'stantine, emperor, 292-296.
 Constantine'ple, the new capital, 294, 304, 322, 323.
 Constan'tius (-shi-us), colleague of Diocletian, 290.
 Consuls, appointed, 50.
Conu'tium, 64.
 Cordova, caliphate of, 333.
 Corin'tum, Italian capital, 100.
 Corinth, destruction of, 100.
 Coriol'a'nus and the Volscians, 57.
 Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, 157.
 Corn laws, of C. Gracchus, 160; of Claudius, 160; of Caesar, 160.
Corpus Iuris Civ'lis, 322.
 Cor'sica, annexed, 109.
 Court organization of Constantine, 295.
 Cres'ens, M., in gladiatorial war, 182; consul with Pompey, 182; in first triumvirate, 188, 189; governor of Syria, 191; his death, 194.
 Crete, a province, 185.
 Cura'tor via'rum, 223.
 Curia, municipal council, 207.
 Curia, Roman, 20.
 Curiales, responsible for taxes, 269.
 Curuli (-shi-i), 21.
 Curius Dentatus, M'nius, 84.
 Cur'sor, L. Papirius, defeats the Samnites, 82.
 Cu'rule offices, 144.
 Cynosceph'ale, battle of, 128.
 Dacia (da'shi-a), conquered, 265.
 Damas'cus, Oriental capital, 330.
 Debt, law of, 54, 60.
 Decem'virs, 60.
 Decius (de'shi-us), emperor, 286.
 Decius Mus, at the battle of Mt. Vesuvius, 76, 77.
 Decius Mus (son), at the battle of Sentinum, 83.
 Dela'tion, under Tiberius, 203; forbidden by Nerva, 259.
 Dictatorship, 59; perpetual under Sulla, 170.
 Dido, queen of Carthage, 191.
 Diocle'tian (-shan), emperor, 289-292.
 Dionys'ius (-nish'i-us) of Halicar-nassus, historian, 227.
 Domitian (de-mish'i-an), emperor, 257, 258.
 Donation of Pepin, 341.
 Drepanum, battle of, 108.

- Dress, Roman, 254.
 Dru'sus, son of Tiberius, 232; quells revolt of the legions, 232; murdered by Sejanus, 234.
 Drusus, M. Liv'ius, tribune, opposes C. Gracchus, 161.
 Drusus, M. Livius (son), and the Italians, 168.
 Duil'ius, C., at the battle of Mylæ, 106.
Duum'viri, 297.
 Dyrra'chium, battle of, 196.

 Ec'nomus, battle near, 107.
Edic'tum Perpētuum of Salvius Julianus, 269.
 Education at Rome, 260.
 Egypt under the Ptolemies, 126; subordinate to Rome, 141; a province, 212.
 Elagab'alus, emperor, 281.
 Employments of the Romans, 255.
 En'nius, poet, 150.
 Epicure'anism at Rome, 277.
 Eq'ui-tēs, under Servius Tullius, 42; an aristocratic order, 153; under C. Gracchus, 161; under Sulla, 177; favored by Cæsar, 189.
 Etru'ria conquered, 91.
 Etrus'cans, 17; wars with Rome, 56, 57, 69, 81.
 Eu'nus, leads revolt in Sicily, 141.
 Euse'bius, historian, 293.
 Exarchate, 334, 335, 340, 341.

 Fā'bian gens, destruction of, 58.
 Fā'bius Max'imus Cunctā'tor, Q., envoy to Carthage, 112; dictator, 116; after Cannæ, 119, 122.
 Fabius Maximus Rullia'nus, Q., in Samnite wars, 82, 83.
 Fabius Pic'tor, historian, 150.
 Family, early Roman, 28.
Fas'ces, 36, 50.
 Fat'imītes, Mohammedan dynasty, 339.

Fetia'les, 32.
 Fide'næ, 24; captured, 66.
 Finances under Augustus, 224.
Fis'cus, the imperial treasury, 224.
Fla'mi-nēs, 32.
 Flaminī'nus, T. Quinc'tius, at battle of Cynoscephalæ, 128; proclaims the liberation of Greece, 129; demands the surrender of Hannibal, 131.
 Flamin'ius, C., at battle of Trasumenus, 115.
 Fo'rum Roma'num, 26, 266.
 Forum, of Julius (Forum Julii), 214, 226; of Trajan, 267; of Vespasian, 248.
 Franchise, extension under the republic, 213; under Claudius, 240; under Vespasian, 246; under Caracalla, 281.
 Franks, 282; invasion of, 283, 309; kingdom in Gaul, 332, 340, 341.
 Frege'læ, lost to the Samnites, 81; recaptured, 82.
 Fu'cine lake, drained, 239.
 Ful'via, wife of Antony, 207.

 Gabin'ian law, 184.
 Ga'dēs, captured by Scipio, 121.
 Gaius (gā'yus), jurist, 273, 321.
 Gal'ba, emperor, 245.
 Galba, Ser'gius Sulpicius (sul-pish'-i-us), his perfidy, 140.
 Gale'rius, colleague of the Diocletian, 290.
 Galli-ē'nus, emperor, 283, 284.
 Gāl'lus, emperor, 283.
 Gaul, conquered by Cæsar, 191-193; civilization in, 247.
 Gauls, 18; their destruction of Rome, 67; in third Samnite war, 82, 83.
 Gau'rus, Mt., battle of, 75.
Gens (plu. *gentes*), early Roman, 29; plebeian, 41.
 Gen'seric, king of the Vandals, 306.

- German'icus, 232.
 Germans, character of, 327.
 Glad'iators, war of, 182.
 Glau'cia, C. Servil'ius (glaw'shī-a), popular leader, 166.
 Goths, invasion of Dacia, 283; defeat by Claudius II., 285; revolt of, 300; settled in Illyricum, 304; invasion of Italy, 305; kingdoms in Spain and Italy, 330.
 Grac'ehi, their reforms, 156-162.
 Graffiti at Pompeii, 256.
 Greece, liberation of, 129. See *Achæa*, *Achæan league*, *Ætolian league*.
 Greek influence at Rome, 148.
 Greeks in Italy, 18.
 Hā'drian, emperor, 267-271, 226.
 Hamil'car Bar'ca, in Sicily, 108; his policy, 111.
 Han'nibal, succeeds Hasdrubal, 112; invades Italy, 113-115; battle of Cannæ, 117; his allies, 119; at the gates of Rome, 120; in Apulia, 121; retreats, 122; defeated at Zama, 123; assists Antiochus III., 130; his death, 131.
 Han'no, in first Punic war, 105.
 Har'sa, C. Terentil'ius, 59.
 Harus'pices, 36.
 Has'drubal, in Spain, 111.
Hasta'ti, 96.
 Hel'ena, wife of Constantine, 293.
 Hellenism at Rome, 148.
 Heracle'a, battle of, 87.
 Heraclī'us, emperor, 336, 338.
 Hercula'neum, destruction of, 251.
 Her'nicans, league with, 56.
 Hēr'od Agrip'pa, king of Judea, 240.
 Hēr'uli, settlement in Italy, 309.
 Hono'rēs, 64.
 Hono'rius, emperor, 301.
 Hor'ace (Q. Horatius Flaccus), poet, 227.
 Horā'tii (-shī-i), 21.
 Horā'tius Cō'clēs, story of, 49.
 Houses, Roman, 252.
 Huns, their invasions, 300, 306.
 Icil'ian law, 55.
 Iconoclastic controversy, 337.
 Illŷr'icum, piracy in, 109; a province, 146; under Cæsar, 190.
 Impera'tor, title of, 198, 219.
Impe'rium proconsula're, 218.
 Incorporation, policy of, 26, 45, 155.
 Insignia, royal, 36.
 Intermarriage with plebeians, 62.
 Irē'nē, empress, 337, 343.
 Iron crown of the Lombards, 336.
 Italian allies. See *Allies*.
 Italy, geography of, 12; Roman supremacy in, 91; enfranchisement of, 170; under Augustus, 222; under Ostrogoths, 330; under Lombards, 335.
Iu'dicēs, under C. Gracchus, 161; under Sulla, 177, 178; under Pompey and Crassus, 183.
Ius gen'tium, 147.
 Jeru'salem, destruction of, 247.
 Jo'vian, emperor, 300.
 Jugur'thine war, 163, 164.
 Ju'lian, emperor, 299.
 Ju'lian law (*lex Iulia*), 170.
 Juliā'nus, Did'ius, emperor, 280.
 Julianus, Sal'vius, jurist, 269.
 Ju'piter Latiaris (la-shī-ā'ris), worship of, 16. See *Temples*, for other names of Jupiter.
 Jurists, influence of, 320.
 Justin'ian, emperor, 322, 333-335.
 Jutes, in Britain, 306, 309, 328.
 Ju'venal, satirist, 258.
 King, Roman, 30, 36; power compared with that of consuls, 50; hatred of the name, 176, 217.
 Knights. See *Equites*.
 Ko'ran, 338.

- Lucius, Vabinius, in war with Pyrrhus, 87.
 Latin language, its influence, 314.
 Latin Way, 98.
 Latins, 15; demand their rights, 76; war with Rome, 76.
 Latium (lā'shi-um), 14; Roman supremacy in, 44; pacified, 77.
 Law, Roman, during the republic, 214; under the empire, 269, 273; influence upon modern jurisprudence, 320.
 Lega'ti, 223.
 Legion, 87, 94.
 Lep'idus, M. Æmil'ius, consul, revolt of, 180.
 Lepidus, M. Æmil'ius, triumvir, 203; joins Antony and Octavius, 206; at Rome, 208; rupture with Octavius, 209; pontifex maximus, 210.
 Leg. Capitolina, 63; *Legio*, 184; *Legio*, 55; *Legio*, 170; *Legio*, 232, 233, 261; *Manilia*, 185; *Plautia Papiria*, 170; *Publilia*, 56; *Thoria*, 161.
 Licin'ian legislation, 70.
 Life and manners, 252-256.
 Lilybæ'um, 89, 107.
 Literature, Roman, beginnings of, 150; during the civil wars, 215; under Augustus, 226; "Silver age" of, 257; its permanence, 314.
 Liv'ia, wife of Augustus, 227.
 Liv'y (T. Liv'ius), historian, 227.
 Lombards in Italy, 335, 336, 340.
 Lu'can, poet, 258.
 Lucā'nians, 17, 85; conquered by Rome, 90; join Hannibal, 119.
 Luc'ea, conference at, 191.
 Lu'cerēs, early Roman tribe, 26.
 Luc'ria, captured, 80; lost to the Samnites, 81; recaptured, 82.
 Lucre'tius (-shī-us), poet, 215.
 Lucul'lus, L. Licin'ius, in Mithridatic war, 184, 185; in senate, 188.
 Lu'tprand, Lombard king, 340.
 Lydia (lī'shi-lā), a province, 240.
 Mācedo'nia, in second Punic war, 123; relation to Greek cities, 126; first and second wars with Rome, 127-129; third war with Rome, 131-133; settlement of, 132; disturbances in, 134; a province, 136.
 Mæ'cius, friend of Augustus, 225.
 Mæ'lius, Sp., 65.
 Mæ'nia (-shī-ā), battle of, 139.
 Mahom'et. See *Mohammed*.
 Mam'ertines, 104.
 Manil'ian law, 185.
 Man'iple, 96.
 Man'lius, M., savior of the Capitol, 68; philanthropic acts, 69; his death, 70.
 Manlius Terquillus, T., commander in Latin war, 76, 77.
 Manlius Vul's., L., in Africa, 107.
 Marcellus, M. Claudius, captures Syracuse, 120.
 Marcoman'ni, 276.
 Marcus Aure'lius, emperor, 275-277.
 Mar'ius, C., in Jugurthine war, 164; in Cimbric war, 164; as a party leader, 166; in the Social war, 169; rejoins the popular party, 171; flight from Rome, 172; his massacres, 173; his death, 174.
 Mar'ius, C., adopted son, 174.
 Marriage customs, 255.
 Mar'tial (-shī-ā), epigrammatist, 258.
 Māsini'sa, a king of Numidia, 122, 137.
 Mauretā'nia, a province, 240.
 Maxen'tius (-shī-as), rival of Constantine, 293.
 Maxim'ian, colleague of Diocletian, 290.
 Mayor of the palace, 340.
 Meals, Roman, 253.
 Mēsopotā'mia, 265, 269.
 Messali'na, wife of Claudius, 208.

- Messā'na, held by the Mamertines, 104; taken by the Romans, 105.
 Metau'rus R., battle of, 120.
 Metel'lus, Q. Cæcil'ius, commander in Greece, 136.
 Metellus, Q. Cæcilius (nephew), in Jugurthine war, 164.
 Metellus Pi'us, Q. Cæcilius (son of the preceding), in Spain, 181.
 Metellus Pius Scipio, Q. Cæcilius (adopted son of the preceding), 197.
 Mi'lo, T. An'nus, 194.
 Mithridā'tēs, king of Pontus, 172, 184, 185.
 Moham'med and his religion, 337.
 Mohammedan civilization, 339.
 Mum'mius, L., in Greece, 136.
 Mun'da, battle of, 197.
 Municipal system, 319.
Municip'ia, 93.
 Mu'tina, war of, 206.
 Mȳ'læ, battle of, 106.
 Næ'vius, poet, 150.
 Narbonen'sis, a province, 164, 190.
 Narcis'sus, and Claudius, 238.
 Nar'sēs, general, 334, 335.
 Nasī'ca, P. Cornelius Scipio, 159.
 Ne'ro, emperor, 240-243.
 Nero, C. Claudius, 121.
 Ner'va, emperor, 259-261.
 New Carthage, 111, 121.
 Nice, council of, 294.
 Nicome'dia, under Diocletian, 290.
No'bilēs, 144.
 Nu'ma Pompil'ius, king, 21.
 Numan'tia (-shī-a), destroyed, 140.
 Numid'ia, ally of Rome, 123, 137; conquered by Cæsar, 197.
 Octā'vius, C. (Octaviā'nus), appears at Rome, 204; relations with the senate, 205; in second triumvirate, 206; at battle of Philippi, 208; position in the West, 209; rupture with Antony, 210; at battle of Actium, 211; sole ruler, 212; Augustus, 217-229.
 Octavius, Cn., friend of Sulla, 173.
 Octavius, M., tribune, 158.
 Odo-ā'cer, king of the Heruli, 307.
 O'mar, caliph, 338.
 Ommi'ads, Mohammedan dynasty, 339.
Optima'tēs, 144, 159.
 Orehōm'enus, battle of, 173.
 Ores'tēs, enthrones Romulus Augustulus, 307.
 Orléans (or-lā-ōn'), siege of, 306.
 Os'ca, school at, 181.
 Os'cans, 116.
 Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy, 330, 334, 341.
 O'tho, emperor, 245.
 Ov'id (P. Ovid'ius Na'so), poet, 227.
 Pæs'tum, a colony, 90.
 Palæp'olis, in second Samnite war, 80.
 Pal'las, freedman of Claudius, 238.
 Palmy'ra, destruction of, 286.
 Panor'mus, victory at, 107.
 Pan'theon, 226, 314.
 Papin'ian, jurist, 281, 321.
 Par'thia, invaded by Crassus, 194; Anthony's campaigns in, 210; war with Trajan, 265; succeeded by new Persian monarchy, 282.
 Patrician, title of, 307.
 Patricians, 40, 53.
 Patriotism, decay of, 155.
 Paul'lus, jurist, 284, 321.
 Paullus, L. Æmil'ius, at battle of Cannæ, 117.
 Paullus, L. Æmilius (son), at battle of Pydna, 132.
 Pentap'olis, 340, 341.
 Pēp'in the Short, 340, 341.
 Per'gamum, under protection of Rome, 126; threatened by Philip, 128; supports Rome, 130; bequeathed to Rome, 141.

- Per'seus of Macedonia, 132.
 Persians, new monarchy, 282, 283 ;
 and Julian, 299 ; and Heraclius,
 336 ; and Omar, 338.
 Per'tinax, emperor, 280.
 Phā'lanx, Macedonian, 87.
 Phar'nacēs, defeated by Cæsar, 197.
 Pharsā'lus, battle of, 196.
 Philip V. of Macedonia, in second
 Punic war, 119 ; at war with
 Rome, 127, 129, 131.
 Philip the pretender, 134.
 Philip'pi, battle of, 208.
 "Philip'pics" of Cicero, 205.
 Philosophy at Rome, 149, 215, 277.
 Picē'num, 14 ; subject to Rome, 84.
 Placid'ia, rules at Rome, 305.
 Plau'tian (-shī-an) law, 170.
 Plau'tius (-shī-us), Au'lus, lieuten-
 ant of Claudius, 239.
 Plau'tus, dramatist, 150.
 Plebe'ians, rise of, 41 ; their distress,
 53 ; first secession, 54 ; obtain
 tribunes, 55 ; their assembly, 55 ;
 second secession, 61 ; successes of,
 63 ; made equal with patricians,
 71.
 Plin'y the elder, 252.
 Pliny the younger, 252, 258.
 Pollen'tia (-shī-a), battle of, 305.
 Polyb'ius, freedman of Claudius,
 238.
 Polybius, historian, 133.
 Pompe'ii (-yī), destruction of, 251.
 Pompe'ius, Cn. (Pompey the Great),
 joins Sulla, 174 ; aids Catulus, 180 ;
 defeats Sertorius in Spain, 181 ;
 consul with Crassus, 182 ; war
 with the pirates, 183 ; conquests in
 the East, 184, 185 ; in first trium-
 virate, 188, 189 ; sole consul, 194 ;
 war with Cæsar, 195, 196 ; his
 death, 196.
 Pompeius, Sextus, 204 ; in posses-
 sion of Sicily, 208 ; defeated by
 Octavius, 209.
 Pompeius Strā'bo, 169.
 Pons Sublī'cius, 22.
 Pon'tifex max'imus, 32.
 Pon'tius (-shī-us), Samnite general,
 81.
 Pon'tus, kingdom of, 126 ; its power
 in Asia Minor, 172 ; a province
 with Bithynia, 185.
 Poppæ'a Sabī'na, 241.
 Popula'rēs, 159.
 Porsen'na, Lars, Etruscan prince,
 49.
 Pōr'tus Roma'nus, constructed by
 Claudius, 239.
 Præ'fectures of later empire, 297.
 Præfec'tus ur'bi, 221 ; vī'gilum, 222 ;
 anno'næ, 222.
 Prænes'tē, subject ally of Rome, 72 ;
 inhabitants massacred by Sulla,
 175.
 Prætor, first appointed, 71.
 Præto'rian guard, established, 220 ;
 brought to Rome, 233 ; reformed,
 280 ; abolished, 298.
 Prætor peregrī'nus, 213.
 Prin'ceps civita'tis, 219.
 Pro'bus, emperor, 286.
 Procō'pius, historian, 333.
 Proper'tius (-shī-us), poet, 227.
 Proscriptions of Sulla, 175 ; of sec-
 ond triumvirate, 206.
 Provinces, under the republic, 146-
 148 ; under Cæsar, 199, 200 ; under
 Augustus, 223 ; under Tiberius,
 235 ; under Hadrian, 269, 271 ;
 under Constantine, 295 ; list of,
 264.
 Provincial system, 271 ; its influence
 upon modern states, 318.
 Publica'ni, 148.
 Public land, 54. See *Agrarian laws*.
 Publil'ian law, 56.
 Publil'ius Phi'lo, Q., in third Sam-
 nite war, 80.
 Pu'nic war, first, 101-108 ; second,
 111-123 ; third, 136-139.

- Pute'oli, country home of Sulla, 178.
 Pyd'na, battle of, 132.
 Pyr'rhus, king of Epirus, 86; war with Rome, 87-90.
 Quā'di, 276.
Quæstio'nēs perpētuae, 178.
 Quæstors, appointed, 65.
Quattuor'viri, 297.
 Quintil'ian, rhetorician, 258.
 Quirī'nus, 21, 31.
 Rad-a-gāi'sus, barbarian chief, 305.
 Ram'nēs, early Roman tribe, 24.
 Raven'na, exarchate of, 334, 335, 340, 341.
 Regil'lus, Lake, battle of, 49.
 Reg'ulus, in first Punic war, 107.
 Religion, early, 31; under the republic, 215; under Augustus, 227.
 Representation, absence of, 155.
 Rhodes, protected by Rome, 126; threatened by Philip, 128; receives new territory, 130.
 Riç'imer, the "king-maker," 307.
 Roads, military, 97-99.
 Ro'land, 341.
 Romance languages, 315.
 Romano-Germanic civilization, 343, 344; kingdoms, 327-332.
Ro'ma Quadra'ta, 24.
 Rome, its situation, 22; a Latin settlement, 24; its threefold origin, 26; under the Tarquins, 37; destruction by the Gauls, 67; its restoration, 68; threatened by Hannibal, 120; captured by Sulla, 171; under Augustus, 221; under Nero, 241; under Trajan, 266; sacked by the Goths, 305; pillaged by the Vandals, 306.
 Rom'ulus, king, 20, 21.
 Romulus Augus'tulus, emperor, 307.
 Roncesval'les, battle of, 341.
Rora'rii, 96.
 Rōš'amond, wife of Alboin, 336.
 Ru'bicon, crossed by Cæsar, 195.
 Sā'bīnēs, 14, 17; settlement on the Quirinal, 25; union with Romans, 25; receive citizenship, 84.
 Sacred Mount, 55, 62.
 Sagun'tum, taken by Hannibal, 112.
 St. Sophī'a, Church of, 333, 334.
 Salinā'tor, M. Liv'ius, at the Metaurus, 121.
 Sal'lust, historian, 215.
 Salo'na, home of Diocletian, 292.
 Sam'nītes, 14, 17; first war with Rome, 74; second war, 79; third war, 82; relation to Rome, 84; revolt crushed, 90; join Hannibal, 119.
 Sā'por, king of Persia, 283.
 Sār'acens, 339.
 Sardin'ia, a province, 109.
 Sassan'idæ, Persian dynasty, 282, 338.
 Saturnī'nus, L. Apule'ius, popular leader, 166.
 Saxons, in Britain, 306, 309, 328; in Germany, 343.
 Scip'i-o, Cn. Cornē'lius, 114.
 Scipio, P. Cornelius, 113; opposes Hannibal on the Po, 115.
 Scipio Æmiliā'nus, P. Cornelius, destroys Carthage, 138; destroys Numantia, 140.
 Scipio Africā'nus, P. Cornelius, reduces Spain, 121; carries war into Africa, 123; defeats Hannibal at Zama, 123; in Asia, 130; his death, 131.
 Scipio Asiat'icus, L. Cornelius, at battle of Magnesia, 180.
 Scipio Nasī'ca, P. Cornelius, senatorial leader against Tiberius Gracchus, 159.
 Secession of the plebs, first, 54; second, 61.
 Sejā'nus, adviser of Tiberius, 233, 234.
 Semprō'nus, commander in second Punic war, 113; joins Scipio, 115.

- Senate, under the kings, 31; under early republic, 51; after the conquests, 144; under C. Gracchus, 160; under Sulla, 177; under Caesar, 198, 199; under Augustus, 219; under Tiberius, 232.
- Senatorial order, 153.
- Seneca, philosopher, 240, 241, 258.
- Senti'num, battle of, 83.
- Serto'rius, Q., colleague of Carbo, 174; revolt in Spain, 181, 182.
- Ser'vius Tullius, king, 35.
- Sevê'rus, Alexander, emperor, 281.
- Severus, Septimius, emperor, 280.
- Sext'ius, L., colleague of C. Licinius Stolo, 70.
- Sib'ylline books, 35.
- Sicily, in first Punic war, 103-108; a province, 109.
- Silk culture, introduced into Europe, 333.
- Sinues'sa, a colony, 84, 93.
- Slavery at Rome, 140, 154, 156.
- Social war, 167-170.
- So'cii.* See *Allies*.
- Soissons (swah-sōn'), battle of, 332.
- Spain, Carthaginian power in, 111; reduced by Scipio, 121; divided into two provinces, 123; pacification of, 139; revolt under Sertorius, 181; occupied by Visigoths, 309, 330; by Saracens, 338.
- Sparta, appeals to Rome, 135.
- Spartacus, Thracian gladiator, 182.
- Spyllia op'ia*, 97.
- Stil'icho, general of Honorius, 304.
- Stoicism at Rome, 149, 277.
- Stolo, C. Licinius, his legislation, 70.
- Strā'bo, geographer, 227.
- Sues'sula, battle of, 75.
- Sueto'nius, biographer, 258.
- Sue'vi, 305, 309.
- Suffe'tēs*, 102.
- Suffra'gium*, 64.
- Sulla, L. Cornelius, in social war, 169; appointed commander in the East, 170; marches on Rome, 171; in the Mithridatic war, 172; war with the Marius party, 174; his proscriptions, 175; perpetual dictator and political reforms, 176; his death, 178; his constitution overthrown, 183.
- Salpician (sal-pish-i-an) laws, enacted, 171; annulled, 172.
- Sy-l'vius, Roman governor in Gaul, 309; defeated, 332.
- Syphax, king of Massinissa, 122.
- Syrac'usa, possessions in Sicily, 104; joins Hannibal, 119; reduced, 120; added to Sicily, 123.
- Syrac'usa, under Antiochus III., 126; war with Rome, 129; conquered by Pompey, 185.
- Tac'itus, emperor, 286.
- Tacitus, historian, 258.
- Tarentum, added by Alexander of Epirus, 79; rupture with Rome, 86; captured, 90; betrayed to Hannibal, 119.
- Tarquinius Priscus, king, 34.
- Tarquinius Super'bus, king, 35, 47.
- Taxes, 148.
- Temples: Apollo, 226; Castor and Pollux, 49, 312; Concord, 71, 214; Dian'a, 35, 38, 241; Fortune, 214; Hercules, 214; Honor, 214; Julius, 226; Juno, 267; Jupiter Capitolinus, 25, 38, 214, 218, 267; Jupiter Feretrius, 47; Jupiter Stator, 241; Jupiter Tonans, 226; Loyalty, 149; Mars Ultor, 226, 313; Minerva, 214; Saturn, 38, 313; Venus and Rome, 270; Vespasian, 313; Vesta, 31, 226, 241, 313; Virtue, 214.
- Terentil'ius Harsa, C., 59.
- Tet'ricus, usurper, 285.
- Teu'tonēs (Teutons), 164, 165.

- Thap'sus, battle of, 197.
 Theaters, at Rome, 249.
 Theodo'ra, wife of Justinian, 333.
 Theod'oric, king of the Ostrogoths, 330.
 Theodo'sius (-shĭ-us) I., emperor, 300, 301.
 Thermop'ylæ, battle of, 130.
 Thessalonĭ'ca, massacre at, 301.
 "Thirty Tyrants," 284.
 Tho'rian law, 161.
 Thrace, a province, 240.
 Tibe'rius, emperor, 231-235.
 Tibul'lus, poet, 227.
 Ti'bur, 24, 77; subject ally of Rome, 92; Hadrian's villa at, 270.
 Ticĭ'nus R., battle at, 115.
 Tigelli'nus, adviser of Nero, 241.
 Tit'i-ēs, early Roman tribe, 25.
 Ti'tus, emperor, 251, 252.
 Titus Tatius (tā'shĭ-us), Sabine king, 21.
 Tours (toor), battle of, 339, 340.
 Trā'jan, emperor, 261-267.
 Trasume'nus, Lake, battle at, 115.
 Treason, law of, 232, 261.
 Tre'bia R., battle at, 115.
 Tribes, early Roman, 26, 29; local, 42, 73.
 Tribo'nian, lawyer under Justinian, 335.
 Trib'unēs, military, 64.
 Tribunes of the people, 55, 59; under Sulla, 178.
Tribu'ni æra'rii, 183.
Tribunĭ'cia potes'tas, 215.
 Trium'virate, first, 188; second, 206.
 Tul'lus Hostil'ius, king, 21.
 Twelve Tables, 60.
 Ul'filas, 324.
 Ul'pian, jurist, 282, 321.
 Um'brians, 14, 17; conquered, 84.
 Vadimo'nis, Lake, battle at, 82.
 Vā'lens, emperor, 300.
 Valentin'ian, emperor, 300.
 Valentinian III., emperor, 305.
 Vale'rian, emperor, 283, 284.
 Valerio-Horatian laws, 62.
 Vale'rius Poplic'ola, 51, 52.
 Van'dals, invasions of, 305, 306; settled in Africa, 309; overthrown by Justinian, 334.
 Vār'ro, C. Teren'tius (-shĭ-us), at battle of Cannæ, 117.
 Vā'rus, defeated by Arminius, 224.
 Veii (vē'yī), 24; captured, 66.
 Ven'eti, on the Adriatic, 18.
 Veneti, in Transalpine Gaul, 193.
 Venu'sia (-shĭ-a), a colony, 118.
 Vercel'læ, battle of, 166.
 Ver'gil (P. Vergil'ius Mā'ro), 227.
 Vërrēs, impeachment of, 186.
 Vespa'sian (-zhĭ-an), in Britain, 239; emperor, 246-249.
 Vestal virgins, 32.
 Vesu'vius, Mt., battle of, 76.
Vi'a sa'cra, 313.
 Virgin'ia, story of, 61.
 Viria'thus, Lusitanian chief, 140.
 Viš'igoths, settled in Spain, 309, 330; overcome by Saracens, 338.
 Vitel'lius, emperor, 245.
 Vol'scians, wars with, 56, 57, 69.
 Volsin'ii, its reduction, 91.
 Vul'so, L. Manlius, 107.
 Wall, of Romulus, 25, 312; of Servius, 37; of Aurelian, 285.
 Writing materials, 254.
 Xanthip'pus, defeats Regulus, 107.
 Yoke, 57.
 Zā'ma, battle of, 123.
 Zeno'bia, queen of Palmyra, 286.



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